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COLONIALISM

*An International Social, Cultural,
and Political Encyclopedia*

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COLONIALISM

*An International Social, Cultural,
and Political Encyclopedia*

VOLUME ONE: A–M

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Penny M. Sonnenburg
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Santa Barbara, California

Denver, Colorado

Oxford, England

In memory of colonialism scholars

William B. Cohen and

Harold G. Marcus

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PREFACE

Colonialism is certainly one of the enduring concepts in human history. Because of its longevity as an analytical framework, however, *colonialism* has been understood in a variety of ways. Since the concept was formalized in the era of Greek settlements beyond the cities of their Aegean peninsulas, human societies have sent their citizens to distant lands, creating new iterations of their ways of life in distant settlements. Often in the process, one society sought to dominate another, extending political, economic, and sometimes even social power over another people. So common was this settlement and domination pattern in human history, the very term *colonialism* occasionally came to signify any sort of domination or assertion of control by one human group over another, often achieved by trickery and usually involving illegitimate means.

As a result of these varied definitions, *colonialism* has been used by historians, sociologists, political scientists, and many others as a concept to denote many different situations and conditions. Some begin chronologically by using the term to describe the extension of the range of early *hominids* outside of Africa into many regions of Eurasia. Still others have come to use the same concept in considering the sometimes overwhelming impact of new technologies on human life in the twenty-first century. Frequently these extended uses of the term *colonialism* offer politically satisfying characterizations of the human condition. At the same time, in an era of analytical frameworks that emphasize the importance of language and discourse in assigning meaning to the human past, it seems essential to be more pre-

cise in defining the scope and meaning of any work such as this that claims to be an encyclopedia of colonialism.

The assumption behind these volumes is that there is some considerable agreement among historians and other scholars about the conception of “modern colonialism.” This more specific idea is traceable to the development of particular patterns of settlement, control of external lands, and associated ideologies of domination that first found expression in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the common era. Thus the entries in this encyclopedia overwhelmingly seek to explain colonialism as a phenomenon in world history since about 1400 C.E.

Frequently, and understandably given such a chronological focus, the concept of modern colonialism has been associated in the popular imagination with the rise of European imperialism and the creation of world-expanding empires. Indeed, *colonialism* is sometimes used as a pseudo-synonym for imperialism and empire. But these latter concepts are chiefly political, and as such they remain insufficient to explain fully the crucial issues of cultural domination that were alternately prized—and rejected—by various parties in the history of “modern colonialism.” Thus, this encyclopedia specifically sets out to treat cultural concepts and intellectual ideas as crucial to an understanding of colonialism in the modern world. But those explanations alone would not be adequate to assess the experiences of modern colonialism. Thus there are many entries in this encyclopedia that seek to deal with the geographic dimensions of colonialism, including the places that came to

be dominated by foreign societies as well as the national expressions of colonialism by various primarily (but not exclusively) European empires.

Both these cultural and geographic understandings would still remain incomplete considerations of colonialism without the inclusion of at least brief consideration of numerous individuals whose lives and work had a significant impact on the modern colonial experience. Making the selection of such individuals has been very difficult. Key imperial political leaders have, of course, been included, but so have some of those who led resistance to colonial power in a variety of ways and in widely scattered places. Thus many cultural defenders of colonialism, as well as some of their literary detractors, have found a place in this work. And a variety of intellectual conceptions related to colonialism and many of their exponents have a place here as well.

No doubt a few readers may be disappointed not to find even brief mention of some particular individual, concept, or even geographic location included. And no doubt there will also be differences of interpretation even between and among the scholars who have so skillfully provided entries for this encyclopedia. In any reference work of this kind there will certainly be such perceived problems. I seek only to reassure readers by saying that for the most part I believe these three volumes constitute a valuable introduction to the study of modern colonialism. In large measure the information contained here should only be seen as a starting point for those seeking information on the general subject or for any of the particular items discussed by the many authors. And it is to

those authors I would like to express my thanks for their commitment to this effort. Without their interest, shared experience, and determination to complete the task this encyclopedia would not be possible.

And there are inevitably others who have contributed greatly to this effort. The Editorial Board offered exceptional advice in helping to conceptualize the project and to make initial suggestions for topics that needed to be considered. Their broad experience and willingness to be of assistance literally made the entire project possible. I am also indebted to my assistant editor, Penny Sonnenburg, who read and reread much of the material, kept the project proceeding apace, and contributed significantly to bringing the encyclopedia to fruition in the final days of preparing the manuscript. Similarly, the staff of East River Books—and James Ciment, in particular—was invaluable in setting out the ancillary materials (timelines and documents, especially) that enhance the individual entries. And finally, a special word of thanks to the staff of Sherrod Library at East Tennessee State University for providing a most conducive working environment and much special assistance needed to make this encyclopedia a reality.

Melvin E. Page
General Editor

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COLONIALISM

*An International, Social, Cultural,
and Political Encyclopedia*

A

Aborigines

Aborigines have inhabited Australia for over 50,000 years. Aboriginal culture was immensely diverse, with approximately 500 language groupings and a variety of lifestyles and religious beliefs existing on the eve of colonization. The common link among all Aboriginal groups was the centrality of land to religious, social, and economic life; Aboriginal culture was largely clan-based and highly ritualized. The British colonization of Australia spanned 150 years, beginning in New South Wales in 1788 and continuing into the far north of the continent into the 1920s. The British arrived in 1788 with no complex policy toward the indigenous people, and the continent was declared *terra nullius* (land belonging to nobody). Wherever explorers and settlers ventured, however, they came across indigenous groups. It was the historic Native Title judgment (*Mabo v. State of Queensland*, 1992) that overturned the legal fiction of *terra nullius*.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, pastoral expansion and competition for land and scarce resources such as water resulted in indigenous resistance, usually in the form of raids on stock and the destruction of crops, with violent reprisals from settlers. Smallpox spread, often ahead of settlement along main trade routes, and decimated clans. Once settlers arrived, venereal disease became a major cause of illness, death, and infertility among indigenous women. First-

wave missionary and humanitarian efforts to protect Aboriginal people in the 1840s failed. In the 1860s, so-called protection policies took the form of segregating the Aboriginal population on reserves. From the 1880s, government policies were designed to assimilate and absorb the “fading remnant” of Aboriginal people. The most insidious effect of this approach was the forced removal of children from their families, a practice that continued into the mid-twentieth century. Aborigines in South Australia were enfranchised in that territory in 1894 but were excluded from the federal franchise in 1902 and were not granted citizenship until 1967. Aborigines currently constitute 1.7 percent of the Australian population.

Kathryn M. Hunter

See also Australia; Torres Strait Islanders

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Absolutism

The nations of Europe set out to conquer the world for their respective leaders and impose European political forms on indigenous peoples. The first major model of colonial rule was an extension of the prevailing form of government in Europe itself—that of an absolutist monarchy. Throughout the Age of Absolutism (usually defined as the years

2 Abushiri

between 1648 and 1775), the rulers of early modern Europe fought among themselves for control of political and geographic areas. In theory, these rulers exercised complete control over their respective territories. As the modern European nation-state emerged, such absolutist figures and heads of state turned their eyes toward a wider world, particularly Africa and Asia.

Although colonial governments aspired toward the goal of improving the economic and social conditions of their colonies, the primary function of any colonial holding was to provide raw materials, prestige, and an open market for manufactured goods from the home country. It has often been argued that economies, social welfare systems, and basic human needs were disregarded in the quest for profit. The result was the development of colonial economies that quickly became dependent on the industrialized countries that promoted them.

At first, economic expansion and exploitation were the prime motives for colonial conquest by European nations. By the nineteenth century, however, ideological conditions, such as notions of supremacy and “racial” struggle and competition for world markets, pushed colonial expansion to a fevered pitch. In 1878, only a small portion of the coastal areas of Africa was claimed by Europeans. By 1914, the entire continent had been divided up among the various nations of Europe, all vying for control and economic superiority. As the cost of maintaining colonies increased, the original basis for colonial governance was forced to evolve as well. Though theoretically set up along an “absolutist” or totalitarian model, the majority of European colonial holdings could simply not afford the costs in money and manpower of maintaining complete control. Instead, they relied on a system of indirect rule, using a small number of privileged indigenous elites, endowed with power, to control a larger subordinate population. This system of authoritarian rule functioned precisely because of the advantages of superior technology, manpower, and political organization that the modern nation-state enjoyed.

For European nations, colonial empires were not simply a means of economic expansion; they also provided the framework for spreading European notions of politics, culture, and social norms. As a result, one of the unavoidable consequences

of colonial rule was the “Westernization” of colonial holdings and the blending of various aspects of European colonial rule with preexisting forms of government and societal norms. In the post-colonial era, a significant number of independent nations are struggling to find their own particular identities in the wake of decades or centuries of occupation under imperial powers. In the years ahead, these independent countries must continue to evolve along their own paths, freed from the yoke of their European absolutist fathers.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Colonial Administration; Economics

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Smith, Woodruff D. *European Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982.

Abushiri

Abushiri was a popular uprising on the East African coast, triggered by the arrival of would-be German colonial officials in 1888. Following a series of armed expeditions in 1885 and 1886, the newly formed German East Africa Company laid claim to territory in the interior of East Africa. Its representatives further pressured the sultan of Zanzibar, the nominal sovereign of the coast, for control there, and in 1887, the company gained a concession to collect customs and tolls. Within days of establishing themselves in the coastal port of Pangani, however, the Germans sparked local riots due to their public behavior, in particular their desecration of a mosque. Disaffection quickly surfaced in other towns, and over the next several months, it gradually escalated into general rebellion. Many people later identified Bushiri bin Salim, a Pangani planter and caravan organizer, as the chief rebel leader and hence applied his name to the uprising.

The underlying causes of the rebellion were complex, and interestingly, they stemmed more from building tensions in the coastal society than from German intervention. Slavery became increasingly pronounced along the coast during the nineteenth century, as millions of captives were marched from the interior. Most labored within Swahili households, but as the region was gradually drawn into the world economy, a growing number were allotted to large Arab-owned plan-

tations. Some captives fled, establishing runaway communities in the hinterland. Many more, however, sought to improve their status through religious conversion and acculturation into Swahili society. Merchants and planters could not maintain control by force. Instead, they acted as cultural arbiters, relying on patronage of popular events and religious functions to reinforce their authority.

The German company's intervention simply tilted an already unsteady social and political balance. The customs concession compromised the elites. As much as they may have disliked the company, many did not wish to upset the political order by breaking the sultan's agreement. Moreover, most feared disorder might threaten their property. Thus, when urban crowds challenged them to defend Islamic and Swahili institutions against European intrusion, most elites failed to act. Better-organized rebel bands sought out German targets. But the bulk of the protestors, concerned more with local autonomy and social status, continued to lobby or harass planters and merchants. Initially, the German company, too, was unable to manage the rebellion, but the home government in Germany refused to let the company fail and within months provided considerable formal support. With gunboats, artillery, and Maxim guns, German military officers and African mercenary troops recaptured several rebel strongholds and thereafter declared a German East African colony.

Laird Jones

See also German Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; War and Warfare

For further reading

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Acadians

Acadians were people of French and Franco-German descent who lived in Acadia (now Nova Scotia) between 1604 and 1755. Acadians began to arrive from Brittany shortly after the French king Henry IV granted the land to the French Huguenot nobleman Pierre de Monts for the settlement of Catholic and Protestant soldiers, fur traders,

hunters, fishermen, and farmers. As most French men and women moved inland to Quebec over the next two decades, the British who arrived in Acadia took up joint residence with the few farming and fishing families that remained. James I went as far as to grant a renamed Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander in 1621. Between 1632 and 1713, British and French royalty claimed and reclaimed the land seven times. All the while, the French Acadians and an emerging Franco-German minority made their presence known in the region. German Protestant and Catholic men arrived from Alsace-Lorraine, French coastal cities, and Switzerland as traders and soldiers in the early eighteenth century, and they married French Acadian women. Even so, Jesuit missionaries assured the demise of Protestantism. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Acadians refused to pledge an oath of allegiance to Britain's King George. That refusal led to the dispersal of German and French Acadians to France, St. Domingue (now Haiti), the eastern seaboard of the American colonies, and Louisiana. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow romanticized their plight in his epic poem *Evangeline*.

Lauren Ann Kattner

See also Canada; Huguenots; New France; Seven Years' War

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Achebe, Chinua (1930–)

Born in Nigeria, Chinua Achebe is a fictionalist and essayist of the first order who has also had a significant impact on political developments in several parts of Africa. Always outspoken, Achebe has had a tremendous and global influence on educational trends—in literature, literary criticism, history, sociology, anthropology, political thought, and more. His first novel, *Things Fall Apart*, which sold over 3 million copies, is a literary success story of stunning proportions. It is reputedly the

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most widely read book in Africa and one of the most frequently seen works on university and high school reading lists all over the world; it has been translated into some fifty languages.

Achebe's writing has changed both the form and the language of the novel. He has replaced the conventional focus on individual protagonists with a new focus on the rhythm and life of the community. This allows him to explore the actions of the individual on society and the manner in which social customs affect the individual. The result is a fair-mindedness that can be found in only a handful of postcolonial writers. Achebe's language fractures the homogeneous English prose of the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century novel by his use of proverbs, images, and linguistic rhythms of the Ibo, a Nigerian ethnic group in the south of the country. Yet his narrative remains intact and seamless. Among the staunchest defenders of the use of English to capture and convey African experience, Achebe has contributed to the enrichment of the language. He has provided new ways of looking at what happened in history and especially the period of colonization in Nigeria.

Daizal R. Samad

See also Literature; Nigeria

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Acheson, Dean (1893–1971)

As U.S. secretary of state from 1949 to 1953, Dean Acheson was one of the chief architects of the international role played by the United States in the era that saw the decline of European colonialism and the rise of Third World nationalism.

Having been directly involved in U.S. foreign policy making since 1944, Acheson viewed world realities and trends mainly in the terms of the global power balance and the wider Cold War strategy. Thus, he was greatly concerned at the outset with the decolonization of Palestine and the independence of Israel, fearing that the Arab-Jewish conflict would be aggravated and Western influence in the Middle East endangered. As a realist, Acheson understood the inevitability of the self-

determination trend in the colonial world and the complexity of decolonization for the European powers. A true admirer of the British Great Power experience, he later defined the challenge of decolonization in his speech at West Point on December 5, 1962: "Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role."

At the same time, Acheson considered the close U.S. partnership with Britain and Western Europe as the cornerstone of America's global influence. Accordingly, he was very reluctant to antagonize the European allies by pressuring them to decolonize and instead advocated gradual colonial reforms and a search for accommodation between the metropolitan powers and the proponents of Third World nationalism.

Having been clearly sympathetic with the French in Indochina, Acheson advised Paris to show more political flexibility in Morocco and Tunisia. He also tried to stimulate negotiations between the British and the Mossadegh regime in Iran and sought a compromise outcome for the British troubles in Egypt in the early 1950s.

As a retired elder statesman in the 1960s, Dean Acheson advised several U.S. administrations. He was rather supportive of Portuguese rule in Africa and the white governments in South Africa and Rhodesia, perceiving them as islands of stability in the chaotic postcolonial developments on the African continent. These views reflected not only Acheson's Eurocentrism but also his deep distrust in the ability of Africans to govern themselves and his strong belief that the Europeans should effectively control the path to self-determination. Although Acheson's political opponents reasonably pointed out that his position hampered U.S. efforts to deal with the new nations, certain postcolonial realities, particularly in Africa (including widespread corruption, instability, economic and social disorder, and ethnic violence) have demonstrated that Dean Acheson was something of a visionary.

Peter Rainow

See also Cold War; Decolonization; Egypt; Eurocentrism; Iran; Israel; Morocco; Mossadegh, Mohammed; Palestine; Third World; Tunisia; United States

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Aden

Aden lies opposite the Horn of Africa at the southwestern tip of the Arabian Peninsula, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea. Inland, a narrow coastal plain quickly gives way to highlands.

Aden became a dependency of the English East India Company in 1839, serving as a coaling station on the route from India to the Levant and Egypt. The islands of Perim, Sokotra, and Kamara were added to the colony later, and the British resident, or government agent, signed protective treaties with the numerous sultans, sheikhs, and *dawlas* (local leaders chosen on the basis of ability) of the interior.

In April 1937, Aden passed from the control of Britain's India Office to that of the Colonial Office, becoming a crown colony. Britain then increased its minimal supervision of the sultans and sheikhs of Aden's hinterland, signing treaties that required local rulers to accept British advice. The territories of the inland sheikhs were also formally grouped together as the Eastern Protectorate and the Western Protectorate.

After World War II, decolonization increased Aden's importance. Britain was looking for bases that would be secure against the threat of imminent decolonization. At first, it settled on Kenya, but accelerating events there led Aden to be preferred from 1961 as a location where forces could be stationed for intervention "East of Suez," as the British put it.

Two years earlier, in 1959, Britain had started restructuring the inland South Arabian protectorates as the Federation of South Arabia. The Colony of Aden was added to the federation in January 1963. By 1966, the plan was to move the federation toward independence in two years, with Britain retaining base rights. The reality was that trade unionism, Arab nationalism, Egyptian propaganda, and tensions between the tribal interior and the more developed port proved explosive. To make matters worse, the neighboring Yemen Arab Republic, or North Yemen, claimed the federation was historically South Yemen. Fueled by this explosive mix, events built up to a critical situation

in September 1965 when the Egyptian-backed Front for the Liberation of South Yemen (FLOSY) attacked both the National Liberation Front (NLF) and British troops.

Britain was unable to impose its authority, and by 1967, its Labour government was moving toward a January 1968 decision to withdraw from "East of Suez" in 1971. With the easing of Egyptian support for FLOSY, Britain turned Aden over to the NLF on November 30, 1967. Aden and the Federation of South Arabia now became the People's Democratic Republic of Southern Yemen—a Marxist, anti-Western, and relatively undeveloped nation. In May 1990, it unified with the Yemen Arab Republic to form the new Republic of Yemen.

Karl A. Hack

See also British East India Company; World War II

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Adwa, Battle of

On March 1, 1896, Ethiopian troops led by Emperor Menelik crushed an Italian invasion in the north of their country. The Battle of Adwa was a seminal event in African history, marking the first major disaster for a modern European army in Africa, securing Ethiopia's independence in an era of imperialist conquest, and inspiring generations of blacks around the world to resist oppression and domination.

Italy, a European country that was late to join the rush to acquire African colonies, had occupied the Red Sea port city of Mitsawa (in the territory that later became Eritrea) on February 5, 1885. The Italians prohibited the importation of weaponry to Ethiopia and began preparing to penetrate deeper into the interior. Due to rising Italian-Ethiopian tensions, Emperor Menelik met with Italian representatives in April 1889. On May 2, the two sides signed the Treaty of Wuchale, "a treaty of amity and commerce," with official versions in both Amharic and Italian. Article 17 of the Italian copy stipulated that Ethiopia *had to* pursue its for-

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eign relations through Italian intermediaries, but the Amharic text stated only that Ethiopia had the *option* of doing so. While diplomats scurried to clarify the matter, Emperor Menelik continued to import massive amounts of modern arms to strengthen his army.

In January 1895, Italian troops crossed the Mareb River into Ethiopia. Fearing further intrusion, Menelik called for a national mobilization on September 17. In early 1896, the Italian and Ethiopian forces met near the town of Adwa. Italian sources estimated there were 50,000 to 100,000 guns at Ethiopia's disposal, backed up with cannons, machine guns, and heavy artillery. On March 1, Italian commanders nevertheless sent 14,500 troops into battle against the well-armed Ethiopian army of about 100,000 men. Fighting began at 5:30 A.M., and by noon, 4,000 Italians and 2,000 of their African soldiers were dead, with another 3,230 wounded or held prisoner. By the end of the Battle of Adwa, Italy had lost 70 percent of its forces.

Ethiopia's victory guaranteed its independence during an era in which most of Africa and the rest of the non-Western world succumbed to European imperialism. But Ethiopia's triumph also deeply embarrassed Italy, leading to its 1935–1936 reinvasion of Ethiopia under the leadership of the Fascist Benito Mussolini—an event that again inspired blacks throughout the world and unwittingly contributed to the development of modern African nationalism in the 1940s and 1950s.

Tim Carmichael

See also Ethiopia; Italian Empire; Menelik II

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Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a landlocked, multiethnic Central Asian nation of 252,000 square miles astride the major trade routes connecting Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent. Over seventy different dialects are spoken there, although Dari (Afghan Persian) serves as a lingua franca. The ethnic groups are further subdivided into tribal affiliations, which exert heavy influence on political organization.

Afghanistan's location has made it a crossroads of trade and warfare since antiquity. First conquered by the Persians between 546 and 540 B.C.E., it was successively invaded by Alexander the Great, the Scythians, the White Huns, and the Turks. Islam became the dominant religion during the Arabic invasion of 642 C.E. The Mongols arrived in 1219, devastating the countryside and destroying several cities. Kabul served as a base of operations for the Mughal invasion of India by Babur in the early 1500s. With the Mughal decline, Persia again came to dominate the region.

The modern state of Afghanistan was established by Ahmad Shah Durrani following the 1747 assassination of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah. The nation quickly became a pawn in the great game of imperial rivalry. Fear of Russian expansion prompted an invasion from British India in 1839 to replace the ruling Dost Mohammad with the more tractable Shah Shuja. The effort failed; of the 4,500 men who invaded, only one Briton, surgeon William Brydon, made it back to British India. A second Afghan war began in 1878 with a similar objective. In this instance, the British managed to topple reigning Amir Shah Ali and place Abdur Rahman on the throne. In 1907, however, the British Raj took control of Afghan foreign policy.

Relations with British India were complicated by the nature of the frontier between the two countries. The Pushtun (also known as Pashtun or Pathan) tribesmen inhabiting the mountains of the frontier recognized the authority of neither government but tended to side with the Afghans for religious reasons. Several punitive expeditions were mounted against the Pushtun during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in virtually all, some evidence of Afghan complicity in risings of the Pushtun was discovered.

The third Afghan War in 1919 resulted in the elimination of British interference in Afghan foreign policy, and problems with Indian nationalism occupied an increasing amount of the Raj's attention. In 1926, Afghanistan proclaimed itself a monarchy rather than an emirate, but the modernization campaign of King Amanullah proved unpopular, and he was forced to flee the country in 1929. Ties with the Soviet Union were forged following World War II, bringing military and financial aid and a renewed modernization program. The monarchy was overthrown in 1973 by a mili-

tary coup, but the new ruling faction fell to a pro-Soviet coup in 1978.

This event initiated a civil war, which included an unsuccessful ten-year Soviet invasion of the country with over 600,000 troops. The United States supplied arms to the anti-Soviet fighters in one of the last episodes of Cold War confrontation. The threat of a common foe in the Soviet Union temporarily united the various tribal groups of Afghanistan into a jihad, but as soon as the Soviets withdrew in 1989, factional fighting resumed.

Out of this chaos emerged a Pushtun-dominated Islamic fundamentalist regime known as the Taliban (a name meaning “students of religion”), which came to control much of the country and most major cities and towns, although a small area in the Tajik northeast remained defiant under a coalition called the Northern Alliance. Strict Muslim rule was instituted, with women eliminated from public life, forbidden to practice medicine, and expelled from the nation’s schools. Extremely anti-Western, the Taliban provided safe haven for an number of Muslim terrorist organizations, chief of which was Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda. On September 11, 2001, a series of major terrorist attacks took place in the United States, blame for which was placed on Al-Qaeda by the U.S. administration of George W. Bush. As a result, an undeclared war began ten days later, with a U.S.-led coalition conducting both air strikes and ground operations against the Taliban. By late fall, the Taliban had surrendered its control over the country and in 2002 was succeeded by an Afghan transitional government headed by Hamid Karzai.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; Cold War; India; Russian Empire; Soviet Union; War and Warfare

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Afrikaans

Afrikaans is the language that emerged in South Africa after the Dutch language, spoken by Dutch

East India Company settlers who arrived in the colony in 1652, was creolized to fit the grammatical structures of the languages of the indigenous Khoi, as well as later immigrants from South and Southeast Asia and others. Initially, native-Dutch speakers communicated with non-Dutch speakers in a Dutch creole; they then gradually borrowed words from the various languages of the polyglot Cape community until finally they began speaking a distinct Afrikaans language among themselves. Afrikaans has been called a kitchen language due to the frequent racial mixing among its speakers and the intimate household contact between white settlers, Cape Muslims (Malays), the Khoi, and others.

The earliest evidence of written Afrikaans—and an attestation of its creole origins—is an 1845 manuscript composed in Arabic phonetic script by a Cape Muslim, but until the late 1800s, Afrikaans remained largely a spoken language because most of its speakers were illiterate; those who were literate used Standard Dutch in official correspondence. From the 1870s on, Afrikaans blossomed into a literary language as white Afrikaner nationalists, opposed to British rule in South Africa, promoted it as a cornerstone of an independent, Afrikaner-ruled nation. Due to the common association of the Afrikaans language with South African apartheid, writing the history of Afrikaans has been as much a political endeavor as a linguistic one. Many Afrikaner academics under apartheid were obsessed with giving Afrikaans (not to mention the Afrikaners themselves) a pure European pedigree. Prominent theories advanced by these academics argued that Afrikaans derived from Dutch dialects of the southern Netherlands or that Afrikaans was based on the early Germanic languages; even those who acknowledged the influences of foreign languages held that the European heart of Afrikaans was unaltered. In 1976, an uprising against the forced use of Afrikaans in the black community schools of Soweto, near Johannesburg, sparked a widespread public resistance to apartheid that was the undoing of the ancien régime.

Contrary to popular belief, Afrikaans has more black speakers than white. In South Africa today, over 23 million people speak Afrikaans, and for one-third of these, it is their first language. As a result of South Africa’s occupation of Namibia for

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most of the twentieth century, Afrikaans is also the native tongue for 10 percent of Namibians and is the effective lingua franca for the rest of that country's 1.7 million inhabitants.

Eric A. Jones

See also Apartheid; Dutch East India Company; Khoi; Language; South Africa

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Afrikaners

See Boers

Agadir Crisis

The Agadir Crisis of 1911—also known as the second Moroccan crisis—was a dispute triggered by rival German and French claims to political and economic rights in the northwest African country of Morocco. Sparked by the arrival of a German gunboat in the Moroccan port of Agadir, the crisis was resolved through a series of negotiations that created a French protectorate over the territory in exchange for territorial concessions in other parts of Africa.

The proximate cause of the crisis can be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1901, Sultan Abd al-Aziz rose to power in Morocco. A Europeanized modernizer, the sultan introduced a series of reforms and new taxes that set off a series of revolts. In response to one of these revolts, the Germans dispatched the gunboat *Panther* to Agadir on July 1, 1911, ostensibly to protect Germany's economic interests there. The French—who, with the Spanish, had assumed joint control over Moroccan ports as a result of the Algeiras Conference of 1906—saw the German move as a deliberate provocation.

In fact, Morocco had been a source of dispute among the French, Spanish, and Germans since the beginning of the century. In 1904, France and Spain signed a secret agreement partitioning Morocco between them, a deal tacitly approved by London in exchange for Paris's acceptance of British power in Egypt. Germany, a rising economic and political power, resented being kept out

of North Africa. In 1908, however, Paris and Berlin negotiated an agreement granting France political sway over Morocco and giving Germany economic interests there.

But frictions continued, leading to the crisis of 1911. With tensions high, France, Germany, and even Britain began to contemplate a general war over Morocco. Nevertheless, the negotiations went on, and in November, France and Germany came to an understanding whereby France would be given a protectorate over Morocco in exchange for the cession of several strips of territory in the French Congo to Germany. Spain's objections were assuaged with the British-mediated Franco-Spanish treaty of November 1911, revising the border between the new protectorate and Spanish territory in northwest Africa.

The Agadir incident was one of a series of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century crises pitting European imperial powers against each other in which war was narrowly averted through negotiations and treaties, some open and some secret. The skill of European diplomats at Agadir and elsewhere created a widespread but ultimately false impression that the rising tensions among the imperial powers could be deferred indefinitely through negotiations—an impression that contributed to the descent into World War I less than three years after Agadir.

James Ciment

See also Algeiras Conference; French Empire; German Empire; Morocco; World War I

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Aguinaldo, Emilio (1869–1964)

Emilio Aguinaldo was a key figure in the revolution against Spain (1896–1898), president of the independent Philippine government established in 1898, and commander of the Filipino forces in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902). A child of local elites, he was born in 1869 near Cavite, Luzon, south of Manila. He was educated at the College of San Juan in Letran and then turned to local politics. He won elections and quickly reached the highest municipal post in his hometown.

Aguinaldo became dissatisfied with Spanish colonial rule and in 1895 joined the Katipunan, a



Emilio Aguinaldo led a three-year revolt after the United States occupied and annexed the Philippines in the wake of the Spanish American War of 1898. (Library of Congress)

secret society that aimed at liberation of the islands. During the initial phase of the revolution in 1896, Aguinaldo got into a power struggle with the leader of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio, and emerged as head of the revolutionary movement.

As the military tide turned against the revolutionaries, Aguinaldo went into exile in Hong Kong in December 1897. With the beginning of the Spanish-American War in May 1898, he returned, resumed leadership of the struggle for independence, and quickly established control over the island of Luzon. By June, Aguinaldo returned from exile in Hong Kong with the U.S. forces and declared himself president of a newly independent Filipino government. On June 12, 1898, he proclaimed an independent Philippine Republic.

Aguinaldo assumed that the U.S. government had brought him to the islands because American leaders, including Adm. George Dewey (who destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay), had promised his country independence if he joined U.S. forces in defeating the Spanish. But after the Spanish-American armistice, he grew resentful of the Americans' behavior, as he and his men were

ordered to stay out of Manila, were isolated from the decisionmaking, and were insulted by racial slurs.

The increasing tensions culminated in open defiance. Aguinaldo and his followers organized a government at Malolos, wrote a constitution, and reproclaimed the Philippine Republic in late January 1899. By February, the first clashes occurred between his troops and the U.S. Army. After Aguinaldo was captured in April 1901, he took an oath of allegiance to the United States, called on his troops to surrender, and retired to private life. The Philippine-American War continued even without his leadership for more than a year. In later years, he acquired large landholdings and played an important role behind the scenes in Filipino politics. Two attempts to reenter politics formally, however, were failures. During World War II, he collaborated with the Japanese occupation. Aguinaldo died in 1964.

Frank Schumacher

See also Philippines; Spanish-American War; United States

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Alaska

Alaska (a name taken from the native Aleut word meaning “Great Land”) was first detected by Siberians in the early sixteenth century. Russian interest stemmed from the reports of the *promyshlenniki* (trappers and hunters) who were searching for fur-bearing mammals after they had depleted stocks in Siberia and Kamchatka. The Russian czar dispatched the Danish mariner Vitus Bering to investigate the potential for colonial expansion in the new continent. Dense fog foiled the initial expedition in 1728, but the second one in 1741 reached landfall below Mount St. Elias in the Gulf of Alaska. After years of seasonal voyaging, the Russians settled at Three Saints Bay near Kodiak in 1784. This was Alaska's first colonial capital until 1806, when the Russian-American Company relocated to the more abundant sea otter grounds

at Sitka. The fierce competition between Russian, American, and British hunters depleted the sea otter to near extinction, and whales and land mammals (primarily bears, wolves, and fox) were overhunted as well. This decline in animal population, coupled with the political aftermath of the Crimean War (1853–1856), motivated the Russians to sell Alaska to the United States in 1867. During their rule, the Russians fought with the native Alaskans but never conquered them. Isolated communities of orthodox “Old Believers” still exist today, particularly in the Aleutian archipelago.

Two periods of concurrent, specialized, and destructive resource exploitation occurred in Alaska between the cessation of Russian control and the granting of U.S. statehood in 1959. The first involved the pursuit of salmon, which began in 1878 when the Americans built a cannery in Sitka; for the next decade, the salmon catch was the largest in the world. Minerals were the objective in the second period. Prospectors discovered gold in southeast Alaska in 1880 and again in the beach sands of Nome, which yielded the metal in significant amounts from 1898 to 1906. Between 1911 and 1938, copper ore in the Wrangell Mountains triggered yet another rush.

Russian and American colonial rule in Alaska differed from that in other areas because the seasonal nature of this highly specialized resource extraction discouraged the building of families and communities. Except for the failed Glory of Russia agricultural settlement near Yakutat (1796) and the Matanuska Colony of the Americans (1935), the home governments did little to support traditional pioneer or colonial settlement. The nonindigenous population was irregularly distributed across a vast landmass and was overwhelmingly male. Although the genocide so common elsewhere in the Americas was absent, the native Alaskans were mostly overlooked as laborers and therefore accumulated little capital. The decline of the salmon, gold, and fur industries and America’s World War II military buildup in Alaska from 1940 to 1942 combined to eclipse the colonial period.

Stephen F. Cunha

See also Russian Empire

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Albania

Located in southeastern Europe, Albania is a small sovereign country—roughly 11,000 square miles, with a population of 3.5 million—situated on the Adriatic Sea, surrounded by Yugoslavia to the north, Macedonia to the east, Greece to the south, and the Adriatic to the west. At the same time, greater Albania encompasses some 5 million ethnic Albanians, of whom approximately 1 million live in the Kosovo province of Serbia and half a million in Macedonia.

Colonized by Greece in the seventh century B.C.E. and turned into the Roman province of Illyria in the second century B.C.E., Albania became part of the Byzantine Empire with the fall of the western Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Over the next millennium, the region would be ruled by Slavs, Normans, Venetians, and the Kingdom of Naples.

Beginning in the early fifteenth century, Albania was periodically invaded by the Ottoman Turks. Though the Turks were successfully repulsed by the great Albanian leader Gjergj Kastrioti (1405–1468), also known as Skanderbeg (from Alexander the Great and bey, a title of Islamic leadership), the territory eventually fell to the Ottomans in 1478. It would remain part of the Ottoman Empire until 1912, when, as a result of the First Balkan War, it gained its independence under the tutelage of Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The 450 years of Ottoman rule were critical to the development of Albanian identity. From the late fifteenth century on, the Turks pursued a systematic policy of Islamization, eventually converting about two-thirds of the population; of the remainder, two-thirds retained their allegiance to the Eastern Orthodox Church and another one-third held on to their Roman Catholic faith. At the same time, Ottoman control of Albania prevented the country from participating in the European Renaissance and Enlightenment, keeping it a nation apart from much of the rest of Europe until the twentieth century.

Under Ottoman rule, Albania became a feudal state in which lords, loyal to Istanbul, were rewarded with vast estates where they held virtually absolute political and economic authority. With the decline of Turkish power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of these lords broke

free of central authority. At the same time, the rise of nationalism in the Balkans infected the Albanians, leading to an ever more vital independence movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1878, Albanian nationalist leaders formed the Albanian League, which was crushed three years later by the Turks.

The rise to power of the reformist Young Turks in Istanbul in 1908 led to talk of democratic reforms for Albania. Although the new Turkish government ultimately failed to carry out these reforms, the unrest in the capital resulted in a new armed struggle by Albanians from 1910 to 1912. Fearing a sovereign Albanian state that might make claims on their own territories, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece declared war on the Ottoman Empire, with the aim of partitioning Albania among themselves. But continued Albanian resistance forced these powers to accept an independent Albanian state, declared at Vlorë on November 28, 1912.

Occupied by the Allies in World War I, Albania became a monarchy under Italian protection in 1924 but was annexed by Rome in 1939. Communist resistance to Fascist rule under partisan leader Enver Hoxha led to the creation of a Socialist republic in 1946. Among the most totalitarian states of the Cold War era, Albania was kept isolated from the world—even the Soviet Union—until Hoxha's death in 1985 and the fall of communism in the Balkans in 1989 and 1990.

A 1998 rebellion by irredentist Albanians in Kosovo led to repression by the Serb government, which, in turn, resulted in a war against Belgrade in 1999, organized by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The repression and war saw hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians fleeing Kosovo for Albania and Macedonia, creating tensions there with the Macedonian majority. With Yugoslavia's surrender in June, 50,000 NATO troops were dispatched to Kosovo, even as the Serbian minority in the province was largely driven out by Albanian nationalists.

James Ciment

See also Islam; Italian Empire; Ottoman Empire; Serbia; World War I; World War II

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Alexander II (1818–1881)

Alexander II of Russia (r. 1855–1881), oldest son of Nicholas I, was groomed for the throne. He helped supervise Russian military schools and undertook diplomatic missions for his father, including a trip to Siberia (1837–1838). He also helped Russia fend off the revolutionary repercussions of events in midcentury Europe. As czar, Alexander ended Russia's involvement in the Crimean War and then began a series of political and social reforms, known collectively as the Great Reforms. These measures included the emancipation of the serfs, for which Alexander earned the title "czar-liberator." Other reforms modernized local government, the judiciary, and the military. However, not all of his reforms were liberal. Although the inviolability of Finnish institutions was reaffirmed in 1859, the Poles were subjected to a campaign of Russification in 1863, designed to strip them of cultural and political autonomy. Alexander was assassinated by terrorists on March 1, 1881.

Under Alexander, Russia divested itself of its North American holdings. It sold Alaska to the United States in 1867 and abandoned its exploration of the Pacific. Instead, the empire concentrated on expanding into Central and East Asia. The Khanates of Kokand, Bokhara, and Khiva were annexed between 1865 and 1876. In 1881, Russia acquired the remainder of the Trans-Caspian region. In the east, treaties with China in 1858 and 1860 ceded to Russia large territories in the Amur-Ussuri region, and in 1875, Russia acquired Sakhalin Island from Japan in return for its Kurile Island holdings.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Alaska; China; Russian Empire

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Algeciras Conference

The 1906 Algeciras Conference was called by the sultan of Morocco at the request of Germany and France after Germany had reported the French monopolistic intentions vis-à-vis the Moroccan economy. The conference took place in Algeciras, Spain, between January 16 and April 7 and was

12 Algeria

attended by representatives of Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, the United States, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and Morocco. The conference confirmed the independence and integrity of the Cherifien Moroccan empire. It also established that the area should be equally open to all countries for commercial and financial purposes, and France's special rights over Morocco were acknowledged. Spain, willing to enter Morocco "in a pacific way," made a secret partnership with France. Madrid also accepted France and Britain's secret agreement to consolidate their shared privileged position in Morocco. The main points of the agreement referred to the Moroccan police, who were to be organized under the authority of the sultan while Moroccan troops were to be trained by Spanish and French officials and placed under the supervision of a Swiss official resident in Tanger. Moreover, the agreement founded the Bank of the State in Morocco (presided over by a French official), and it established that European residents were obliged to pay the so-called *tertib*, or system, tax. Under this agreement, France was to be in charge of patrolling the border between Morocco and Algeria, and Spain received both recognition of its domains in the Rif region and the control of the ports of Larache, Tétouan, and Tanger, the latter shared with France. The bombing and occupation of Casablanca by France on August 5, 1907, rendered the Algeciras Act moot.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also French Empire; German Empire; Morocco

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Algeria

Conquered over the course of its history by Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, and Moors, the area that would come to comprise much of modern Algeria fell under the Ottoman Empire in 1518. A French colonial interest in the area began in 1830 and continued apace over the next several decades until France controlled most of the region. Sporadic rebellions against colonial rule occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the French retaliating by confiscating many of the

richest, most fertile lands and granting them to an expanding settler population, known as the *colons* or *pied noirs* (black feet). Algeria ultimately came to be seen not so much as a colonial possession but as an integral part of metropolitan France itself—a concept fueled, in part, by an expanding population of about 1 million colons, who exerted a huge influence not only on the administration of Algeria but also in French politics.

The fall of France in the summer of 1940 and the November 1942 Allied landings in Algeria stoked nationalist ferment, even though at the time Vichy and, later, Free French authorities in Algeria rejected concessions to Algerian nationalists. The final Algerian revolt against the French began on November 1, 1954, when the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) launched what would become the first sustained struggle against European rule in Africa. A violent and savage war ensued. The French-Algerian War (1954–1962) was a major event in the modern history of decolonization. It stirred deep feelings not only in Algeria and France but also throughout Africa, the Middle East, and much of the Third World, where it galvanized nationalist movements. Independence came on March 18, 1962, but Algeria was left a war-torn, impoverished nation, with the number of Algerian dead estimated to be anywhere from 250,000 to 1 million. In addition, perhaps as many as 2 million people were left homeless, which would have profound consequences for the future of the new state.

Christopher D. Sullivan

See also Decolonization; de Gaulle, Charles; Fanon, Frantz; French Empire; Ottoman Empire; World War II

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Ali, Muhammad (d. 1848)

Was Muhammad Ali "that Albanian tyrant" or the "father of modern of Egypt"? Historians argue this point, but most agree Muhammad Ali played an important role in Egyptian history. As regards colonialism, he was the architect of a large, albeit short-lived, Egyptian empire. Although a self-described "Ottoman gentleman," Muhammad Ali was born Albanian. He worked as a merchant before entering the more lucrative field of soldiering.

Joining a battalion of mercenaries, he arrived in Egypt, took advantage of turmoil following the 1789 French invasion, and rapidly rose to power. By 1805, a reluctant Ottoman government appointed him *wali* (viceroy), recognizing his de facto control of Egypt. Muhammad Ali viewed a centralized government and a powerful military machine as the twin pillars of the state. He supported innovation and the importation of Western ideas, where such might enhance his control. His long-term goals centered on the creation of a dynasty and an Egyptian empire.

At first, all seemed possible, as his Western-style army marched into Arabia, Syria, and the Sudan. Although a European coalition forced him to disgorge his Middle Eastern conquests, north-east Africa remained part of his Egyptian empire. There, Muhammad Ali directed forays into areas as far apart as central Sudan and Eritrea. Originally looking for gold, the Egyptian conquistadores generated state revenues mainly from the trade in slaves and ivory. More important, Muhammad Ali's strategies focused Egyptian energies on the Sudan. This became Egypt's major colony and attracted considerable attention from every subsequent ruler until Egyptian administration came to an end in 1885 with the arrival of the British.

John P. Dunn

See also Egypt; French Empire; Ottoman Empire; Sudan

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Allenby, Edmund (1861–1936)

Field Marshal and First Viscount of Megiddo, Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby was a British military leader and statesman who contributed significantly to his country's imperial policy in South Africa and the Middle East. He was also the first European commander to capture Jerusalem since the Crusades.

Edmund Allenby was born on April 23, 1861, in a family estate at Brackenhurst, Nottinghamshire, England. After repeatedly failing to enter the Indian Civil Service between 1878 and

1880, Allenby graduated from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst (1882) and entered military service as a cavalry officer. He served in the Sudan in 1884 and 1885 and participated in military expeditions in Bechuanaland and Zululand in South Africa. During South Africa's Boer War of 1899–1902, Major Allenby commanded a mobile cavalry column in the advance on Bloemfontein and acquired a reputation in the British army for his skills in protecting convoys and operations against the local guerrillas.

Promoted to major general, Allenby took various commanding cavalry assignments after 1902 and served in France during World War I. In June 1917, he was sent to Egypt to take command of the British Expeditionary Force.

Allenby's organizational and command skills and his energy did much to transform British, Australian, New Zealand, and Indian contingents into a formidable striking force. From October 1917 to September 1918, the British and imperial troops under Allenby won a succession of victories over the Turks in Palestine, including the capture of Jerusalem on December 9, 1917.

During the Palestine campaign, Allenby supported the irregular raids against the Ottomans made by the Arabs under Thomas E. Lawrence, also known as Lawrence of Arabia. The spectacular victory at Megiddo (in September 1918) allowed the British and the Lawrence-led forces of the sheriff of Mecca to capture Syria, including Damascus and Aleppo. These victories contributed significantly to the final defeat of Turkey.

Allenby was knighted in the middle of the war and thereafter received other awards as well as being raised to the peerage and promoted to field marshal. From 1919 through 1925, as a high commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, Allenby showed both tact and firmness in dealing with the rising nationalist aspirations of the local population. As a chief British proconsul in the Middle East, he tried to stay apart from local political and religious strife and animosities, concentrating on the key imperial interests in the region.

Allenby contributed a great deal to Egypt's transformation from British protectorate to formal independence (1922), while at the same time preserving British defense and communication assets there. Nevertheless, he was unable to escape completely involvement in Egypt's volatile



Field Marshal Edmund Allenby leads British troops through Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate in 1917. The British seized the city and surrounding Palestine from the Ottoman Empire during World War I. (Library of Congress)

domestic affairs. In 1923, he was rather successful in promoting the parliamentary regime in the country. But after the governor-general of the Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was murdered in Cairo in

1924, Allenby decided to put on a large-scale show of force and enact punitive measures without waiting for instructions from London. His actions sparked much controversy in Egypt as well as in

Britain and finally forced him to resign. Edmund Allenby died in London on May 14, 1936.

Peter Rainow

See also Bechuanaland; Boer War; British Empire; Egypt; Lawrence, Thomas Edward; Ottoman Empire; South Africa; Sudan; Syria; World War I

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Alsace-Lorraine

Alsace-Lorraine (known in earlier times as Lotharingia, Bas-Rhin, and Haut-Rhin) is a German province located between the Vosges Mountains and the upper Rhine River. Germans, Gauls, and Celts had occupied the area prior to the takeover by the Romans in 56 B.C.E. In fact, by the first century C.E., over half of the families there had Celtic surnames. Under Roman rule, Alsatians adapted their cultural traditions and government to fit Roman guidelines.

Long after the Fall of Rome, the French gained control of the area. The first French intendent, Colbert de Croissy, arrived in 1662. Bourbon kings may have owned Alsace-Lorraine, but they gave Alsatians political and ecclesiastical control. Huguenot refugees thus sought freedom in Alsace after 1680. During the French Revolution, the people of Alsace-Lorraine developed their current political culture.

In 1871, Alsace-Lorraine became part of the German Empire. Provincial deputies openly protested this annexation whereas local town and rural leaders favored a regional vote on the issue, believing that they should have the right to accept or reject annexation based on the will of the people. Notwithstanding, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck mandated annexation without representation. A year later, about 50,000 people left Alsace for France, and thousands of Germans took their place. Working within the German political system, Alsatians gained the right to have legislative representatives. They also achieved the right to bilingual education and local control of taxation, law enforcement, and judges. Germany changed Alsace's status from one of a provincial territory to a state in 1918. Ironically, an Alsatian plebiscite

produced a result calling for the return of the area to France in that same year. Throughout history, though they were governed by French and German leaders, Alsatians persisted in seeing themselves as a distinct people.

Lauren Ann Kattner

See also French Empire; German Empire; War and Warfare

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American Revolution

The American Revolution, a conflict between the American colonies and Great Britain, was fought from 1774 to 1781 and resulted in the end of the first British Empire. It also challenged the political, economic, and legal foundations of colonialism. Employing John Locke's argument from *Two Treatises on Government*, the colonists contended that a long train of abuses committed by King George III and Parliament had created a situation in which the contract between the people and the government had been breached. The loss of American lives, liberty, and property required the formation of a new form of government based not on the arbitrary rule of a hereditary monarch but on the consent of the people. Thomas Paine, in *Common Sense*, argued that the violations of traditional English rights and liberties required the colonists to separate from the homeland to rectify the situation.

The primary source of tension between Parliament and the colonists involved a series of acts, passed between 1763 and 1775, that placed economic restrictions on Americans. Although the Navigation Acts had been in effect since the rule of Oliver Cromwell, opposition to the authority of Parliament remained dormant until the passage of a series of measures designed specifically to benefit the British government at the expense of the colonies. The much hated Stamp Act, which placed a duty on items ranging from legal documents (such as marriage and death certificates) to playing



A group of colonists in Boston burn stamps in August 1764 in opposition to the Stamp Act, which required that official stamps be purchased and placed on documents and other items. The British imposed the taxes to help pay the costs of defending the colonies. (Library of Congress)

cards and dice, encouraged resistance. Colonial reaction forced Parliament to repeal the measure—but not without passing the Declaratory Act, a measure that reaffirmed the authority of Parliament to legislate over the colonies in all cases. In 1767, the British government also passed the Townshend Duties, placing a tax on essential products such as glass, lead, paper, paints, and tea. The colonists responded by initiating a policy of nonimportation, and economic pressure forced the removal of all of the duties except that on tea. The East India Tea Company received a monopoly to sell tea in the colonies at a low price that included a parliamentary tax, forcing the colonists to boycott the product in order to support their demand for no taxation without representation. After the Boston Tea Party, the British government disbanded the Massachusetts legislature, an act that raised suspicions and doubts about the future form of government in the other twelve colonies. Another boycott of British goods resulted in the passage of the Prohibitory Act, designed to force the American colonies into submission. The continued economic and political coercion exercised by Parliament against the colonists resulted in the calling of a continental congress, a move that led to a declaration of independence the following year. Thomas Jefferson stated the legal reasoning behind the forced separation of the homeland and the colonies. He argued that the contract between the people and the government had been violated and that a new system of government, composed of free and independent states, had to replace the former colonial administration. The legal argument set forth in the Declaration of Independence set an example for subjugated peoples around the world as they, too, pursued freedom over the course of the next two centuries.

Cynthia Northrup

See also British Empire; George III; Locke, John

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Americans, Native

Colonization radically altered the political organizations, social relations, and worldviews of indige-

nous peoples throughout North America. Initially, many European nations established colonies on this continent; later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, two North American nations—the United States and Canada—extended and refined colonial strategies and imperial projects as settler states.

Native Americans are commonly taken to be a single people with a common cultural heritage, but this conception is itself a colonial by-product. Historically, several hundred distinct peoples lived in North America, speaking nearly as many languages. They displayed great diversity in economic, political, and social organization: some foraged, and others farmed; some were deeply egalitarian, others were highly stratified; some founded confederacies rooted in democratic ideals, and others forged centralized chieftainships.

In spite of this diversity, Native Americans have a common experience of colonialism. Europeans and, later, Euroamericans dispossessed indigenous peoples, appropriating lands and resources as they assembled empires and nations. Individuals and institutions sought to secure these ends through both the eradication and the assimilation of Native Americans. On the one hand, indigenous communities endured disease and massive depopulation, military campaigns, loss of autonomy, forced removal, and resulting social problems. On the other hand, an array of policies and projects—most notably missionaries, compulsory education, economic dependence, legislation prohibiting traditional practices, and citizenship—were designed to incorporate and absorb Native Americans. Oddly, indigenous peoples have always figured prominently as imagined icons, central to efforts to formulate national identities, moral narratives, and social relations.

The latter half of the twentieth century witnessed a resurgence within Native America, marked by ethnic renewal, political activism, cultural revival, reassertions of treaty rights, and demands for cultural and political sovereignty. More than 500 years after Christopher Columbus arrived in the Americas, indigenous peoples remain marginal and subjugated, struggling against colonial legacies to define themselves and reclaim their dignity.

C. Richard King

18 Angola

See also Indian Wars

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Angola

Although formal colonialism did not commence in Angola until the 1890s (ending in 1975), the peoples of Angola began interacting with the Atlantic world in the 1480s when Portuguese navigators arrived. The Portuguese converted the king of the Kongo people to Catholicism, along with many of his subjects. However, rumors of silver mines in the interior and the growth of the slave trade soon led Lisbon to pursue a more aggressive policy. The Portuguese king granted Paulo Dias de Novais 140 miles of coast south of Kongo, with the right to conquer the interior. Dias founded Luanda in 1575 and launched wars of conquest that lasted until 1680. The Portuguese found no silver but gained

toeholds on the lower Kwanza River and the Malanje highlands.

Slaves were Angola's main export, followed by wax, ivory, and copper. The Portuguese sometimes raided for slaves but usually bought them from African states. Over time, the expansion of the slave trade destroyed some states but raised up others. Kongo, for example, grew during the first two centuries of the trade but declined in the seventeenth century. The Mbundu state of Ndongo rose with the slave trade but was destroyed in the seventeenth century, to be replaced by Kasanje. Farther east, the Lunda state became a major slave supplier in the eighteenth century. When the Europeans partitioned Africa, Portuguese claims to Angola were confirmed. However, armed resistance to Portuguese rule continued until 1930.

Formal colonization converted the Luanda Creoles into mere adjuncts to the new colonial masters and created other elites—both Mestizo (of mixed African and European descent) and African—who challenged Creole supremacy. In Luanda, a commer-



United Nations soldiers patrol the Angolan capital of Luanda in 1999. Angola, a Portuguese colony until 1975, was torn by civil war from independence until the early twenty-first century. (Associated Press)

cial and administrative Creole elite arose—Portuguese-speaking, mixed-race, Catholic, and cosmopolitan. Traders acting on behalf of this elite bought slaves at markets in the interior.

Under colonial rule, Africans were legally compelled to work. They could become farmers in the colonial economy or hire themselves out as laborers to Portuguese concerns, the most successful of which were coffee plantations in the Kongo area. The Ovimbundu of central Angola had to seek employment on the coffee plantations, since their home area could not sustain their large population. Those Kongo who did not toil as farm laborers sought work in the Belgian Congo. Some became substantial in business and in plantation agriculture.

Colonial rule reinforced the gap between the Creoles of Luanda and Africans of the interior. As the Portuguese-speaking Catholic Creoles lost ground to the new colonial elites, they sought to maintain their superior status by stressing the traits that set them apart from other Angolans. Inland, influences from foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries and from the other colonies where many worked outweighed influences from Luanda. Each of the first generation of nationalist leaders—Agostinho Neto, Holden Roberto, and Jonas Savimbi—came from Protestant mission schools. The first two liberation movements—Roberto's Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) and Neto's Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA)—represented the interests of the Kongo elites of the north and those of the Luanda Creoles and their Mbundu allies, respectively. The FNLA considered the MPLA disconnected from the "real" Africa, even though some MPLA leaders were black Africans. The third movement, Savimbi's União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) represented the Ovimbundu, Angola's largest ethnic group at 37 percent of the population, which was underrepresented among educated Angolans.

Thomas Turner

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Cold War; Lunda; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; South Africa; War and Warfare

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Animism

The term *animism*, derived from the Latin *anima*, meaning "soul" or "breath," is applied to beliefs that attribute a soul or spirit to everything in nature: animate or inanimate. For the animist, prayer is addressed to spirits rather than gods, and ancestor worship is prominent. The dead are believed to remain among the living and communicate with them through dreams and possession. Animistic religions aim to placate spirits through a wide variety of rituals. Prevalent are rites connected with basic human needs: a good harvest, fertility, and health.

Evidence of animistic beliefs long held by human beings has been found on all continents. And though a vast majority of people now are affiliated with theistic religions, they have not necessarily discarded animistic beliefs. In part because of the influence of colonial conversions, people may turn to Judeo-Christian faiths or Islam when seeking answers to metaphysical questions yet consider organized religions irrelevant when it comes to problems of everyday life. Influenced by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor's 1871 study *Primitive Culture*, many scholars once held that animism represented a primitive, or lower, belief system, which was superseded by more advanced, higher religions. Many now question this view as an artifact of a colonial mentality and, not infrequently, a racist judgment.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Christianity; Islam

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Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism

Although the term *colonialism* overlaps *imperialism*, the latter is a much wider concept. Imperial relationships have been pervasive throughout history, whereas colonialism has arisen as an exception

Die
Rechte des Menschen.

Zweiter Theil.

Worin

Grundsatz und Ausübung

verbunden sind.

Von

Thomas Paine,

Secretair der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten bei dem Congress
während des Amerikanischen Krieges und Verfasser
des Werks, betitelt **Common Sense.**

Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.



THOMAS PAINE.

Zweyte Auflage.

Kopenhagen 1793.

Bey Christian Gottlob Probst, Sohn und Comp.

One of the earliest and most articulate anticolonial exponents was Thomas Paine, a radical British printer who migrated to the American colonies in the 1770s and supported both the American and French Revolutions. His freedom-extolling Rights of Man pamphlet has been translated into numerous languages, including German. (Library of Congress)

resulting in a form of conquest, if the term is limited to the issue of control over territorial areas. (Imperial economics or the colonization of certain economies is another question.) The notion of modern colonialism implies a domination of an external power over an indigenous population and its territory. The colonial power subjugates so-called peripheral societies. Thus, for historian Jurgen Osterhammel (1997), “*Colonialism* is a relationship of domination between an indigenous . . . majority and a minority of foreign invaders.” The colonial power considers itself superior and imposes the rules, decisions, and conditions under which the colonized lived. Though imperialism refers to relationships of domination and subjugation to a metropolitan center, it does not necessarily involve the acquisition of colonies. Despite these distinctions, however, the terms *colonialism* and *imperialism* are often ambiguous and used interchangeably.

In the modern era, anticolonialism and anti-imperialism have existed from the first encounters of Europeans with the non-European world. Anticolonial movements rose up in response to the European colonial states; British North American colonies sought independence to decolonize themselves from the British Empire. In turn, Native Americans resisted the colonization process of America’s westward expansion. At the other extreme, some would argue that the protests outside the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle in 1999 constituted a form of anti-imperialism.

Marc Ferro has pointed out that many histories of colonization ignored the anticolonial protests, creating a legend of legitimacy and a somewhat benign intervention. These traditional histories, “drawn from the archives,” frequently disregarded the indigenous perspective, especially if there were no written records of this perspective. However, anticolonialism was present in Bartolomé de Las Casas’s narratives against Spanish rule in the Caribbean, in the Quaker movements against slavery and the nationalist movements of the twentieth century, and in the writings and rhetoric of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Emilio Aguinaldo, José Martí, and Frantz Fanon. Thus, anticolonialism existed from the first encounters, to the violence on the frontiers of European expansion, to the resistance to colonial occupation, and through to the demise of European political power and territorial decolonization.

In the modern period, the process of decolonization passed through three broad phases, each inspired and led by anticolonial movements. First, there was the period after 1776 and U.S. decolonization through to the decolonization of the Spanish American territories in the 1820s. Second, there was the phase that saw the conversion of the settled colonies into states and dominions in Canada. Third, there was the period from the Irish home rule movement culminating in 1922 through to the decolonization of Asia and Africa, which followed World War II. Writers and activists such as Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Simón Bolívar helped inspire this anticolonialism. These individuals had long-lasting influences even though, in the case of Jefferson, the United States itself became a colonial power at the close of the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, the writings of J. A. Hobson, Vladimir Lenin, and President Woodrow Wilson inspired nationalist movements across the globe.

Many factors are pertinent in the processes of decolonization. Apart from imperial defense and economic interests, there are, among others, the leadership, strength, and goals of the anticolonial movements and the influence of anticolonial powers such as the United States and the Soviet Union. The nationalist movements in India led by Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, the efforts in Indochina led by Ho Chi Minh, and the individual movements across Africa should be given primary importance. And leaders and adherents in several of these movements looked to Washington or Moscow for moral support. The ambiguous support offered by the superpowers was tempered by Cold War conditions. Ultimately, the Non-Aligned Movement, seeking a third path through the Cold War, called for a quick end to colonialism in 1955.

Self-determination and nationalism became key concepts in the anticolonial movements through the twentieth century. The primary functions of the colonial state were to maintain order and sustain the credibility and prestige of the colonizer, vis-à-vis not only the indigenous populations but also its colonial rivals. But colonial rule was increasingly seen as illegitimate in the age of global nationalism. In addition, the concepts of nation and nationhood were frequently part of an “invented tradition” that did not exist prior to the unification of the colony during the process of colonization.

World War II profoundly affected the European colonial grip on Asia and Africa. Anticolonial movements were inspired by Japan's relatively easy defeat of the European powers in Southeast Asia early on in the war. However, it soon became clear that Japan's occupation was no less colonial, even if its rule was not so all-encompassing. Thus, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism became key features of twentieth-century world history.

Today, as Jurgen Osterhammel has remarked, the period of colonialism may be at an end, but the postcolonial period still maintains forms of exploitation and manipulation. Anti-imperialism continues to characterize the twenty-first-century activist movements against the global economic systems. In time, these may be seen as movements against what Kwame Nkrumah called neocolonialism—the direction of economic systems from metropolitan financial centers.

David Ryan

See also Aguinaldo, Emilio; Fanon, Frantz; Gandhi, Mohandas; Hobson, John; Jefferson, Thomas; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Martí, José; Nehru, Jawaharlal; Nkrumah, Kwame; Wilson, Woodrow; World War II

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Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism is a virulent form of prejudice directed specifically against Jews. However, the term *anti-Semitism* is misleading and illogical. It is applied only to prejudice against Jews, but its root word, *Semite*, refers generally to speakers of Semitic languages, which includes Arabs. Although anti-Semitism is an ancient phenomenon, modern anti-Semitism differs from ancient pagan or Christian prejudices against Jews. Ancient anti-Semites legalized discrimination on the basis of religious differences. Modern anti-Semites, by contrast, have tended to regard religious intolerance or persecution as medieval; thus, they have justified prejudice against Jews on the basis of pseudoscientific criteria such as culture, econom-

ics, ethnicity, and politics. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, anti-Semites throughout Europe encouraged violence against Jews and the erosion of Jewish legal equality by shifting their prejudice from religious considerations to the allegedly objective characteristics of Jews as an ethnic group. Anti-Semitic images of Jews often involved stereotypes portraying them as obsessed with money and involved in international conspiracies, as well as contradictory notions of the Jew as both controlling and subverting the world order. An example of this was *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1895), a forgery disseminated by the Russian secret police that purported to outline a Jewish plan for world domination.

The advent of the Zionist movement, in part a nationalistic response by Jews to Europe's increasing anti-Semitism, coincided with the great rush of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century imperialism. Zionists competed directly against the local Arab population for the same land, and many Arabs, not only in Palestine but also throughout the Arab world, soon equated Zionism with colonialism and employed many of the anti-Semitic stereotypes that their European counterparts had used. European colonialism created a new Arab anti-Semitism with images of the Jew as obsessed with money and world domination—stereotypes that, although linked to images in Arab culture, were not indigenous to the Arab world.

Eric D. Pullin

See also Judaism; Zionism

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Apartheid

Literally meaning “separateness” in the Afrikaans language, the word *apartheid* refers to a philosophy of racial division that became the official policy of South Africa following the 1948 election that brought the National Party to power. Under the leadership of Prime Minister D. F. Malan and with philosophical underpinning from Boer nationalist

thinker Hendrik Verwoerd, apartheid came to dominate political, social, and even economic life in the country for almost half a century.

Although not a part of the legal structures of the state until after 1948, the philosophies of racial separation in South Africa had a long history. From the establishment of Cape Town as a refreshment station supporting the Dutch quest for colonial routes to Asia, European residents in southern Africa saw themselves as destined to be the rulers of the African populations among whom they lived. This meant the Africans would need to be kept at arm's length, although they also would be quite intimately involved with their supposed European masters. One result of this intimacy was the creation of a mixed-race, or "Coloured," community; another was a clear competition for the land that supported all these communities.

The resulting difficult relationships remained much the same until the nineteenth century, when the vast resource potential of South Africa became clear with the discovery of gold and diamonds. Thus, from the late nineteenth century forward, the social and political struggles for power took on an even more decidedly economic turn. And with the virtual independence of South Africa from British colonial control in 1911, the struggles intensified. Throughout the twentieth century, even under a union government of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking politicians, the position of Africans within South Africa deteriorated. But only after 1948 were these trends codified in a fully discriminatory legal system.

Transforming the long-standing social mores and racist philosophies into a coherent legal system was largely the work of a former sociology professor and editor, Hendrik Verwoerd. Although defeated for election in 1948, he was appointed to various political positions by Prime Minister Malan, and he constantly worked toward the goal of creating a segregated state. Among the great variety of legal provisions that came to underlie the system, the most infamous were the pass laws, intended to control the movements of Africans throughout the country. However, perhaps the most significant was the Bantu Education Act (1953), which placed complete control of African education under Verwoerd as minister of Bantu affairs. Thereafter, the African educational system became a focal point for resistance to apartheid.

And it was from the schools that many of the protests arose that were to lead to the destruction of apartheid and the final achievement of democratic majority rule in the 1990s.

Melvin E. Page

See also Afrikaans; Cape Town; Diamonds; Gold; Mining; Racism; South Africa

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Arab League

The Arab League, the more commonly used name for the officially titled League of Arab States, was founded in Cairo on March 22, 1945. The main goal of the organizers—which included Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan (from 1949, Jordan), and Yemen—was the promotion of political, economic, social, and cultural cooperation among Arabic-speaking countries. At the same time, the organization sought to end European colonial rule in the Arab world. Indeed, at the time of the league's origin, two of the founding members—Transjordan and Syria—remained under British and French rule, respectively.

For much of the modern era—since the sixteenth century—virtually all of the Arab-speaking world was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic entity controlled by the Turks. As that empire weakened in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, increasingly large areas of the Arab world were seized by European colonial powers, notably Britain in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula and France in North Africa. Although both London and Paris promised their Arab allies independence after World War I—in exchange for Arab support in the war against the Ottoman Empire—this was not granted. Instead, much of the Middle East was divided into British- and French-ruled League of Nations mandates.

World War II, however, further weakened European rule in the Arab world. In 1942, Nuri al-Sa'id, the British-backed prime minister of Iraq, put forward a plan for a single Arab nation to be created out of the European mandates of the Levant, including Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Transjordan. These areas would be linked to Iraq in an Arab league, which would then encourage other

24 Arabian-American Oil Company

states to join. The idea was picked up by the Egyptian prime minister Nahhas Pasha, who organized a conference at Alexandria in late 1944. This conference resulted in the Alexandria Declaration, establishing the Arab League the following year.

Although the league never, of course, achieved its goal of politically unifying the Arab world, it did establish a number of institutions for economic coordination. And through the league, its members were able to speak in a single voice against both European colonialism in the region and the creation of Israel. Indeed, much of the Arab League's time and energy since the 1950s has been directed toward defending Palestinian rights, and it was largely responsible for the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In addition, in the field of anticolonial struggle, the Arab League helped ease the transition to independence for a number of European colonies in the Arab world and was instrumental in providing support to the Algerian National Liberation Front in its war for independence from France between 1954 and 1962.

James Ciment

See also Algeria; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Egypt; French Empire; Iraq; Israel; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; World War I; World War II

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Arabian-American Oil Company

In 1933, Standard Oil of California (later Chevron) negotiated exclusive rights to oil production in Saudi Arabia and established the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company (or Casoc) in partnership with Texaco. Saudi king Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud granted this concession to strengthen his control over Arabia (gained in 1927) by repaying debts and stabilizing the economy, which relied on spending by Islamic pilgrims. The concession provided short-term gains for the Saudis, but it held advantages for Casoc similar to those of a colonial relationship. Casoc struck oil in 1938, and by 1940, it built production, transport, and refinery facilities, mainly at Ras Tanura on the Persian Gulf, as

well as an American-style settlement for expatriate workers, Dhahran. Production nearly ceased during World War II.

During the war, the increasing importance of Middle Eastern oil led President Franklin Roosevelt—encouraged by Casoc executives—to financially support the kingdom in order to guarantee long-term access to its massive oil reserves. Conversely, Saud allowed access only to U.S. companies, excluding British and French interests. Thus, in 1948, the Arabian-American Oil Company (or Aramco, as Casoc was renamed in 1944), expanded to include Standard Oil of New Jersey (later Exxon) and Standard Oil of New York (later Mobil), and President Harry Truman pledged continued support to Saudi Arabia. Aramco profited greatly in the postwar period as the U.S. demand for oil mushroomed, benefiting the U.S. government (through taxes) more than the Saudi government (through royalties).

U.S. support of Israel, increased nationalization of oil production in some countries (especially Venezuela), and the influence of anticolonial sentiments led Saud to renegotiate the concession in 1950, guaranteeing a fifty-fifty split of profits between Aramco and the Saudi government. Subsequent Saudi kings demanded increasing shares of the profits in response to various events, including Iran's nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951 and the 1967 and 1973 Israeli-Arab wars. Finally, in 1976, Saudi king Khalid bin Abdul Aziz and oil minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani canceled Aramco's concession, nationalizing the company.

Chris S. Duvall

See also Petroleum; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Saudi Arabia

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Arawak

Also known as the Taino-Arawak, this now extinct Amerindian group lived in the Caribbean Basin prior to Spanish conquest and colonization in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The Arawak population spanned the Greater and Lesser Antilles, as well as the Windward and Leeward Island chains. Reaching as far north as the Bahamas and as far south as the southern coast of

Brazil, the Arawak were most likely the largest pre-Columbian indigenous population (an estimated 2 to 3 million) in the Caribbean.

Pre-Columbian Arawakan society was simple and self-sufficient. One of the least aggressive groups in the Caribbean, this agricultural society maintained itself through the production of cassava (*yuca*), potatoes, beans, peanuts, peppers, and arrowroot. The Arawak supplemented their diet by fishing but only as a means of adding variety. Their religion was animistic in character, based on a hierarchical system of gods and spirits who were represented within nature. Arawakan political structure consisted of a network of chiefdoms, each with a *cacique* (chief) who presided over village rites and ceremonies. The cacique's other duties included settling village disputes, organizing communal labor, and requisitioning military support against hostile neighboring groups such as the Caribs. The position of cacique was matrilineal in nature, as a leader was replaced by his sister's eldest son. If none was available, the village chose a replacement. Arawakan society was also known for its pottery, weaving, wood carvings, and basic metallurgical skills.

The Arawak people's rapid and virtual disappearance by the early sixteenth century was a result of Spanish conquest and colonization. The Arawak welcomed the early Spanish explorers, sharing food and supplies. Friend soon became foe, however, as the conquistadores manipulated and used the Arawak for their own ends. Limited food supplies, weak caciques, manipulation, enslavement, and the introduction of European epidemic diseases all combined to destroy Arawakan society within a century. Those that did not perish were absorbed by neighboring Amerindian groups. Nonetheless, the Arawak still left their mark on the Caribbean and South American colonies through the obvious cultural exchanges of food, clothing, religious ideologies, and language that took place between these two worlds.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Spanish Empire

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Architecture

The architecture of the colonial era is a broad subject, but it is possible to approach the topic by differentiating between buildings in colonies where the colonists were demographically insignificant (as in West Africa and on the Indian subcontinent) and buildings in the settler colonies (such as New Zealand, Australia, and the Americas).

In settler colonies, colonial architecture was often a nostalgic attempt to (re)capture some of the familiarity of the “old” world. Early-nineteenth-century settlers preferred to build in stone, and they modeled their new buildings on European precedents. The stone store in Kerikeri, Northland, built in 1833 by William Parrot, was one of the first colonial buildings in New Zealand, and it continues to be used as a retail store today. After the Wellington earthquake in 1855, most buildings were constructed in timber. Timber buildings were lighter and performed better in earthquakes; they were also cheaper to build.

Neoclassical and gothic details and styles popular in Europe were often replicated on public buildings. However, stone masonry details, such as quoin blocks on corners, were often replicated, even though they were completely unnecessary, in timber construction.

The government buildings in Wellington, New Zealand—for many years the largest timber complex in the Southern Hemisphere—were built in 1876 to give the appearance of Georgian stone buildings. These structures and New Zealand's first parliament were both designed by William Clayton, the first colonial architect in New Zealand. The close relationship between the architecture in the settler colony and the buildings in Europe was not surprising, given that Clayton was trained in Brussels and had worked in London under the English architect Sir John Rennie for a number of years.

In African countries such as Kenya and South Africa, which had smaller settler communities, public and domestic architecture was often influenced by styles derived from the European home

countries of the colonists. In Eritrea, examples of buildings designed in stately Italianate styles can still be found in Asmara, and in Mozambique, many of the public buildings were based on architectural styles that were popular in Portugal and Spain.

However, a very different approach was taken in West African and Indian colonies with a demographically insignificant settler population. Although public structures housing the judiciary and other government offices continued to be built in neoclassical and gothic styles, this trend was not reflected in the domestic colonial architecture. The new dwellings for settlers initiated an architectural dialogue that is perhaps best typified by the humble bungalow. The name *bungalow* has its roots in the Gujarati and Hindi words *bangalo* and *bangla*, meaning “of or belonging to Bengal.” Typified by its wide verandas, the bungalow was a building that worked well in warmer climates. No European neoclassical and gothic architectural styles or details were used to adorn the walls of the bungalow. Rather, these buildings were constructed using simple techniques and materials and had only a limited number of decorative details.

The *bangla* eventually evolved into a structure that, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, became one of the most popular building types in the world. The dialogue between the indigenous and the colonial also had a significant impact on modern architecture. Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier, the two most influential architects of the twentieth century, were affected in different ways by this dialogue. Wright’s Prairie houses borrowed heavily from the architectural vocabulary of the bungalow. Le Corbusier, by contrast, was also influenced by traditional African architecture and sculpture. The plasticity evident in buildings such as his chapel at Ronchamp, France, reflects this African influence.

One of the earliest examples of colonial architecture in West Africa can be found in Accra, Ghana. The nearby Fort São Jorge da Mina, also known as Elmina, was built by the Portuguese in 1482. This fort was captured by the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century and finally sold to the British toward the end of the nineteenth century.

Although the approach to colonial architecture differed, indigenous methods of construction and inhabitation were similar. Thus, the indigenous ar-

chitecture in the Pacific had much in common with precolonial buildings in West Africa. For example, striking similarities exist between the indigenous meetinghouses, or *marae*, built by the Maori of New Zealand and the ancestral homes, or *ulo-ogo*, built by the Igbo in southeastern Nigeria. Both types of buildings are anthropomorphic, in the sense that they are perceived as living ancestors. In the *marae*, the ridgepole represents the ancestor’s spine, the rafters make up the ribs, the bargeboards the arms. In short, as people enter the *whare whakiro*, they join the ancestor. Very similar anthropomorphic references were made in ancestral homes in Arochukwu or in Mbari shrines in Owerri, Nigeria; for instance, the columns of the shrines were referred to as eyes.

After colonization, both the Maori and the Igbo began building with new materials. Although the idea of the *marae* has remained unchanged over the years, the way they are constructed is substantially different today. In Igboland, similar changes have occurred, and houses are now constructed predominantly in concrete.

The idea of the traditional ancestral home continues to exist, but the domestic approaches to architecture have completely changed. The house in Igboland was traditionally built as clusters of rooms surrounded by a compound wall, and the relationship between space and function remained flexible. With colonization, however, the idea of the compound often gave way to the idea of a unitary house. Frequently, new houses were built in the Brazilian style—a style with Spanish and Portuguese references established in Nigeria by Brazilians who had repatriated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The bungalow was also very influential, and many postcolonial houses have been built in that style.

Uche Isichei

See also Art

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Argentina

The land that became Argentina has been colonial in name and nature since its founding. Portuguese ex-

plorer Diego de Soliz, employed by the Spanish Crown, discovered the great Atlantic estuary and the River Plate in 1516. By the 1550s, Spaniards crossing the Andes established permanent settlements between the rapidly expanding silver mines in Potosí and the Plate region that was placed under the direct rule of the viceroy of Peru in 1563. Following their traditional paradigm, the Spaniards proclaimed their legal rights based on the authority of the Spanish Crown, established the church, and distributed Indian labor in *encomiendas*, or labor trusteeships, a colonial model that persisted for 300 years.

The motivation and inspiration for independence in Argentina grew out of overregulation, oppressive taxation, social discrimination, and Spain's general refusal to accept the ideas of a new age. On May 22, 1810, the *cabildo abierto* (city council) of Buenos Aires removed the viceroy and vested power in a governing junta. In 1811, the junta was disbanded in favor of a triumvirate, the first of numerous attempts to establish a workable government. Political instability and regional warfare persisted through the formal declaration of independence in 1817 and the drafting of the first constitution in 1818, which provinces beyond Buenos Aires refused to accept, considering it too centrist. Internal conflict persisted for another dozen years until the dictator Juan Manuel Rosas took control and ruled from 1829 to 1852.

In the late nineteenth century, European interest in Argentina's agrarian resources attracted foreign investment and massive immigration, which, along with increased technology, appeared to usher in an economic and social revolution. However, Argentina did not alter its fundamental identity, and its colonial structures were invariably refashioned rather than transcended. Throughout the twentieth century, Argentina retained many features of a colonial society; Buenos Aires dominated the interior provinces, and dependence on imported goods and foreign capital continued. Argentine elites maintained political control, and the middle class functioned as a "client" rather than as a capitalist bourgeoisie. Despite periods of economic expansion, a relatively high standard of living, and social and political stability, Argentina failed to forge new, self-sustaining links and continued to suffer from periodic severe political stresses and breakdowns.

Sandra Allen Henson

See also Buenos Aires; Spanish Empire

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Armenia

Armenia originally encompassed three lakes—Lake Van, Lake Urmia, and Lake Sevan. King Artashes fought for and achieved Armenian independence in 189 B.C.E. Tigran the Great (95–55 B.C.E.) established an Armenian kingdom that stretched from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean, but his kingdom was later destroyed by the Romans. In 62 C.E., the Parthians came to power in Armenia. Persia had jurisdiction over the Parthians from 387 until 428. In 428, the kingdom was abolished and Armenia was integrated into the Kingdom of Persia. In 387, the Romans and Persians divided Armenia between themselves (one-fifth Roman, four-fifths Persian). The Arabians invaded Armenia around the middle of the seventh century. The Armenians were again granted their own kingdom under the rule of Aschot I (886–891). But the kingdom soon collapsed into many dominions, and they succumbed to Byzantium and the Seljuks in the eleventh century. A large part of the population fled to Cilicia, where the Rubenid dynasty established its own kingdom (Armenia Minor) in 1080. The Egyptian Mamluks destroyed the Kingdom of Armenia Minor in 1375. Northern Armenia was incorporated into Georgia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the thirteenth century, the Mongols conquered northern Armenia.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, disputes arose between the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire over the control of northern Armenia. The Armenians appealed to Russia, which, under the rule of Catherine II, had continued to extend its kingdom toward the base of the Caucasus. In 1828, Russia gained control of the Chanat Erevan and Nakhichevan. After the military impasse between Russia and Turkey, many Armenians left Turkey and moved into Russian territory in 1829. In 1878, the Russians conquered Kars and surrounding Armenian settlements. Because the



Over a million Armenians, including the parents of these orphans boarding barges for Greece, were massacred by Ottoman Turks during World War I in what many consider the first European genocide of the twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

Turks did not abide by the terms of the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Armenians used secret societies and political parties to resist continued oppression. The Great Powers (Great Britain, France, and Russia) forced the so-called Armenian reforms on the Turks, but they did not use the Armenian reforms to intervene politically in favor of the Armenians.

In Asia Minor, a dreadful outbreak of ethnic hatred in 1895 and 1896 caused the deaths of 200,000 Armenians. The Armenians welcomed the turning point in the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, as did the radical nationalist Young Turks. The supporters of Sultan Abdülhamid II were again able to assert themselves against the Young Turks in 1909 but only temporarily. As a result, new and grievous attacks were launched against Armenians, especially in Adana. In 1915 and 1916, the Young Turks developed a plan for the strategic and methodical eradication of the Armenians. U.S. and German relief organizations were especially active in efforts to aid the victims. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, Kemal Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey, stymied plans to create an independent Armenian state—plans that ex-

iled Armenians actively supported. Once again, brutal persecutions occurred in Cilicia and elsewhere. After the withdrawal of the French, the Armenians had no choice but to completely vacate their east Turkish provinces. They were oppressed persistently in Russia as well. After the czarist politics of Russification, there was a short period of political autonomy, which was followed by the violent incorporation of Armenia into the Soviet Union in 1920. With the dismantling of the Soviet Union late in the twentieth century, Armenia regained its political independence. However, that independence was accompanied by severe military conflicts with the neighboring country of Azerbaijan, where recurrent persecutions of Armenians had taken place in the past.

Martin Tamcke

See also Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Congress of Berlin; Ottoman Empire; Soviet Union; Young Turks

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Art

The study of colonial art has undergone vast change since the 1980s. Previously, *colonial art* was considered a positive term, referring primarily to the art of settler colonies—those populated by a majority of European descent, with the indigenous population dispossessed—and especially to British colonial art. The main interest of past studies was how European styles were transplanted to the colonies. Today, however, the study of colonial art is much broader in scope and is closely allied to colonial and postcolonial studies in history, sociology, and literature. Recent investigations of all forms of colonial visual culture have focused on how visual representation served to legitimate and construct colonial power—and how it was also used to resist the imposition of control.

Art was a central element in the conspicuous display of wealth, status, and lineage among the elite classes in colonial society. Religious images, portraits, and landscape paintings expressed the new and often syncretic identities of colonial elites. To create the splendor of an entirely new culture and establish its credibility, colonial artists and their patrons often turned to locally distinctive aspects of the colonies, either in the natural environment or in indigenous culture. At the same time, the fine arts and especially portraiture clearly displayed the patron's strong identification with European culture and history. Colonial religious imagery, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico, often served to document new myths of origin and/or special favor from God, thereby legitimating a new hierarchy of local authority.

Art, being experienced through the senses and capable of eliciting strong emotional reactions from viewers, is among the most useful of all propaganda tools. Landscape painting, which at first glance may appear to be a simple rendition of nature with no political content, can actually express attitudes toward such political themes as the appropriation and settlement of land. The artist can encode meanings very subtly, through such factors as viewpoint, climatic and atmospheric effects, the presence or absence of humans, and the choice of a site with special historical or

nationalistic meaning. These themes have been studied in colonial landscape painting from Australia to India.

Colonial images of indigenous people played an especially important role in the process of imperial control. Western fantasies and desires surrounding non-Western cultures lent themselves well to visual representation. Famous examples of such Western fantasy and projection are the Tahitian paintings of Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) and the artistic practices of the expressionist group Die Brücke (the bridge), active in Germany from around 1905 to 1913. These images celebrated an imagined sexual and social freedom within so-called primitive societies. Not all images of the colonial Other were romantic or beautiful, however; indigenous people were frequently denigrated and misrepresented through the visual arts. New genres of art, such as *casta* paintings (paintings by mixed Indian-European people), sought to categorize the bewildering variety of racial types found in the colonies. All of these fine-art representations helped to construct the racial theories, attitudes, and practices of colonial societies.

Mass-produced images of the colonized Other powerfully confirmed and reproduced the stereotypes that supported European expansion and control. Early-twentieth-century advertising posters for the British Empire Marketing Board depicted scantily clad natives happily picking cotton in the Sudan or gathering cocoa pods in the Gold Coast. Picture postcards claimed to document bizarre indigenous practices and beliefs. Images of the mysterious Orient were ubiquitous in colonial-period advertising, adding a special allure to European products—from Camel and Fatima cigarettes to Orient Delights candy. Collecting photographic and commercial imagery (often pasted into scrapbooks) was a popular nineteenth-century pastime; exotic and picturesque colonial subjects were frequently reproduced photographic subjects. These images were powerful in forming public opinion; photographs in particular were widely believed to represent the accurate truth concerning colonized people and places. The visual representation of colonized people as savages not only helped to legitimate imperialist expansion but also contributed to the formation of nationalist European identities (based on theories of racial and cultural inheritance).



A plaque from Benin (now in Nigeria) in West Africa depicts two shield-carrying soldiers. Such African artwork, introduced to Europe through the acquisition of African colonies, had a profound impact on modern European art. (Library of Congress)

The unequal power relationships of colonialism were at the root of the Western collection and display of so-called primitive art. Many objects of sacred, social, or political significance to indigenous cultures were seized by the West as a part of colonial military or scientific expeditions. For example, most of the objects of Benin culture displayed in Western museums were looted from Benin City in 1897, when a British punitive expedition deposed the king, sacked his palace, and carried off its works of art. Western authorities displayed such objects as specimens of primitive culture in ethnological museums, where they supported “scientific” discourses of imperialism, often racist in nature. The Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadero (now the Musée de l’Homme) in Paris opened to the public in 1882 with a collection of oceanic and African art objects (this museum played a key role in the development of twentieth-century Western art). In the ethnographic museum and its scholarship, tribal arts were displayed to document the primitive state of the cultures colonized by the West; the exhibition of ethnographic villages at international expositions made the same self-serving point.

Primitive art was characterized as anonymous, pure, and timeless—as essentially outside the flow of history—because it was conceptualized as belonging to a prehistoric stage of human development. Therefore, the art created by native people interacting with the modern world through the tourist industries that emerged along colonial shipping and railway lines was regarded by scholars, critics, and collectors as without value. Tourist art was part of a hybrid culture and was therefore seen as an inauthentic or contaminated primitive art. In fact, tribal arts were never static or pure but always an integral part of the social and economic history of the colonial world.

Recent studies of tourist art—from the mutual influences operating between artists and tourists in Papua New Guinea to the influences of tourism and metal tools on the development of totem poles in Alaska—has exploded the myth of timeless, static cultures. These studies show native cultures as active participants in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century world, adapting to their changed situations under colonialism. Tourist art could provide a unique means of preserving cultural heritage and pride within an oppressive system. The links be-

tween costumed performances (in the village and at international expositions), photographic representations, and the collection of primitive art are just beginning to be studied. The myth of a pure and timeless primitive art served imperialist needs in providing a justification for colonialism, but it also arose from a more general nostalgia and longing for the lost authenticity of the local and handmade that accompanied industrialization (for example, European peasant communities were also seen through a primitivist lens).

Twentieth-century art would have been unthinkable without the existence of so-called primitive art. Virtually every major European artist, including Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, Max Ernst, Emil Nolde, Paul Klee, and Constantin Brancusi, drew inspiration from the masks, sculpture, and diverse other genres of tribal African, oceanic, and Native American art and from the mythology of primitivism. The art pieces that Westerners created out of the cultural imperialism of colonialism were enshrined in Western art history as masterpieces of great originality. The formal (visual) elements of modernist art were conceptualized as a universal language; modernism was beyond the petty concerns of any particular political and social context. It was only after this development in the early twentieth century that tribal objects began to be widely appreciated as fine art (for their formal qualities), rather than being seen as ethnographic specimens. The politically charged circumstances binding modernism and primitivism and the controversies surrounding the proper contemporary representation of the cultural appropriations of modernism are well documented in recent scholarship.

Colonial studies are yielding new ways of thinking about the complexities of modernism in a new global culture. Non-Western artists are increasingly represented at the Venice Biennial (a major international exhibition of contemporary art), and biennials are increasingly held outside Europe and the United States. But modernism remains a problematic concept in that it possesses no history outside the West. Until the very end of the twentieth century, scholarship dismissed the modern art of colonized elites as derivative of Western culture and therefore as lacking originality, defined as the key quality of true art. In striking contrast, modern Western art (the art of

32 Ashanti Wars

Picasso, for example) was never considered derivative or impure because of its contact with primitive art.

Colonialism was a complex cultural process of exploitation and domination in which visual imagery, which possesses great force and emotional impact, played a major role. The nature of that role, how it persists in new guises, and how the world can move forward from it is the subject of much current debate.

Elizabeth Perry

See also Architecture; Exhibitions, Colonial

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Ashanti Wars

The brief conflicts known as the Ashanti Wars (1873–1874, 1895, 1900) were the result of British commercial involvement in the tribal affairs of the Gold Coast in West Africa. They resulted in the subjugation of the Ashanti (Asante, Asanti) Kingdom to the British Empire.

The British were primarily interested in maintaining open trade routes, a goal complicated by the rivalry that existed between the coastal Fante and the more powerful Ashanti inland. The basic British policy involved dealing with the Fante directly and signing a series of (rapidly ignored) treaties with the Ashanti. In 1871, the Fante tried to form a quite progressive coastal confederation to unite their clans against the Ashanti. Despite a quick and decisive British rejection of the idea, as the effort was seen as an attack on British control of the area, the move provoked an Ashanti offensive on the coast to smash Fante pretensions to power in 1873. If the British had been unwilling to allow the Fante to govern themselves, they certainly were not going to allow the Ashanti to do so.

A British force of 2,500 men under the command of Maj. Gen. Sir Garnet Wolseley was dispatched to the Gold Coast. His British regulars formed the core of a column that marched inland

to the Ashanti capital of Kumasi. Early in April 1874, Wolseley sacked and burned Kumasi and forced the Ashanti to accept a treaty renouncing all claims of coastal authority. They were also forced to pay a large fine in gold dust, pledge to keep the roads to the interior open, and promise to give up the practice of human sacrifice.

Despite the decisive defeat, the Ashanti remained troublesome. During the 1880s and 1890s, they showed signs of planning a move against the coastal clans again, prompting a British accusation that they had broken the provisions of the treaty imposed in 1874. British authorities demanded the kingdom accept status as a British protectorate in 1895; when the demand was ignored, British forces again marched on Kumasi, installing a resident at bayonet point and exiling the royal family to the Seychelles. Five years later, the governor demanded that the Ashanti surrender the Golden Stool, the symbol of their sovereignty, provoking a final Anglo-Ashanti war. The kingdom was annexed in the aftermath as a Crown Colony.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; Gold Coast; War and Warfare

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Asiento

After Christopher Columbus's initial trip to the New World, Portugal and Spain entered into disputes as to who had the right to explore and colonize the territories. These debates came to a head in 1494 with the Treaty of Tordesillas, a papal decree that split the explored areas in half between the two European powers. Portugal gained all rights to Africa, and Spain found itself banned from the continent. As a concession, Spain was given the right to issue an *asiento* (contract) to another European power to supply African slaves to Spanish colonies.

In 1518, King Charles I of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella's successor) signed a four-year contract with a Flemish company, requisitioning an annual supply of 4,000 African slaves to enter Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica (then a Spanish colony),

and Puerto Rico. European nations, realizing the possibilities inherent in such a contract, all scrambled to be next in line. The Portuguese were the first to gain a monopoly on the *asiento*, but they were outdone around the 1640s by the Dutch and French at successive intervals. By 1713, the English were awarded the contract as a spoil of war. That year, the Treaty of Utrecht granted England a monopoly on Spanish slave trade for thirty years. Under the treaty, England promised Spain at least 144,000 slaves, at the rate of 4,800 slaves per year. Both sides honored that agreement and maintained control of the *asiento* until 1789, when the contract was abolished.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Labor; Land; Spanish Empire

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Delicately crafted objects such as plates, goblets, and ewers were smelted. When the ransom had been paid and each Spaniard had received his share, Atahualpa demanded his freedom. But the Spaniards were impatient to move on to seize all the treasures of the Inca Empire, so Pizarro swiftly put him on trial, fearing that Atahualpa, if freed, might rally the Inca. Confronted with trumped up charges supported by the Spanish clergy, the Inca leader was sentenced to death. He could have saved his life by converting to Christianity, but he refused; in the end, he accepted conversion but only so he could die by hanging rather than being burned at the stake. Several of Pizarro's companions, including his brother Hernando and the explorer Hernando de Soto, deplored his treatment of Atahualpa.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Gold; Incas; Pizarro, Francisco; Peru; Spanish Empire

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Atahualpa (c. 1502–1533)

Atahualpa, emperor of the Inca, was executed by order of Francisco Pizarro, captain-general of the Spanish forces in the area. His death marked the end of the most powerful and advanced nation in the Americas. Atahualpa was a son of Emperor Huayna Capac, whose legitimate heir was Atahualpa's half brother Huáscar. At the death of his father, Atahualpa controlled the northern part of the Inca Empire and was popular with the army. A bloody war between the two brothers ensued. Atahualpa won and was on his way to the capital, Cuzco, when he encountered the Spanish invaders at Cajamarca in 1532. Forewarned by prophecies of the arrival of strangers from another world, he sent messages offering friendship. In response, Pizarro tricked him into coming for a visit, at which point, Atahualpa was captured and his men slaughtered. To regain his freedom, Atahualpa offered a fabulous ransom. He understood that though gold had mainly aesthetic and religious significance for his own people, the greed to acquire it was what drove the Spaniards. Indeed, Pizarro consented to the bargain.

For months, Atahualpa ruled the Inca from prison and oversaw the collection of his ransom.

Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938)

The architect of the modern Turkish state, Kemal Ataturk inspired a movement (called Kemalism by his supporters) of modernization, secularization, Westernization, republicanism, and self-sufficiency along Turkish national lines. Born Mustafa Kemal in 1881 in Salonika in the Ottoman Empire (now Thessaloniki, Greece), he graduated from military schools and, as a young officer, joined the Young Turk movement. He distinguished himself militarily in Albania (1909–1910), in Libya against the Italians, and, after the fall of the empire, in the nationalist struggle to expel from Turkish soil the foreign powers who sought the partition of Anatolia. Ataturk's victories helped preclude foreign domination and compelled a new peace settlement, the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), that recognized Turkey as an independent sovereign state and, ultimately, the first republic in the Middle East on October 29, 1923.

The new state was shaped by Kemalism, a corporatist movement partly inspired by the egalitarianism of the French Revolution, with a goal of establishing a strong and durable Turkish republic free from foreign dependency. Ataturk sought to create a modern infrastructure and to defeat



Mustafa Kemal, also known as Atatürk or "Father of the Turks," helped found the Turkish nation out of the post-World War I wreckage of the Ottoman Empire. (Library of Congress)

conservative elements within Turkish society. Following the abolition of the sultanate (1922) and caliphate (1924), he closed the religious schools (1924) and banned the religious orders (1925), reformed and secularized Turkish law (1926), disestablished Islam as the state religion (1928), compelled Turks to take family names (1934), changed the Turkish language to the Roman script, and forbade the wearing of the fez and the veil, all in the name of modernization. After his death on November 10, 1938, he was widely revered by Turks as an enlightened despot who had decisively shaped the destiny of modern Turkey.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Ottoman Empire; Turkey; World War I; Young Turks

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Atrocities

The perpetration of atrocities during wars of conquest or imperialism dates back thousands of

years. For example, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E., the Assyrians generally showed no mercy toward conquered peoples, routinely torturing or massacring defenseless civilians. Although the ancient Romans could show more mercy toward civilian populations than the Assyrians, this was certainly not the case when they conquered Carthage and razed it to the ground in the second century B.C.E. In spite of the cruelty displayed during these atrocities, those who perpetrated them—or at least did not prevent them from occurring—usually did so for a purpose. For example, they might resort to atrocities as a way to reduce what remained of their enemy's will to fight or to serve as a warning to other potential opponents.

Not surprisingly, the era of European colonialism that began in the fifteenth century was also regularly punctuated by atrocities. In 1519, for instance, a few months after Europeans first arrived in the city of Tenochtitlán (the seat of the Aztec Empire and situated close to present-day Mexico City), Spanish troops and their indigenous allies massacred about 200 weaponless Aztec nobles gathered for a religious ceremony in the courtyard of a temple. It must be noted that the Aztec had not been gentler with their own subjects before the arrival of the Europeans. In fact, the harshness of Aztec rule explains, in part, why the Spanish conquistadores found several indigenous allies in their fight against the Aztec.

Atrocities were not only committed during times of war or conquest. Consider the slave trade that took place mainly between Africa and the Americas, a more or less permanent feature of the European colonial system until the second half of the nineteenth century. Certain historians have estimated that as many as 15 million slaves may have been transported to the Americas in this period. According to these same scholars, it is also possible that as many as 40 million people died as a result of this trade. Although these numbers may exaggerate the truth, they nevertheless indicate the extent of the slave trade. They also suggest that the conditions of the slaves were far from ideal and that the slave trade certainly qualifies as one of the major atrocities committed by the European colonialists.

In spite of the growing feeling that many policies followed by the colonial powers were unjusti-

fiable, atrocities continued to be perpetrated in the second half of the nineteenth century and into twentieth century. In 1857 and 1858, for example, the mutiny in India resulted in the massacre of captured Europeans—although the mutineers had promised safe conducts for many British civilians, several women and children were massacred during the mutiny. In retaliation for this and other incidents, the British troops blew the mutiny's ringleaders from the mouths of cannons. During the South African (Boer) War (1899–1902), Britain's Lord Kitchener practiced a scorched-earth policy and placed civilians who supported the Boer guerrillas in concentration camps. Some scholars estimate that as many as 26,000 children and women may have died due the poor health and sanitary conditions that existed in these camps. And on April 13, 1919, British troops opened fire on a large crowd of people in Amritsar (in the Punjab), with little or no warning. When the dust settled, almost 400 people, most of them unarmed civilians, were dead, and many more were wounded.

During the various conflicts of decolonization that followed World War II, many more massacres were perpetrated in the European colonies. In the French Indochina War, for instance, both the Viet Minh and the forces under French command frequently committed atrocities both against opposing soldiers who had surrendered and against defenseless civilians. Tens of thousands of people were thus killed or maimed in military actions that had no concrete strategic objectives.

Although many people have wondered how such incidents occurred, the limited impact of such concerns on the field was amply demonstrated by the events that unfolded in Algeria after a revolt against French rule was openly declared there in November 1954. At this time, a vicious cycle of violence began, in which a variety of military troops, secret organizations, and nationalist guerrillas regularly took part in horrific massacres of disarmed soldiers and civilians, with the sole intent of inflicting psychological terror on their opponents. By the time Algeria became officially independent in March 1962, perhaps 150,000 people or more had perished in these nonmilitary operations, although the numbers are notoriously difficult to establish with any degree of certainty.

Many more atrocities were perpetrated in Europe's colonial domains. The incidents described earlier, however, should be enough to explain, in part, the zeal with which the former colonies rid themselves of the vestiges of European rule. They can also help to place into some sort of perspective, if not explain, a number of atrocities committed in these places in more recent decades, such as the death of over 2 million people in Cambodia in 1975 and 1976, the slaughter of some 500,000 people (mostly Tutsis) in Rwanda in 1994, and the brutal assassination of about 75,000 people in Algeria in the 1990s. It is difficult not to see these recent events as being at least partially a continuation of the cycle of violence encouraged or occasioned by the expansion of the European empires.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Americans, Native; Aztecs; Boer War; Cambodia; Herero Revolt; Ruanda-Urundi; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Attlee, Clement (1883–1967)

Clement Richard Attlee was born in London and educated at a private school at Haileybury and at Oxford University, where he graduated in 1904 with a degree in history. He gave up his job in a law office to devote his life to the poor in Stepney, east London, where he became a socialist, joining the Labour Party in 1907. He was a major in the army during World War I. In 1919, he became mayor of Stepney, and in 1922, he was elected a member of the British Parliament. Two years later, he became undersecretary at the War Office. In 1927, he traveled to India as a member of the Simon Commission and became committed to independence for

India. In 1930, he became chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in 1931, he became postmaster general, his first administrative position. Four years later, he was elected leader of the Labour Party. He expressed his views in that period in *The Will and the Way to Socialism* (1935) and *The Labour Party in Perspective* (1937).

Attlee served as lord privy seal, lord president, dominions secretary, and then, in 1942, deputy prime minister. In 1945, the Labour Party was voted into office, and Attlee served as prime minister for the next six years, presiding over one of the most important periods of government legislation in British history. A nationalization program and the National Health Service were introduced at this time. Attlee also began the process of decolonization, granting independence to India in 1947, Ceylon (later known as Sri Lanka) in 1948, and Burma in 1948. He resigned as leader of the Labour Party in 1955 when he became Earl Attlee and a member of the House of Lords. The previous year, he had published his autobiography, *As It Happened*. Attlee was a quiet, unassuming man, but he had great administrative ability.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; Decolonization; Labour Party; World War II

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Aung San (1915–1947)

Some of Aung San's forebears had resisted British annexation in 1886. It is hardly surprising, then, that after he went from central Burma to Rangoon University, he was among those radical students who took the title *thakin*, or master (usually reserved for Europeans), and sought independence through struggle. As secretary of the students' union, he helped U Nu lead a student strike in February 1936. By 1939, he was secretary-general of the nationalist Dobama Asiayon (We Burmans Association). This group helped form an antiwar freedom front in 1939 and 1940.

Having also founded a Communist group in 1939, Aung San traveled to China in 1940 in hopes of contacting Chinese Communists and continued on to Tokyo. Japan helped him and the so-called Thirty Comrades—Burmese who went to Japan

for training—to raise a Burmese military force. This force, the Burmese Independence Army, assisted Japan's invasion of Burma in 1941 and 1942.

When Japan gave Burma notional independence on August 1, 1943, Aung San, by now a major general (or *bogyoke*), became minister of defense in Ba Maw's government. But in March 1945, he switched the now renamed Burma National Army (BNA) to open support of the Allies.

After the Japanese surrender in August 1945, Britain sought to integrate the BNA with the regular army, but some members were channeled into the People's Volunteer Organization. This veterans' association helped keep the pressure on during the struggle for independence. The strength of the nationalist Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) persuaded Britain to drop plans to delay independence. Aung San was made deputy chairman of Burma's Executive Council in September 1946. In January 1947, in London, he secured from British prime minister Clement Attlee an agreement that Burma would be granted independence within twelve months.

The AFPFL won 196 of 202 seats in the subsequent April 1947 elections for a constitutional assembly, and it seemed certain that Aung San would become the first prime minister of an independent Burma. But on July 19, 1947, the thirty-two-year-old Aung San and six Executive Council colleagues were gunned down while in session. Political rival U Saw was held responsible and executed, leaving the way open for U Nu to emerge as Burma's pre-eminent leader.

Aung San's legacy lives on. His daughter Aung San Suu Kyi (who was just two years old when he was killed) returned to Burma from the United Kingdom in 1988 and helped establish the National League for Democracy (NLD). The league won 392 out of 485 seats in the May 1990 elections, which the military then aborted. Today, Aung San Suu Kyi continues to challenge the military government. She was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1991.

Karl A. Hack

See also Attlee, Clement; Burma; U Nu

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Australia

Capt. James Cook mapped the eastern coast of Australia in 1770, complementing the existing maps of Portuguese and Dutch explorers. In the wake of the loss of the American colonies in 1776, the British annexed southeastern Australia as a convict colony. Over 160,000 prisoners were transported to Australia between 1788 and 1856, with free settlers beginning to emigrate in significant numbers in the 1830s. Colonization, particularly through pastoral expansion, continued for over a century, into the 1930s, fanning out from the southeastern corner to the north and west.

Sovereignty was declared in Australia through the doctrine of *terra nullius* (land belonging to nobody). Aboriginal Australians and 3 million square miles of territory came under the protection and laws of the British Crown on February 6, 1788. Assuming few indigenous people lived in the interior of the vast continent, the British also claimed ownership of Australia. When it became clear to explorers and pastoralists that Aboriginal people did inhabit the interior, other arguments were invoked to deny them their rights of native title: they were considered uncivilized, they were not populous, and they were not agriculturalists. Pastoralists and settlers, however, encountered Aboriginal resistance to their incursion into Aboriginal territories, and many recognized, both publicly and privately, that Aborigines did, in fact, have proprietary interest in the land. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the intellectual climate was turning against humanitarian, Christian, and Enlightenment ideas of racial equality, and the new scientific thinking was given credence as Aboriginal populations decreased due to disease and settler violence directed against them.

Missionaries arrived comparatively late into Australia, establishing missions in the 1830s and 1840s, more than forty years after the first settlement. Many vocally opposed the settlers' treatment of the Aborigines and attempted to protect indigenous people. But by the 1850s, most southeastern missions considered themselves to have failed. Aboriginal people did not, by and large,

adopt Christianity, and the missionaries could not persuade them to relinquish their migratory lifestyle. Further, in many places, due to depopulation, the number of indigenous people remaining was too small to sustain a mission.

Mass immigration in the 1850s due to the Victorian gold rushes heightened the competition for land. This pressure, combined with colonial policies of segregation and the establishment of reserves, resulted in increasingly punitive laws and treatment of indigenous people. A second wave of missionaries in the 1870s saw their task as caring for the remnants of a dying race and training the "half-caste" population for domestic and rural labor. Aborigines of mixed ancestry were increasingly considered able to be assimilated, and changes in colonial policy toward the end of the century were designed to expel them from reserves, leaving the "full-bloods" to die out. The practices and policies of removing Aboriginal children from their families also became more common in this period, beginning almost a century of devastating cultural assaults on the indigenous population.

In January 1901, the federation of the Australian colonies created a crisis in citizenship. In South Australia alone, both white women and Aborigines were entitled to vote from 1894 onward. The enfranchisement of these groups was strenuously opposed by the other colonies, especially those with large Aboriginal populations. The resolution was the extension of the federal franchise to white women in 1902 and the deliberate exclusion of Aborigines and other nonwhite groups. Aboriginal Australians were not granted full citizenship and enfranchisement until 1967.

In the South African War (1899–1902), Australian colonial troops served as part of the British army. In 1914, Australia sent the national armed forces (the Australia Imperial Force) to France to fight in World War I. This move began the process of differentiating Australia from Britain. The Gallipoli campaign, a disastrous World War I battle against the Turks, became known as the "birth of the nation," and its anniversary is celebrated as a national holiday. Disillusionment with Britain increased in the 1930s, but it was not until 1984 that the Crown's legislative and judicial powers over Australia were relinquished.

With federation in 1901, the new nation quickly became a colonial power in its own right. In 1906,

after five years of debate, the Papua Bill was passed, redesignating the Territory of Papua under Australian rule. Many saw this as the chance to make amends for the treatment of indigenous Australians, and basic protective clauses were built into the bill. In 1914, German rule in New Guinea was relinquished and Australia took possession of the German colony. The territory was a disappointment. White settlement did not flourish, and the Australian population was only 1,200 in 1939. Most Australians in Papua New Guinea opposed the protective legislation, but the resolve of the lieutenant governor, Herbert Murray (who served in that post from 1908 to 1940), maintained relatively positive conditions for Papuans. World War II brought thousands of Australian troops to Papua to stem the Japanese advance, and in 1947, the United Nations endorsed Australia's rule in both Papua and New Guinea. This rule, however, remained paternal and heavily controlled by the colonial elite. The tide of decolonization began in 1966 when Papua New Guinea's legislators asked to become a state of Australia; Australia's government decided independence was the preferred option, given that indigenous Australians were not yet citizens. By 1975, there was bipartisan support for decolonization.

The end of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a vigorous republican movement, although Australia remains a constitutional monarchy. The Native Title judgment in 1992 (the *Mabo* decision) recognized the native title of indigenous people and denounced the continued legal use of terra nullius. The release of the "Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families" in 1997 also focused national and international attention on Australia's enduring colonial legacy.

Kathryn M. Hunter

See also Aborigines; Cook, James; Papua and New Guinea; Torres Strait Islanders

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Austro-Hungarian Empire

The Austro-Hungarian Empire (also known as Austria-Hungary) was a multinational state, situated largely in Central Europe and the Balkans,

that existed from 1804 through 1918, though predecessor states that formed the empire stretch back to the Middle Ages. A powerful player in European politics during the first half of the nineteenth century, it went into a slow decline after the pan-European revolutions of 1848, saddled with an unwieldy bureaucracy and an ineffectual emperor and crippled by the rising nationalisms in its component states.

A product of the Napoleonic Wars, the Austro-Hungarian Empire officially came into existence when the Hapsburg monarch Francis II—the Holy Roman Emperor—declared himself the Austrian emperor. Two years later, under pressure from Napoleon, the Holy Roman Empire was abolished, and Austria became leader of the various German-speaking states that emerged in its wake.

Almost immediately on its creation, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was faced with a military crisis. In 1805, its army was decisively defeated at the Battle of Austerlitz by the armies of Napoleonic France, forcing it to give up its holdings in Italy and the Tyrol to various client states of France. For three years, the empire made peace with France, even as it augmented and modernized its military for a new round of fighting, as coexistence with revolutionary Napoleonic France was considered unthinkable by the very conservative emperor and his advisers. In 1809, Austria-Hungary once again went to war with Napoleon and, after a few initial victories, was once again defeated.

This time, however, the empire—whose diplomacy was now directed by the newly appointed Prince Klemens von Metternich as foreign minister—sought accommodation with France. For four years, Vienna tried to play off various European powers. But with France's invasion of Russia collapsing in 1813, Metternich formed an anti-French alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, an alliance that led to Napoleon's defeat and exile in 1814 and 1815. At the same time, Metternich brought together the conservative, antirevolutionary monarchs of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, where he successfully arranged a return to the old order of absolutist monarchies running the various great states of Europe in a balance of power that would preserve stability. But the plan did not last long, even if the general balance of power it achieved put off a general European conflagration for a century. The various powers soon

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE



saw their interests diverging and clashing with one another. At the same time, Metternich hoped to make Austria the leader of the German-speaking states of Central Europe, a goal that was increasingly thwarted by the rising power of Prussia.

At home, Metternich—while advocating administrative modernization—was also a strong opponent of political liberalization, which created unrest both in the Austrian homeland and in the subject states of the empire, many of whose autonomous rulers refused to countenance any administrative reform. At the same time, the empire—like other states in Europe—was being convulsed by the social and economic changes wrought by the early Industrial Revolution. The government in Vienna responded by creating a customs union with Prussia and other German states, but it failed to implement the political reforms demanded by the ever growing working and middle classes. In 1848, the frustration of these classes erupted in a continent-wide revolution that toppled both Emperor Ferdinand I and Metternich. Meanwhile, in the component states of the empire—and most notably in Hungary—the revolution was both a cause and a symptom of rising nationalist sentiment. In response, the new government of Emperor Franz Joseph promised a new constitution, providing for a constitutional monarchy and more autonomy for Hungary, though Franz Joseph soon reneged on the promises.

The era between 1848 and 1859 is known as the neoabsolutist period in Austrian history, as the new emperor tried to impose absolutist rule once again, albeit sometimes in the interests of administrative and educational reform. But the embarrassing defeat of the Austro-Hungarian army in Italy in the latter year cost the empire holdings in the peninsula and forced a period of constitutional experimentation that resulted in the establishment of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867. Moreover, Austria-Hungary lost its preeminent position among the German-speaking states of Central Europe when it was defeated in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and was expelled from the German federation, which was increasingly coming under the control of Prussia.

Throughout the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, Austria-Hungary was largely preoccupied by three things: political and educational reforms granting more power to Parliament and the people, though still limited;



Prince Klemens von Metternich, foreign minister of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1809 to 1848, helped re-establish conservative imperial rule in much of Europe following the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

concessions to Slavic nationalism; and the seizure and occupation of Ottoman lands in the Balkans through diplomacy and war. After several years of frustrated diplomacy—including the 1878 Congress of Berlin—Austrian troops marched into Bosnia-Herzegovina, to prevent the union of the Province of Montenegro with the independent state of Serbia. It eventually gained more influence over Serbia through an alliance in 1895. Much of this diplomacy was the result of an Austrian fear of growing Russian influence among the latter's fellow Slavs in the Balkans. Indeed, Serbia soon moved out of Austria's orbit and into that of its fellow Slavic state Russia. In response, Austria put increasing economic and political pressure on Serbia in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.

In 1908, Russia tried to win Austrian approval for its move to open the Turkish straits at the Dardanelles to Russian warships by granting Vi-

enna more control over Bosnia-Herzegovina, which quickly led to the annexation of that Balkan territory. The annexation aroused Serbian anger, as many Slavic Serbs lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Several Balkan wars between Austria-Hungary and Serbia resulted in 1912 and 1913 as the former tried to keep the latter out of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro. On June 28, 1914, an angry Serb nationalist assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand—heir to the Austrian throne—on the streets of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, thereby setting in motion forces that would lead to World War I. Austria-Hungary quickly declared war on Serbia. Because of a series of alliances—sometimes arranged in secret—the various powers of Europe soon declared war on one another. Ultimately, two sides would emerge in the conflict: Austria-Hungary, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire as the Central Powers and, on the other side, Britain, France, Italy (from 1915), Russia (until its revolution in 1917), and the United States (from 1917).

With the convening of its parliament postponed until 1917, Austria was ruled by a military dictatorship, with the aging Franz Joseph serving as the figurehead emperor until his death in 1916; he was replaced by Charles I, the last of the Hapsburg monarchs. Although Austria at first scored some victories in Italy and the Balkans, the long, costly, and bloody war soon took its toll. In October 1918, Austria appealed for an armistice, and the new emperor—trying to stave off the destruction of his empire—declared Austria-Hungary a multinational federal state. Although this idea of a federal state went nowhere, it did set a precedent for the peaceful dissolution of the empire that was achieved after the war. On November 13, two days after the end of World War I, Charles I abdicated, though he left open the possibility that if either Austria or Hungary should declare itself to be a monarchy again, the Hapsburg line would rule both lands. In the end, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was divided into its component states by the Treaty of St.-Germain, signed on September 10, 1919. The states formed out of the old empire included all or parts of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Romania, Russia, and Yugoslavia.

James Ciment

See also Bonaparte, Napoleon; Bosnia; Congress of Berlin; Franz Joseph; French Revolution; German Empire; Hapsburg, House of; Russian Empire; Serbia; World War I; Yugoslavia

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Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan is a region bordered by the Caspian Sea on the east, Iran to the south, Armenia to the west, and Russia and Georgia on the north. The capital city of Baku is situated on the largest harbor on the Caspian Sea. Located at the crossroads traveled by migrating tribes and military conquerors, Azerbaijan experienced successive waves of invasion from the ninth century B.C.E. to modern times. Ruled by the Scythians, Medes, and Archaemenid Persians, the region was conquered in 330 B.C.E. by Alexander the Great, who relied on Persian rulers to administer the government. After the disintegration of Alexander's empire, Azerbaijan fell under the control of the Scythians and the Seleucids before the Roman armies conquered and annexed the region, which they referred to as Albania. The fall of the Roman Empire created a power vacuum, which was quickly filled by the Persians. From the seventh century until the eleventh, the rise of Islam led to a period of Arab domination before Turkish-speaking tribes invading from Central Asia began a golden era of cultural achievement. The thirteenth century started with the arrival of the Mongol ruler Hulegu, who ruled the country until his death, whereon the Persian influence reemerged briefly before Timur, another Mongol, reasserted power over the inhabitants.

During the sixteenth century, another conqueror people, the Persians, maintained authority throughout the region despite the efforts of the Ottomans to assert domination over the land, but their efforts failed as the Russians advanced southward to the Aras River in the early eighteenth century. The area was coveted by the Russian royal family as a lucrative source of oil and revenue, but the indigenous population formed political parties

during the later nineteenth century in an effort to overthrow Russian rule. After the Russian Revolution, the Red Army suppressed all opposition until after the fall of the Soviet Union. Achieving independence in 1991, the Azerbaijani government continues to experience tensions with neighboring Armenia, primarily over the future of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, an area within Azerbaijan that is 94 percent Armenian and 6 percent Azerbaijani.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Baku; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire

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Azores

The Azores archipelago, an autonomous region of the Portuguese Republic since 1976, is located in the Atlantic Ocean, approximately 1,000 miles west of the Iberian Peninsula. It consists of nine volcanic islands forming a 400-mile-long semicircle. Legendary ever since antiquity, the Azores were uninhabited when the Portuguese arrived (c. 1427), followed by other Europeans, mostly Flemish. Thereafter, the area was primarily used to produce wheat and wine for Portugal and woad (a member of the mustard family) and dyes for the English textile industry.

Because of the type of economy that developed in the Azores, slavery never became common there. But transshipment of slaves did occur in the late fifteenth century. The best estimates are that by 1500, a few thousand African slaves had passed through the Azores on their way to Europe, mainly to the Iberian kingdoms. The later massive slave trade ran directly west, from Africa to the Americas. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the introduction of the caravel for long-distance Atlantic shipping multiplied Portuguese voyages to the Orient, Africa, and Brazil; Spanish galleons carrying silver and gold from the New World proliferated; and English settlements in the West Indies and North America grew. Commercial development on the islands was spurred because, although there were several possible routes away from Europe, there was only one way back to avoid strong headwinds, and that was via the Azores.

The islands of São Miguel, Santa Maria, Terceira, and particularly Fayal, which offered the archipelago's best harbor at Horta, became booming commercial centers supporting colonial commerce. Sometimes, as many as 100 ships were in port at a time. Loads from the colonies were transhipped, and vessels were supplied with fresh food and water and repaired. Fortifications held pirates at bay. In time, the invention of the steamship rendered the archipelago irrelevant to commerce, but the islands still played an important role as wartime bases as late as World War II.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Exploration; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Aztecs

Aztecs is a general term given to a group of independent tribes inhabiting the central valley of what is now Mexico. The name was first given to a tribe called the Tenochas who struggled, through marriage and conquest, to establish an autonomous dynastic lineage. The early Aztec period started in 1299 and was divided into the eastern and western areas. The eastern was centered in Texcoco, with Tenochtitlán as the western center. The Tributary Period lasted from 1376 to 1428 and saw the rise of city-state politics and federated central control. After this, the Western phase began to dominate the whole Aztec complex under its leader Itzcoatl (1429–1440). Montezuma (Moctezuma) I succeeded Itzcoatl, and under his reign, the Aztec culture flourished, with the erection of great temples and the establishment of an elaborate ceremonial religious life built on the traditions of some of the conquered people, including human sacrifice. These developments were coupled with tremendous public works projects designed to ensure the health and prosperity of the people. Montezuma I consolidated Aztec power in Tenochtitlán, reducing the peoples of the eastern area to the status of loyal allies. Montezuma I was succeeded by his son Axayacatl, who ruled until

1503 when Montezuma II (nephew to Montezuma I) took power. Under Montezuma II, the Aztec Empire reached its peak, both geographically and culturally, establishing Tenochtitlán as the largest and, in the words of the Spanish conquerors, the most orderly and beautiful city in the world.

It was under Montezuma II that Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés began his conquest of the Aztec Empire in 1520. Cortés destroyed not only Aztec political autonomy but also Aztec culture, utterly obliterating Tenochtitlán. Montezuma, killed during the Spanish conquest, was succeeded by

Cuitlahuac, who died four months later of smallpox. His successor, Cuauhtemoc, was killed by Cortés in 1524 as the Spaniard marched on Honduras. Cuauhtemoc was the last of the Aztec emperors.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Americans, Native; Conquistadores; Cortés, Hernán; Mexico; Spanish Empire

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B

Baku

The city of Baku, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, has long been the focus of international power struggles because of its strategic location and rich petroleum deposits. In the eighteenth century, under the pretext of protecting Christians under Muslim rule, the struggle involved Russia and Persia. Russia gained the upper hand in 1813 and maintained a monopoly on Baku's petroleum until 1872, when the industry was opened up for foreign investment. Russian rule was, almost without exception, prejudiced against the indigenous Azerbaijani Turks. Ethnic animosities increased as skilled Russian and Armenian workers flocked to Baku, monopolizing the highest-paying jobs. In 1905, the violence became so severe that the city was placed under martial law for nineteen months.

As the military importance of petroleum products increased, so did Baku's strategic importance. During the Russian Revolution and Civil War, the area changed hands several times and was the scene of the short-lived Bolshevik-led Baku Commune in 1918. The oil fields were also coveted by the British, who held the city for a short period during the Russian Civil War. In April 1920, the Red Army captured Baku and nationalized the oil industry. As the capital of the new Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic, Baku continued to produce a good deal of Russia's military fuel supplies. Russian and Armenian immigration reduced the Azer-

bajani Turks to a minority in their own republic until the 1980s.

In the late 1980s, hostilities erupted between Azerbaijan and Armenia over control of Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian enclave located entirely within Azerbaijani territory. On January 13, 1990, Muslim mobs in Baku attacked Armenians, which led to a blockade of the city and its assault by Soviet troops. The event received worldwide media coverage, and today, the situation remains unresolved.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Bolsheviks; Petroleum; Russian Empire

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Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de (1475–1519)

In 1513, the Spanish explorer and conquistador Vasco Nuñez de Balboa became the first European to sight the Pacific Ocean. Born in 1475 in Jerez de los Caballeros in Extremadura, Spain, Balboa went to the Caribbean in 1501. Attempting unsuccessfully to become a planter on Hispaniola, he deserted his creditors by stowing away on a ship

bound for the Gulf of Darien in 1510. Martin Fernandez de Encisco, the leader of the expedition, followed Balboa's advice to found the new colony of Santa Maria de l'Antigua del Darien (later, Castilla del Oro) 30 miles from the mouth of the gulf.

Political competition among the Spanish leaders at Darien enabled Balboa to advance. Named supreme commander of the colony in 1513 and being under close scrutiny, he desired a grandiose achievement to improve his image with the king. On September 1, 1513, Balboa, with 190 soldiers and 1,000 Indian porters, led an expedition to find an uncharted ocean mentioned by the local people. Crossing swamps, lakes, and dense jungle, the party also fought a battle with the Indian leader Quaraqua. Balboa ordered that the Indian captives taken during the fighting be torn apart by the war dogs accompanying the Spanish party.

On September 25, Balboa spotted the Pacific Ocean. He waded into it four days later, claiming it for God and king. He returned to Antigua in January 1514, bearing Indian slaves, gold, and pearls. Over the next five years, he frequently crossed the Panama isthmus in preparation for launching a military expedition to Peru. By 1531, the Spanish under Francisco Pizarro were utilizing Balboa's pathway to attack the Inca Empire in South America.

Though successful, Balboa soon became a victim of events transpiring in Spain. Before news of his discovery reached Europe, he was replaced. The king had been convinced of his disloyalty by a prominent conquistador and the new governor at Darien, Pedrarias Davila. After five years of jockeying with Balboa for political power, Pedrarias falsely accused him of treason. After a trial at Acla in January 1519, Balboa was beheaded in the public square.

Jason Charles Newman

See also Exploration; Hispaniola; Incas; Panama; Pizarro, Francisco; Peru; Spanish Empire

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Balfour Declaration

Arthur James Balfour (the first earl of Balfour) was a British Conservative politician who had

been prime minister and first lord of the Admiralty. On November 2, 1917, during his stint as foreign secretary, he wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild, the Jewish banking magnate and philanthropist. This letter was made public and became known as the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The content of the letter in itself is not startling, but the subsequent interpretations of it have created confusion until the present day.

In his letter, which was approved by the war cabinet and was intended for public dissemination, Balfour declared, "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done that may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This missive contained deliberately vague and misleading phrases, such as "national home" and "use their best endeavours." There was no mention of how the issue of political rights would be handled, nor was it acknowledged that Palestine was the home of 750,000 persons, 90 percent of whom were not Jewish.

The pressures of winning an arduous and uncertain war, as well as anxieties about boundary claims during the peace settlements, help to explain why Britain would make promises that could not possibly be upheld. Against any credible evidence, those in power in Britain held that world Jewry supported the Germans during the Great War, and the London government had serious misconceptions about Jewish influence on Ottoman, Russian, and U.S. policy. In an effort to court Jewish support, Britain believed that if an "arrangement" were offered to Zionists in Palestine, Jews would withdraw their support for the Turkish government, thus causing its downfall and eliminating the eastern front enemy. The overthrow of the Russian czar in March 1917 led the British government to believe that promises made to Russian Jews would keep Russia in the war. And finally, it was felt that concessions to world Jewry would please Jews residing in the United States and cause them to influence the U.S. government to cooperate fully with British aims during the peace process.

Palestine became a mandated territory, entrusted to Britain by the League of Nations; under this arrangement, Britain was to administer the internal structure of the area. The hazy promise of independence that accompanied the league's action fostered Arab nationalism, and when that prospect was added to the promise of a Jewish homeland, violence was inevitable. The first serious Arab-Jewish clash occurred in April 1919.

That the Balfour Declaration appears, in retrospect, to be a cynical and misleading document can be explained by the wartime pressures existing when it was written. For the leaders in London, British national and colonial objectives were paramount over any idealistic promises to Semitic peoples. The betrayal inherent in the declaration was the unintended by-product of a desire to achieve short-term advantages rather than long-term solutions, and it should not be seen as a deliberate attempt on the part of London to mislead and confuse all who claimed Palestine as their own. When Zionists, not satisfied with a "homeland," demanded a Jewish state and when Arab nationalism began to develop, Britain's balancing act became unsustainable. This situation set into motion a conflict that was to last throughout the twentieth century.

Cynthia Curran

See also British Empire; Islam; Israel; Judaism; League of Nations; Palestine

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Baltic States

For centuries, the Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—were a battleground in the imperial rivalry that played out in Central and Eastern Europe. They were also the first among the republics of the Soviet Union that declared independence and thereby contributed to the breakup of the Soviet empire.

Beginning in the ninth century, the Vikings, Russians, Danes, Swedes, and Germans struggled for control over the region, which was inhabited by the Baltic and Finno-Ugric tribes. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the German knights—the vanguard of Western Christian imperialism—

took over Estonia and Latvia. At the same time, Lithuania expanded eastward, absorbing much of Ukraine, and became one of the largest states in Europe. It merged with Poland as a single state in 1569.

After several wars between Russia, Sweden, Poland, and Denmark for control over the Baltic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the region was redivided. Estonia and northern Latvia were incorporated into the Swedish Empire, and Poland extended its sovereignty to Courland (southern Latvia). At the same time, Courland was engaged in the international slave trade and even had overseas possessions in Gambia and the Caribbean (Tobago) from the 1650s to the 1680s. Since the sixteenth century, the religious divisions in the Baltic region helped promote a violent history: Lithuania remained Catholic, Estonia developed as a Lutheran country, and Latvia became both Lutheran and Catholic.

Russia assumed control over the region in the eighteenth century, and thereafter, Estonia and Latvia developed as some of the most advanced parts of the Russian Empire. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Russians tried to limit the traditional influence of the Germans and further consolidate their control in the Baltic provinces. Ironically, these attempts opened the way for the national awakening of the Balts.

World War I brought German occupation to the region. In May 1918, Lithuania was proclaimed a kingdom under the Prussian dynasty of the Hohenzollerns. After the collapse of the Russian Empire and the defeat of Germany, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence, and a chaotic struggle erupted in the region, involving the Balts, the Bolsheviks (their Russian antagonists), the Germans, and the Poles. By 1920, Estonia and Latvia (with British naval support) as well as Lithuania had secured their independence.

The Soviet-Nazi pact and the beginning of World War II allowed the Soviets to occupy and annex the Baltic states in 1939 and 1940. Between 1941 and 1944, the Germans, supported by local collaborators, turned the region into Reichskommissariat Ostland, although there were timid attempts to declare independence (Lithuania in June 1941, Estonia in September 1944). The Sovietization of the region from 1944 to 1953 was met with guerrilla warfare, particularly in Lithuania and



Latvian citizens haul away a statue of Lenin in 1991. The Baltic state of Latvia achieved independence that year with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The latter was considered by many to be the last great European empire. (Associated Press)

Estonia. The Communist authorities responded with mass deportations (more than 400,000 individuals were deported after 1940). At the same time, rapid industrialization in the Baltic states led to the significant movement of populations from other Soviet republics.

The crisis and reforms in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the late 1980s rekindled aspirations for independence in the Baltic states. In March 1990, Lithuania declared its independence, and Latvia and Estonia prepared to follow suit. After Moscow's economic sanctions and military actions to restore its power in the Baltic states failed, the disintegrating Soviet Union recognized the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in September 1991.

Peter Rainow

See also Danish Empire; Russian Empire; Soviet Union; Swedish Empire; World War I; World War II

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**Banda, Hastings Kamuzu
(c. 1896–1997)**

The leader of the final phases of the independence movement in Nyasaland, Hastings Kamuzu Banda was also the first prime minister and then president of Malawi, the name given to the territory after it achieved independence in 1964. As a youth, he attended a Church of Scotland bush school near his home in the central region of the country; ambition then led him to seek further education in Southern Rhodesia, in South Africa, and ultimately in the United States. There, he began his

studies at Wilberforce College in Ohio; he then attended Indiana University and the University of Chicago, finally receiving a medical degree from Meharry Medical College in Tennessee in 1937. To qualify to practice medicine in Britain, Banda then began two years of study at Edinburgh University, after which he established a successful medical practice in London. He befriended many young Africans in London, some of whom later became important political and social leaders on the African continent. He also established contact with African leaders in his homeland, providing both moral and financial support for a variety of individuals and causes. Proposals for the federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland politicized him further and, when the British Parliament created the Central African Federation in 1953 in spite of African objections, he left Britain for the Gold Coast (later Ghana). In 1958, young antifederation leaders in Nyasaland successfully appealed to Banda to return to his homeland and assume the leadership of their political movement, the Nyasaland African Congress. Through fiery oratory and by encouraging a cult of personality focused on himself, he electrified the movement and caused British authorities to declare a state of emergency. Along with many of his followers, he was briefly imprisoned, and then he led a revitalized and nominally new movement, the Malawi Congress Party, in successful negotiations to end the federation and bring independence to Nyasaland. In 1963, Banda became prime minister and a year later was elected Malawi's first president. Despite his anticolonialism, he soon transformed the government into a system of both autocratic and one-party rule; his party's suppression of dissent was successful until 1993. In multiparty elections the following year—the first in thirty years—he again ran for president but was defeated. In frail health even before his 1994 electoral defeat, Banda died in a South African hospital in 1997.

Melvin E. Page

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Nyasaland; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia

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Bandung Conference

The Bandung Conference (also known as the Asian-African Conference) was held in Bandung, on the island of Java in Indonesia, from April 17 to April 24, 1955. It was attended by representatives from twenty-nine nation-states in Asia and Africa, most of them new. There were also observers from organizations representing African Americans and Greek Cypriots, as well as a delegation from the African National Congress. Sukarno, the Indonesian president (1945–1965), wanted the assembled governments to stake out a nonaligned position in relation to the escalating Cold War between the United States and its allies, on the one hand, and the Sino-Soviet bloc, on the other. Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India (1947–1964), was also enthusiastic about such a project, and the delegation representing the Chinese government was sympathetic, despite its alliance with the Soviet Union. The conference produced a declaration that emphasized the need for greater cooperation between the former colonies of Asia and Africa and the governments of what would increasingly become known as the Third World.

The meeting in Bandung paved the way for the establishment of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in 1961. But the growing rivalry between the Indian and Chinese governments and the Indian government's improved relations with the United States by the end of the 1950s undermined many of the initiatives inspired by the Bandung Conference. More broadly, as the trend toward decolonization gained speed in the early 1960s, the complex dynamics and conflicting goals of nationalist movements in Africa and Asia often subverted efforts to unite the governments of the Third World. A plan to hold a second conference in Algeria in June 1965 was shelved when the politics of the Sino-Soviet split directly affected efforts to organize the meeting and when the Ben Bella government was toppled by the Algerian military. In September 1965, Sukarno, the sponsor of the 1955 Asian-African Conference, was marginalized by a U.S.-backed military dictatorship under General Suharto; Nehru, another major leader of the Bandung era (which stretched from the 1950s to the late 1970s), had died in office in May 1964.

Between the 1960s and 1980s, the nonaligned movement continued to meet approximately every

three years. But meetings have been less frequent since then, and as an organization, it has played no significant role in world affairs. In fact, by the beginning of the 1990s—when the Indonesian government, under President Suharto, took over the chairmanship—the movement had become obsolete.

Mark T. Berger

See also Cold War; Decolonization; Nehru, Jawaharlal; North-South Conflict; Sukarno; Third World

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Bao Dai, Emperor (1913–1997)

Bao Dai was Nguyen Vinh Thuy's reign name. He was born in the city of Hue in central Vietnam in 1913. Crowned emperor of Annam (the northernmost province of Vietnam) in 1926, he began to reign actively in 1932 after having studied in Paris. In the year following the end of the regency of his youth, Bao Dai enacted a small number of reforms, including the abolition of harems. By July 1933, however, the French government strictly limited his powers within the protectorate system, effectively putting a stop to his enthusiastic attempts to modernize Vietnam. This enforced position of being a mere figurehead helped to explain Bao Dai's growing fondness for big-game hunting and attractive women. Although he never entirely gave up the hope that he might convince France's policymakers to modernize Vietnam's political and social structures, he never again fully trusted them. This partially explains why, at the instigation of the Japanese (who occupied Vietnam during World War II), he readily proclaimed Vietnam's unity and independence in March 1945.

After Japan's surrender on August 14, 1945, the Viet Minh, the communist-nationalist forces, asked Bao Dai to abdicate, which he did formally in a declaration made on the August 25, but they soon offered him an advisory position. After the start of the open hostilities between French forces and the Viet Minh in late 1946, Bao Dai left for France and began to negotiate a series of accords with the French authorities. The often acrimonious negotiations finally led to a form of limited independence for the Vietnamese state in 1949.

For the next six years, the French considered Bao Dai as Vietnam's head of state, and in spite of a number of ups and downs in his relationship with the French, he remained their favored interlocutor. He was forced to retire permanently from Vietnamese politics in 1955 after losing the country's first presidential election under highly suspicious circumstances.

At the time of the French Indochina War, political and media opinion in France and other parts of the world was often split about Bao Dai's leadership. On the one hand, most commentators thought that he was one of the few realistic alternatives to the Communists; on the other, they saw him as a playboy or a puppet of the French authorities. Although such charges were true to some extent, contemporary observers generally underestimated Bao Dai's political abilities, his commitment to Vietnam, and the danger he faced from the Vietnamese Communist forces. After 1955, Bao Dai moved to France, where he lived out the remainder of his days in relative obscurity. He died in Paris in 1997.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Decolonization; French Empire; Viet Minh; Vietnam

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Basutoland (Lesotho)

Basutoland was largely populated by the southern Sotho people, who comprise one of the three main branches of all Sotho in southern Africa. In the mid-nineteenth century, this region was one of the most fertile and productive areas of the entire subcontinent, in part because of its heavy rains. As the Sotho numbers started to increase, the ever advancing Boers began to compete for fertile land in the 1850s. An able leader, Moshoeshoe, emerged and united the Sotho into one nation and enabled them to successfully fend off the encroachment of the Boers. Moshoeshoe decided to appeal for British protection to ensure Basutoland's independence from the white farmers, and in 1868, the area was briefly under British control. In 1871,

Britain transferred the administration of Basutoland to the Cape Colony, which was in the process of being given control of its own affairs by Britain.

But when the Cape government decided to ban firearms in order to co-opt African labor for the burgeoning diamond mines, this direct manipulation proved too overt for the Sotho. Masopha, a younger son of Moshoeshoe, led his nation in revolt against the magisterial rule. The Cape military was unequal to the task of decisively defeating and maintaining power over a Sotho nation united under an able leader, and after three years of bloodshed, the Sotho petitioned Britain to once again step into picture. Prime Minister William Gladstone reluctantly agreed, and in 1884, Basutoland was handed back to Britain, which instituted a form of indirect rule through Sotho chiefs.

Basutoland became one of the High Commission Territories, and, along with Bechuanaland and Swaziland, it played a part in the struggle between South Africa and Britain. The South Africa Act (1909) provided for the transfer of the territories to the South African Union; however, a discrepancy developed between Britain's promise to consult African wishes and the South African racial policies. In one sense, the British protected the people of Basutoland from the draconian racial laws of South Africa, but paradoxically, the British Dominions Office did not invest in any Basutoland development projects for fear that to do so would make the country more attractive to the South African Union.

A fall in the demand for labor in the diamond mines and a cycle of bad harvests reversed the fortunes of Basutoland, especially during the inflation following the Great War. By the 1930s, the economic downturn had worsened as drought was compounded by depression, and Basutoland, once the center of southern African grain production, was forced to import food. Large numbers of Sotho migrated to South Africa in search of employment.

The contradiction between development and protection finally reached an intolerable level. Yet when independence was achieved in 1966, the newly autonomous state of Lesotho had to struggle with the legacy of having been deliberately kept in an economic backwater for decades.

Cynthia Curran

See also British Empire; Cape Colony; Gladstone, William Ewart; South Africa

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Batista, Fulgencio (1901–1973)

Born on January 16, 1901, in Banés, Oriente Province, Cuba, Fulgencio Batista spent his childhood in poverty. At the age of twenty, he joined the Cuban army, rising through the ranks to become a sergeant by 1928. In September 1933, he led a mutiny, known as the Sergeants' Revolt. Although the mutineers' objective was not the overthrow of Cuba's government, other groups took advantage of the coup and established a provisional government under the control of a revolutionary junta. A purge of Cuban military officers in November 1933 led to Batista's promotion to colonel and formalized his role as commander of the army.

Although remaining behind the scenes, Batista was the real political force in Cuba from 1934 until his own election to the presidency in 1940. As president, he began a program of popular reforms, including the construction of rural hospitals and schools, establishment of a minimum wage, and salary increases for public and private workers. After his term was over, he left the island but later returned to serve as senator for Santa Clara Province. He announced that he would run for president in the upcoming June 1952 election but instead seized power on March 10, 1952.

During the 1950s, opposition to his regime increased, driven in part by the 26th of July Movement, which was named for the unsuccessful 1953 attack led by Fidel Castro on Santiago's Moncada barracks. With victories for Castro's guerrillas in the eastern mountains, increasing violence in Havana, and a loss of support from the United States, Batista fled the island during the early hours of January 1, 1959. He died in 1973 in Spain.

Charlotte A. Cosner

See also Castro, Fidel; Cuba; United States; War and Warfare

52 Bechuanaland (Botswana)

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Bechuanaland (Botswana)

The Tswana settlement in the area of southwestern Africa known as Bechuanaland (now Botswana) certainly dates back as far as the fourteenth century. The Tswana are one of the three main groups of the Sotho who peopled southern Africa. For a large part of the nineteenth century, the northern Tswana had limited contact with missionaries and traders, and there was little interference in the socioeconomic structure of the Tswana society.

By the 1880s, matters had changed drastically. Rinderpest (a deadly cattle disease) and drought had taken their toll. Beyond that, however, the independent economic structure of the Tswana was destroyed as a result of the changing political structure of southern Africa. Bechuanaland began to be the focus of colonial attention because of its location. To the west was land claimed by the Germans (modern Namibia); to the east were the Boer republics, which were eager to expand. The Cape Colony, under the control of Cecil Rhodes, was worried that its route to the north might be cut off if the Boers gained control of Bechuanaland.

In response to the German threat, pressure from Rhodes, and coercion from the Boer republics, Britain decided to partition the area in 1885. Bechuanaland south of the Molopo River became a crown colony, with the expectation that it would be absorbed into the Cape Colony; the area north of the river was declared a British protectorate under the governance of the Colonial Office in London. The price for this compromise was paid in the twentieth century by the southern Tswana, who were sentenced to live as residents of Bophuthatswana, the South African “homeland”; the northern Tswana, by contrast, became citizens of the independent Botswana.

Before the twentieth century, Bechuanaland was of interest to Britain only as a route to the north and as a buffer between German South West Africa and the Boer-controlled Transvaal. Bechuanaland had been declared one of three High Commission Territories along with Basutoland and

Swaziland and was the responsibility of the Dominions Office in London. Under pressure from South Africa to allow Bechuanaland to be subsumed into the Union of South Africa, the British government wavered. It felt some responsibility to protect the Tswana from the cruelties of the South African racial policies but was unwilling to actively develop the area and compete with the South African economy. When faced with the evils of racism, Britain ultimately responded by containing the boundaries—a rather passive policy but one that preserved the three High Commission Territories from the apartheid regime.

This benign neglect actually benefited Bechuanaland until the 1930s, when its fortunes reversed due to a shift in transport networks and the South African embargo on the sale of cattle, the mainstay of the Tswana economy. In an all too familiar African scenario, more and more Tswana were forced to leave their independent, if subsistent, existence to seek work in South Africa’s mines and on farms. Because the British viewed any investment and development as a temptation to South African ambitions, Bechuanaland was doomed to struggle along as a subsistence economy—a situation that continued even after it achieved independence as Botswana in 1966.

Cynthia Curran

See also Cape Colony; Rhodes, Cecil John; South West Africa

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Belgian Congo

On August 20, 1908, by the Treaty of Cession, Leopold II formally transferred control of the Congo to the Belgian Parliament. A small country with little previous involvement in Africa was suddenly master of a colony nearly eighty times its size. Belgian colonial rule rested on the *Charte Coloniale* (Colonial Charter), a kind of constitution for its colonial holdings, with administrative responsibility vested in the minister for colonies, accountable to Parliament. The minister framed



Independence leader Patrice Lumumba and Belgian premier Gaston Eyskens sign Congo's independence pact in July 1960. The mineral-rich Congo had been a Belgian colony since the early twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

the budget and legislation for the colony, had direct authority over the governor-general, and, with the king's assent, could raise taxes and rule by decree. The colony was to be self-funding, primarily from export taxes.

The colonial economy inherited from Leopold II was controlled by a few large companies with financial links to foreign capital and the influential Belgian banking trust, *Société Generale de Belgique*. Both the monarchy and Belgian state had significant financial interests in the concessionaire companies; hence, the interests of such firms were often paramount in the formulation of colonial policies. Africans were forced into wage labor through taxation or compulsory cultivation of cash crops, often for very low returns. Public works, largely to the benefit of Europeans, were maintained by unpaid and compulsory African communal labor of up to 120 days a year by World

War II. The third pillar of colonialism was the Belgian Catholic Church. The Convention de Jonghe (1925–1926) entrenched the Belgian Catholic dominance of state-subsidized education in the Congo—education that rarely extended beyond the primary level—while discriminating against non-Belgian Protestant missionary societies.

A second wave of railway and mining expansion in the 1920s was followed by intensified exploitation during the depression of the 1930s. Social disruption, exacerbated by demands on African labor, led to the emergence of African-Christian faith-healing millenarian movements, such as that of Simon Kimbangu in 1921, seen by the Belgians as challenging colonial authorities and established churches. By the end of World War II, an *évolué* (referring to an evolved person or someone who had adopted a Western lifestyle) underclass of Western-educated African clerks, teachers, and petty traders

flocked to the cities, demanding recognition and participation in the colony's political economy. The colonial authorities excluded the évolué from politics or leadership roles. Municipal elections with a limited African franchise were only introduced in a few major colonial cities in 1957.

Numerous African political movements based on ethnic allegiances emerged, but their adherents had no experience of democracy; the Mouvement National Congolais under Patrice Lumumba began to agitate for independence. Anticolonial riots erupted in the cities. The Belgian government dithered in the face of conservative resolve to defy the mob and calls for independence by radicals at home and nationalists in the Congo. In 1959, the Belgian king dramatically announced that Belgium would grant independence, which came on June 30, 1960, to a country (now the Democratic Republic of Congo, earlier renamed Zaire) deeply divided by regional and ethnic-based nationalist parties.

David Dorward

See also Belgium; Congo Free State; Leopold II; Lumumba, Patrice

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Belgium

Belgium, one of the smallest countries in Europe, is divided along ethnic lines between Dutch-speaking Flemings and French-speaking Walloons. Following the Napoleonic Wars, the area was part of the Netherlands, but in 1830, the predominantly Catholic southern provinces de-

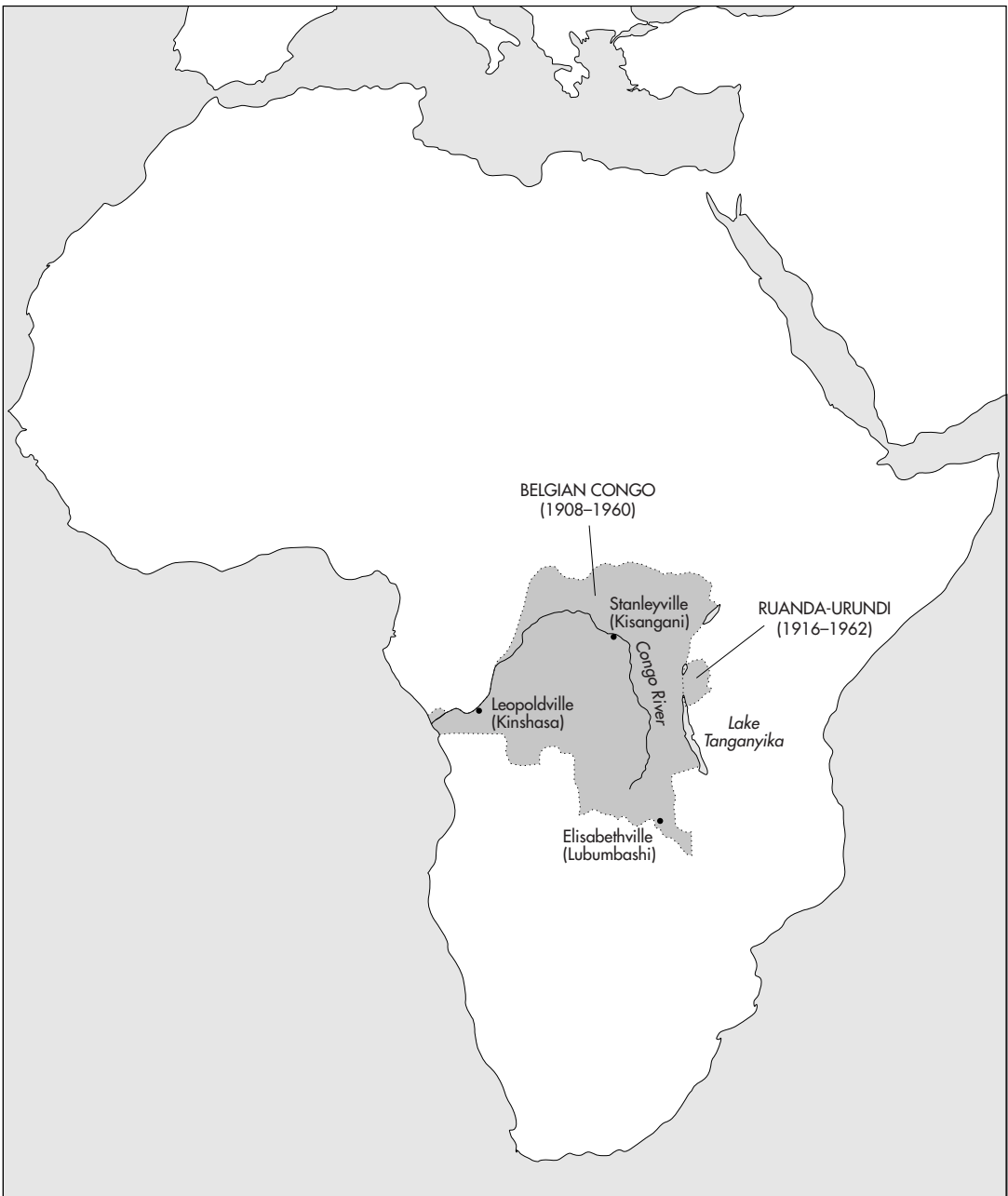
clared independence from the Protestant-dominated Netherlands. The 1839 Treaty of London recognized Belgian independence and “perpetual neutrality,” with an uncle of Queen Victoria, Leopold I of Coburg (r. 1813–1865), as constitutional monarch.

Belgium's empire in the Congo was a product of the personal ambitions of Leopold II (r. 1865–1909). Initially, with Belgium having few commercial links and no missionary presence in Africa, there was little popular enthusiasm for colonialism outside the military, which was chafing under the constraints of neutrality, and a cohort of Leopold's commercial cronies. The Congo Free State, established under the Berlin Agreement of 1885, was not a Belgian colony but sovereign property of Leopold II. The Red Rubber Scandal, consisting of worldwide outrage over the brutal treatment of rubber workers, resulted in the transfer of the Congo to Belgian control in 1908 and was viewed by many Belgians as a slight to their national honor.

The Belgian Congo, along with the former German-mandated territories of Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi), were administered by the minister for colonies, responsible to Parliament. Colonial issues occasionally surfaced as foils for parliamentary jousts, though rarely with political significance. Politicians insisted that the colony be self-funding, while simultaneously exploiting its resources for the benefit of Belgium.

Investments in the Congo Free State, in mining and railways, were dominated by a handful of large companies financed by foreign capital and the influential Belgian banking trust Société Generale de Belgique (SGB). In 1906, SGB founded Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. The powerful chemical company Solvay financed the Kasai mining giant known as Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga (BCK). Tin mining was controlled by the Société de Bruxelles pour la Finance et l'Industrie (BRUFINA), whereas the Société Internationale Forestière et Minière du Congo (FORMINIÈRE) had major diamond and timber investments. In 1908, when control of the Congo passed to the Belgian government, King Leopold's secret shares in the concessionaire companies passed to the monarchy and the Belgian state. Belgian public investment in the Congo began in the 1920s, with the second wave of development in mining and railways.

BELGIAN EMPIRE



Belgian popular images of the Congo were molded by institutions such as the Musée du Congo Belge (today's Museum of Central Africa) and the Belgian Roman Catholic Church. The Musée du Congo Belge, opened by Leopold II in 1898, combined ethnographic art and colonial products in a union of art and commerce. The Congo fed a missionary enthusiasm in the Belgian Catholic Church, which recruited thousands of priests and nuns for schools and hospitals in the Congo. However, the most influential medical establishment was the Fondation Reine Elisabeth pour l'Assistance Médicale Indigène (FOREAMI) under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth of Belgium. It gained international recognition for medical research and the eradication of endemic disease from many areas of the Congo.

After World War II, Belgian images of benign paternalism were profoundly challenged by African nationalists, who denounced their Belgian colonizers as racist exploiters. The sudden withdrawal of Belgium from the Congo precipitated a financial crisis for Belgian investors and the government.

David Dorward

See also Belgian Congo; Congo Free State; Congress of Berlin; Leopold II; Morel, E. D.; Ruanda-Urundi

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Bengal

Bengal is a major region in the northeast of India. Present-day Bengal encompasses the nation-state of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan, 1947–1971) and the Indian state of West Bengal. Prior to Indian independence in 1947, the region was divided politically into the Province of Bengal and the princely states of Tripura and Cooch Behar. The British East India Company ruled the Province of Bengal indirectly from 1757 to 1773 and directly from 1773 to 1857. After 1857, it was ruled by the British government. The British East India Company established a major presence in Bengal in 1690 with the location of a factory at Fort William (now Calcutta). In 1700, Fort William was accorded leading status among the three forts in the company's trading network in the subcontinent. By the early eighteenth century, at least 60 percent of the company's total imports to Europe came from Bengal, and during the course of that century, Bengal emerged as the pivot of the company's commercial operations and the administrative center of what would become an increasingly significant territorial empire.

When Fort William, which was regarded as essential to the well-being of the East India Company's operations, was captured in 1756 by the nabob (the Mughal governor) of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula, company forces under Col. Robert Clive, along with a small British naval contingent, quickly recaptured Calcutta. Then, with the Battle of Plassey in June 1757, Clive and the company were launched on a path that involved them ever more deeply in the politics of the region. By 1765, the company had been officially made *diwan* (chief financial minister) of Bengal by the Mughal emperor. In this period, the company still ruled Bengal, at least in theory, through the nabob. In 1773, during Warren Hastings' governorship of Bengal, the nabob's remaining power was eliminated and the company became the sole authority in the province. One year later, the post of governor of Bengal was changed to governor-general, with direct responsibility for the presidencies of Bombay and Madras as well as Bengal. In 1854, by which time the company's territorial empire had grown dramatically, the position of lieutenant governor was created; this official would administer Bengal, giving the governor-general more time to deal with India-wide affairs. In 1857, the rule of

Belize

See British Honduras

Bengal and the rest of the company's Indian empire passed to the British Crown. Assam was detached from Bengal in 1874, and in 1912, Bihar and Orissa were also separated from Bengal to be administered as separate provinces. In 1937, the Province of Bengal was granted local political autonomy; ten years later, it was divided between the new nations of India and Pakistan.

Mark T. Berger

See also British East India Company; Calcutta; Clive, Robert; India

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Benin

Benin, a West African kingdom whose mythic origins stretch back to the thirteenth century C.E., rose to its greatest power as a state trading in pepper, palm oil, ivory, and slaves with Portugal, the Netherlands, and other European powers from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Succession troubles and the increasing power of European empires in West Africa pushed the kingdom into decline in the nineteenth century.

The Edo people who founded Benin tell of how they established their kingdom to rid themselves of the oppressive rule of the quasi-mythical kings, or *ogisos*, in the thirteenth century. Under a new king invited by the Ife to rule over them, they consolidated their state and established a ruling administration. By the sixteenth century, they ruled over an area stretching from the Niger River delta to the present-day Nigerian-Benin border. Major guilds of craftspeople were established, and they produced some of the most magnificent bronze castings and other sculpture in African history.

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Benin also established extensive trading relations with the Portuguese, the first Europeans to trade with West Africa in the modern era. Trading agricultural and mineral resources for European manufactured goods, Benin also became heavily involved in the slave trade, warring with

its neighbors to maintain its supply of human commodities.

By the late eighteenth century, however, the kingdom was going into decline, its power sapped by a series of violent succession struggles among various *obas* (kings). To gain power, these kings granted aristocratic titles to many followers, thereby creating a large class of parasitic nobles who exploited the surplus of the guilds and peasantry and created unrest in the process. The decline of the lucrative transatlantic slave trade in the early nineteenth century further undermined the economy of the kingdom. In the late 1800s, a much weakened Benin was incorporated into the British colony of Nigeria, though the traditional *obas* continue to occupy their throne to this day.

Benin is also the name of the West African coastal nation, situated between Nigeria to the east and Togo to the West, that originally won its independence from France as the nation of Dahomey in 1960. It changed its name to Benin, in honor of the ancient kingdom, in 1975.

James Ciment

See also Ivory; Nigeria; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832)

Born in London in 1748, English legal theorist, economist, and social critic Jeremy Bentham was the founder and chief proponent of the utilitarian movement, which argued for “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.” He was educated at Queen’s College, Oxford, and studied law at Lincoln’s Inn, developing an interest in the shortcomings and imprecision of British legislation. Although he never practiced law, much of his life was spent working for judicial and penal reform.

Bentham decried war as the chief cause of human suffering. In “A Plan for a Universal and Perpetual Peace,” written in 1789, he proposed to eliminate war by means of significant military cutbacks throughout Europe and the creation of a court to settle international disputes. He also advocated the dissolution of ties between home countries and

their possessions because the colonial relationship engendered war, defense expenditures, corruption, and complicated forms of government. The freed nations would be allowed to develop their resources and industries and engage in the marketplace on a laissez-faire basis: all parties would benefit.

Among Bentham's most important works are *A Fragment on Government* (1776), which dissected Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries; An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), in which utility is defined; *The Rationale of Reward* (1825); the first volume of *The Constitutional Code* (1827); and *The Rationale of Punishment* (1830). He was also a cofounder of *The Westminster Review*, the organ of philosophic radicalism. A model prison system based on his "panopticon," a central structure that would allow inmates to be observed at all times, was the project closest to his heart; the British government ultimately rejected his plan. After Bentham's death, his body was dissected and his skeleton reconstructed, clothed, and fitted with a wax head. It remains on view at London's University College.

Gail Tinsley

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Law

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Berbers

The Berbers are the indigenous people of North Africa, tracing their cultural roots to pre-Roman times. Converted to Islam during the Arab invasions of the Middle Ages, most Berbers of the lowland regions along the Mediterranean coast gradually adopted Arab culture and language as well. Only in the highland regions and the Sahara beyond, particularly in Algeria and Morocco, has a significant, culturally distinctive Berber population survived, though it is almost entirely Muslim. Having intermarried and interbred for centuries, the two peoples are indistinguishable physically. As the censuses of North African countries do not classify the two groups separately, it is difficult to estimate the population of Berbers accurately, though it is thought that in Algeria, for example, the Berbers represent roughly 25 percent of the population.

The term *Berber* comes from the Latin *Barbari*, or *barbarian* in modern English, a word the Romans used to describe non-Latin-speaking foreigners. But the Berbers largely resisted the Roman culture of the coastal cities and the Christian religion that was established there in the late Roman era. Indeed, they remained a people apart until the Arab invasions of the seventh through eleventh centuries C.E.

The Berbers and the Arabs were treated differently by the French colonizers who occupied Algeria from 1830 to 1962. Subscribing to the racialist anthropology of the day, the French in North Africa—especially in Algeria and Tunisia—believed that the tribal Berbers in their mountainous home of the Kabyle were more Caucasian in origin and thus superior to the lowland Arabs.

For that reason—and as part of the traditional imperial policy of divide and rule—the French colonizers often utilized the Berbers as local gendarmes and soldiers, policing the Arab majority. At the same time, the French tended to build more schools in the Kabyle region, making the region more francophone than other parts of Algeria. Indeed, it was the Arab-speaking population of the lowlands that largely led the independence struggle against the French in the post–World War II era. To this day, the Berbers retain their own political institutions in Algeria, which, though not calling for independence for the Kabyle, demand protection of their culture. At the same time, the Berbers are more francophone than their Arab neighbors and are disproportionately represented among the North African population of France. Moreover, as is typical with non-Arab minorities in much of the Middle East and North Africa, the Berbers tend to be less orthodox in their religious practice and have tended to resist the call of political Islam.

James Ciment

See also Algeria; French Empire; Morocco; Tunisia

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Berlin

See Conference of Berlin; Congress of Berlin

Bertolini, Pietro (1859–1920)

An Italian political figure and author of several books on local government and administration, Pietro Bertolini became Italy's first minister of colonies. Born on July 24, 1859, in Venice, he was elected to Parliament in 1891 and served as finance undersecretary (July 1894–March 1896), interior undersecretary (May 1899–June 1900), and public works minister (November 1907–December 1909). Bertolini helped negotiate the Treaty of Ouchy (October 18, 1912), which brought an end to the war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire and secured for Rome the North African provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (as they were renamed by the Italians). As minister of colonies (November 1912–March 1914), he helped organize the colony of Libya, where he favored cooperation with the indigenous inhabitants and their leaders. A commission instituted by Bertolini dispelled the notion that Libya was a promised land for Italian emigration and recommended only small-scale colonization and the private development of agriculture. He tried to curb, albeit often unsuccessfully, the abuses of the military, such as its policy of summarily executing Arabs suspected of rebelling. Although Bertolini was opposed to Italy's entrance into World War I in May 1915, he was nominated after the war to be the Italian representative on the inter-Allied reparations commission at Paris. He died in Turin on November 28, 1920.

Richard Bach Jensen

See also Italian Empire; Libya; Ottoman Empire; World War I

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Bismarck, Otto von (1815–1898)

Born into an old Pomeranian Junker family, Otto von Bismarck received an administrative law education at various liberal universities. After the revolutions of 1848, he was appointed chief Prussian delegate to the Diet at Frankfurt (1851) and became prime minister of Prussia in September 1862. During his twenty-eight years in German politics, Bismarck skillfully brought various Germanic states under Prussian leadership and created a unified German nation in 1871. Over the

next two decades, he single-handedly manipulated and controlled a complex alliance system that sustained the precarious balance of power between Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia. During this period, Bismarck concentrated on consolidating the German Empire, controlling both foreign and domestic opposition to his conservative policies, and expanding German colonial holdings outside Europe. Between 1884 and 1885, his country's colonial empire grew to a size more than four times as large as contemporary Germany.

In earlier years, Bismarck had disparaged colonization, likening an imperial nation to "a poverty-stricken Polish nobleman providing himself with silks and sables when he needs shirts." His later embrace of imperialism has variously been described as an effort to keep up with other European nations, as merely an expression of his previously disguised desire for empire, and as a response to domestic pressures in order to achieve his own objectives.

Germany's colonial empire was successfully promoted by the *Kolonialverein* (Colonial Association), founded in 1882. For the next few years, the other European powers needed the support of the German Reich and thus could not actively restrict Germany's colonial ambitions. Bismarck carefully manipulated the Anglo-French disputes over control of Egypt in 1884, which culminated in Franco-German rapprochement as well as British acquiescence to German aspirations. Another series of disputes over free trade in the Congo changed the balance of power again, resulting in an Anglo-German entente—which weakened Germany's connections to France—and the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, in which much of Africa was parceled out to European imperial powers. Although Britain was not pleased with Germany's imperial plans, the French presence in Egypt and Russian pressures in Asia fostered a spirit of toleration. In an Anglo-German agreement in October 1886, the British formally recognized German colonies in East Africa.

By 1890, however, Bismarck was rapidly becoming disenchanted with Germany's colonial empire. The extraordinarily high cost of maintaining the country's holdings, with little hope of a profitable trade, soured him on further colonial expansion. Instead, he turned to Latin America



Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck and French Emperor Napoleon III meet shortly after Prussia's victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The victory helped pave the way for the establishment of a unified German nation and empire in the late nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

and China in search of open markets for trade. Bismarck's decision to abandon a strong imperial policy was most likely a result of financial considerations, domestic politics, and the desire to maintain relatively amicable relations with the British in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This decision, along with other disagreements with Emperor William II, forced Bismarck to resign in March 1890.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Congress of Berlin; German Empire

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Blyden, Edward Wilmot (1832–1912)

A Liberian educator, minister, journalist, and government official, Edward Wilmot Blyden was an early theorist of pan-Africanism and an advocate for an Africa free of colonialism. Blyden was born on the Caribbean island of St. Thomas in 1832 and emigrated to Liberia in 1850, three years after that country became the first independent black republic in Africa. There, he went on to edit a newspaper, become ordained as a Presbyterian minister, and serve as principal of the country's most prestigious high school and, from 1864 to 1866, as the nation's secretary of state.

Blyden was a renegade thinker in the community of Westernized Liberians, most of whom were descendants of freed slaves and free blacks from the United States. These Americoese, as they were called, saw themselves as more Western than

African, and though living among a native African majority in Liberia, they made a point of maintaining a separate culture and community. Blyden, by contrast, advocated an amalgam of Western and African cultures, and he saw Liberia as a natural bridge between these two worlds. Moreover, he preached and wrote that Liberian society could teach the rest of Africa how to live in the modern world while staying true to its African roots. Remarkably, as a Christian minister in a time of religious absolutism, he also sought a way to reconcile Islam and Christianity within a pan-Africanist context.

But Blyden had a hard time convincing his fellow Liberian intellectuals and elites, and in 1885, he lost a race for the presidency of the country. In the 1890s and early 1900s, however, he served as Liberia's ambassador to the United Kingdom and France—both of which had designs on Liberian territory. Thereafter, Blyden moved to the neighboring British colony of Sierra Leone, where he died in 1912.

James Ciment

See also Liberia; Pan-Africanism

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Boer War (South African War) (1899–1902)

The Boer (or South African) War was Britain's last effort to dominate the Boer republics in southern Africa. Earlier attempts to create a confederation had failed, and their first war against the South African Republic had ended in almost complete defeat for the British. By 1895, the stakes had risen considerably with the establishment of gold mining in Witwatersrand, financed primarily by British and German capital. But the capitalists did not like having to work within President Paul Kruger's concession policy, most irritatingly the dynamite monopoly, which increased production costs. Both the concession policy and the dynamite monopoly were, in a sense, taxes paid by mining companies to Kruger's government.

Kruger sought to protect Boer society and traditions from what he saw as the immorality of the

mining camp and the political threat posed by *uitlanders* (foreigners); he also wanted to ensure that the republic would benefit as much as possible from the gold being mined within its borders. But Cecil Rhodes, who was financially involved in the Transvaal and for a time served as prime minister of the Cape Colony, sought to extend British control; he also wanted to be sure that the British involved in the project (himself and his friends in particular) profited substantially from Transvaal's gold. Not all uitlanders agreed with Rhodes; not all Boers agreed with Kruger.

Attitudes hardened in October 1895 with the abortive Jameson Raid, an attack on the Transvaal Boer republic from British-controlled Cape Colony, and were further exacerbated when Alfred (later Viscount) Milner became governor of the Cape and, bent on war, took over the negotiations with Kruger. Stubborn Boer met intransigent Briton, and war ensued—a war opposed by many in Britain (particularly the Liberals) and elsewhere. British troops, certain that the war would be “over by Christmas,” came up against Boer commando forces using guerrilla tactics. With local sources of supply, the Boers were able to mount major sieges at Ladysmith and Mafeking, the latter lifted with African help. The British adopted scorched-earth tactics—burning farms, fields, and crops. Boer women, whom the British saw as spies, and children who had been left destitute were placed in concentration camps, following an earlier Spanish practice in Cuba.

Inadequate food, water, and sanitation made the camps virtual death traps. The British journalist Emily Hobhouse and the suffragist Millicent Garrett Fawcett visited these camps and campaigned for improvements, which were eventually made. No notice was taken of the worse conditions in African camps. In what was supposedly a “white man's war,” both sides used Africans, frequently arming them. Many Africans supported Britain in the hope of receiving some reward, at least in the form of the extension of the Cape franchise. Milner's Transvaal reconstruction plans made this a vain hope.

Milner wanted to create a British majority in the Transvaal by encouraging the emigration of “yeoman” and unmarried women from Britain. He believed the “overspill” of profits from the mining industry could be used to improve agricultural

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BOER SCOUTS ON THE NATAL BORDER.
DRAWN BY FREDERIC REMINGTON.

Boer scouts patrol the border of Natal, South Africa, during the Boer War of 1899–1902. The war pitted independent-minded Boers, the descendants of Dutch settlers, against the expanding British Empire for control of mineral-rich South Africa. (Library of Congress)

services, making British rule more acceptable to Boers who would not have accepted any concessions to Africans. However, the reconstruction efforts failed, and in 1906, a self-governing Transvaal emerged, with former Boer leader Louis Botha as prime minister. Four years later, the Union of South Africa was created.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Cape Colony; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa

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Boers (Afrikaners)

Boers, the Dutch descendants of seventeenth-century settlers in South Africa, are also referred to as Afrikaners. After the Cape of Good Hope was acquired by the British in 1814, tensions between the Boers and the British increased, leading to the Great Trek of the Boers to the north, where they founded the Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic. By 1843, the British had asserted control over Natal, and in 1877, they brought the South African Republic under the sovereignty of the Crown, but the Boers mounted a resistance effort that resulted in the regaining of their independence in 1881. After the discovery of gold in the southern Transvaal, English immigrants flooded into the region. Boer farmers resented this intrusion and devised a system of taxation that discouraged miners.

Politically disenfranchised, the British felt they had no recourse except war. Leaders of the Cape Colony, including Cecil Rhodes and Leander Starr Jameson, organized a military expedition of 600 men whose mission was to assist the British resistance movement within the Boer republics. The Jameson Raid, an attack on the Transvaal from British-controlled Cape Colony, proved unsuccessful. As tensions escalated, the number of British troops in the region swelled to 50,000. The president of the South African Republic, Paul Kruger,

ordered these troops out of the country, and when the demand was not met, war was declared on October 12, 1899. The Boers managed to defeat British forces at Ladysmith, Natal, and Mafeking; for four months, in fact, they won every battle. But then a new commander, Gen. Frederick S. Roberts, arrived from England, and within one month, his forces captured Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. Guerrilla resistance continued for another year before the two parties signed the Treaty of Vereeniging. In 1910, the British unified the republics under the Act of Union, with a British governor and a Boer prime minister and deputy. Thereafter, the Boers and British focused their attention on the indigenous population: their ongoing efforts to suppress nonwhites led to the passage of apartheid laws in the 1950s. This system of discrimination continued until the 1990s, when apartheid officially ended and Nelson Mandela was elected president.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Boer War; Cape Colony; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa

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Bolívar, Simón (1783–1839)

Known as the "Great Liberator," Simón Bolívar was a Venezuelan soldier, statesman, and Creole elite who led a successful independence movement against Spain in the early nineteenth century. Born to a family of slave owners in Caracas on July 24, 1783, Bolívar was well educated on his father's cacao plantation. In 1802, he married María Teresa Rodríguez de Toro in Madrid. On returning to Venezuela, she suddenly took ill and died.

As the Spanish monarchy slid into chaos following Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808, Bolívar journeyed to Europe. In April 1810, he led a legation to London and lobbied for a recognition of independence for his homeland. It was finally issued on July 5, 1811. But the Spanish, who ignored this recognition, defeated the Venezuelan independence movement and its First Republic, and Bolívar fled to Cartagena. He then issued the Cartagena Manifesto calling for support in his independence struggle. He soon received assistance



A medallion depicting Simón Bolívar, leader of the early nineteenth-century South American revolt against Spanish rule. (Library of Congress)

from the United Provinces of New Granada, which enabled his forces to capture Caracas in 1813. As a result of his efforts during the campaign, Bolívar was given the title “Liberator.”

Bolívar quickly created a military dictatorship, known as the Second Republic. His elite status soon became his undoing, however, as royalist forces persuaded the region’s poor to rally against the local aristocracy. By 1814, Bolívar was forced into exile in New Granada. Traveling to Jamaica and Haiti in 1815, he secured support for another military campaign. By 1817, his forces controlled the Orinoco River basin. Thereafter, he abolished slavery and instituted congressional elections. The new congress then convened in February 1819.

As the elected leader of Venezuela, Bolívar continued westward across the Andes, capturing Bogotá following the Battle of Boyaca on August 7. In December 1819, Gran Colombia (comprising Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador) was created, although royalist forces continued their resistance until June 1821. Pursuing the fight against Spain in Ecuador and Peru, Bolívar met with Argentine independence leader José de San Martín in 1822, and the two men agreed that Bolívar would liberate Peru. His forces triumphed in Peru after the Battle of Ayacucho on December 9.

Leaders in the region known as Upper Peru asked Bolívar to draft the first constitution of the country that would be named in his honor—Bolivia. However, the draft was criticized because Bolívar favored a president who served for life; ultimately, Peru and Bolivia approved the plan, but Gran Colombia did not. A failed rebellion in April 1826 persuaded Bolívar to call for constitutional reforms. Yet at a convention at Ocaña in June 1828, he canceled the liberal reforms that had defined his earlier regime. Three months later, he was almost assassinated by the forces of his rival, Francisco de Paula Santander. In response, Bolívar increased his control over the population and exiled Santander. Rebellion quickly escalated, prompting Venezuela’s withdrawal from Gran Colombia in 1829. The following year, a disappointed Bolívar resigned as president. He died in Santa Marta on December 17, 1830, shortly before boarding a ship to once again leave his native land.

Jason Charles Newman

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Colombia; Martí, José; Spanish Empire; Venezuela; War and Warfare

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Bolivia (Alto Peru)

On November 16, 1532, Francisco Pizarro and a small band of conquistadores captured (and later murdered) the Inca emperor Atahualpa at Cajamarca, Peru, and assumed control of his vast realm. During the first two decades of Spanish rule, control of the Bolivian highlands (known as Alto Peru or Upper Peru) was delayed first by a protracted struggle with the Inca successor, Manco Inca (1536–1545), then by a civil war over the spoils of the conquest between the Pizarro brothers and Diego de Almagro (1537–1538), and finally by a war between Gonzalo Pizarro’s followers and the royal forces sent to rein in the *encomenderos*, or plantation and mine owners (1544–1548). Following Gonzalo’s execution in 1548, the royalist victors established the city of La Paz in Alto Peru and founded Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1561. Native resistance in Alto Peru did

not, however, end with the execution of the last Inca emperor in exile, Tupac Amaru in 1572. The unceasing hostility of the Indians of the Bolivian lowlands, for example, effectively forestalled the conquest of the arid Chaco region through the entire colonial era.

The 1545 discovery of the largest deposit of silver in the Western Hemisphere at Potosí fueled Spanish interest in Alto Peru. Early on, Indian producers and prospectors voluntarily flocked to the mineral-rich mountain, but as the surface deposits were exhausted in the 1560s, silver extraction began to decline. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo inspected the region in the 1570s and, to increase production, reimposed the Inca *mita* (labor draft), requiring adult Indians from sixteen outlying highland districts to spend every sixth year working in the mines. Although the viceroy's labor "reforms" and new refining techniques helped make the boomtown of Potosí fabulously wealthy and the largest city in the New World (with a population of 160,000), the mining revival exacted a heavy toll on Alto Peru's Indian *ayllus* (traditional ethnic communities).

To escape the hardships and dangers of *mita* service in the mines, many Andean Indians abandoned their lands and *ayllus* in the late seventeenth century, either escaping to distant Indian villages, seeking asylum in new colonial cities, or hiring themselves out as *yanacona* (or personal servants) on the proliferating *haciendas* (large landed estates). In the 1650s, Alto Peru had been divided into eighty-two *encomiendas* (forced Indian labor districts), but these were transitioning to large agricultural estates that prospered by growing wheat, corn, and coca leaves for the mining camps. The decline in Potosí's silver production in the eighteenth century unwittingly bolstered the rival peasant economy, as many large landowners were forced to subdivide or rent out their lands to recoup lost revenues. As royal silver revenues diminished, the Crown also sought out new sources of income and began to increase the *alcabala* (Indian tribute payments).

Andean *ayllus* survived, adapted, and persisted throughout the colonial period and were anything but passive in their responses to colonial exploitation: more than 100 Andean revolts disturbed the peace in the eighteenth century alone. The most serious rebellion, headed by Tupac Amaru II in

1780, had the support of tens of thousands of Andean Indians in Bolivia and was suppressed only after the summary execution of local leaders Tomás Catari and Túpac Catari and thousands of their followers. Colonial discontent did not disappear, however, and in 1809, Pedro Domingo Murillo led radical criollos and mestizos in a revolt in La Paz, declaring an independent state. Alto Peru became a bitterly contested battleground in the years that followed, and it was not until 1825 that a constituent assembly formally proclaimed independence, naming the new nation Bolivia in honor of the hero of the independence wars, Simón Bolívar Palacio.

Francis X. Luca

See also Atahualpa; Conquistadores; Mining; Peru; Pizarro, Francisco; Potosí; Silver; Spanish Empire

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Bolsheviks

The Bolsheviks were members of a faction of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDWP) established in 1903 by Vladimir Lenin. Bolsheviks split with the RSDWP on the issue of membership, which, they argued, had to involve full-time, active participation by all. They contended that a disciplined organization of "professional revolutionaries" had to lead the proletariat and convince the masses that their true interests did not lie in obtaining higher wages but in overthrowing the existing order and establishing a Communist society. Living in an empire where almost half of the population was non-Russian, with over three-quarters of the people living in villages, the great majority of Bolsheviks were urban-based (though not factory workers) and either Russians or Russified non-Russians.

The Bolsheviks functioned conspiratorially because their organization and activities were illegal. Numerous individuals in the movement differed with Lenin on major issues, and local committees were, in practice, independent before 1917. They turned their movement into the dictatorial organization that critics had predicted when they militarized themselves during four years of war and revolution. Convinced that their policies were correct,



Russians line up to pay their respects at the tomb of Vladimir Lenin in Moscow's Kremlin, a year after the Bolshevik revolutionary leader's death in 1924. The Bolsheviks created the Soviet Union out of the collapsed Russian Empire in 1917. (Library of Congress)

Bolshevik leaders believed that conspiracies lay behind the problems they faced in their newly established state. This attitude predisposed them to use the violence and terror that had brought them victory in war against their internal enemies during peacetime. Prepared to use force, unlimited by law or morality, against non-Bolshevik opponents, they never imagined that one of their own would use force against his own fellows. Thus, they were easy prey for Joseph Stalin, who gradually rose to power in the late 1920s following the death of Lenin in 1924. By 1939, only 8 percent of party members had been members since before 1920, and most regarded Stalin's centralization, forced industrialization, expropriation of peasants, use of terror, and refusal to sponsor revolutions abroad as Bolshevism in practice.

After seizing power, the Bolsheviks imposed their organizational norms on the Third Communist International (Comintern), an organization of international Communist organizations, in 1919.

According to the Twenty-One Conditions of Affiliation (1921), member parties had to combine legal and illegal activities and unquestioningly accept the authority of the Comintern Executive, which meant, in practice, the authority of the Russian party's Central Committee. After 1923, those who questioned or opposed central policies risked execution by the Soviet secret police. Although Russian Bolsheviks considered their organizational principles universally valid, leftist critics considered them characteristics of a peculiarly Russian national communism. The Comintern was dissolved in 1943, but Communist parties outside the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) remained subordinate to Moscow, and even where they were legal, they maintained secret wings whose tasks included killing opponents. As of 1991, Bolshevik-style Communist parties controlled some 40 percent of the world's territory, but the collapse of the Soviet Union in that year, following the demise of Communist regimes in East-

ern Europe two years earlier, reduced that territory significantly. The Fourth Communist International, founded in opposition to the third by Leon Trotsky in 1938, condemned Stalin's policies as non-Bolshevik and "counterrevolutionary" but had little impact during his life.

Stephen Velychenko

See also Communism; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Russian Empire; Stalin, Joseph

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Bombay (Mumbai)

Bombay, now usually called Mumbai, is known as the "Gateway of India." With its natural harbor, it is the principal port on the west coast of India and one of India's largest and most industrialized cities. It is a great commercial center. Bombay was first mentioned by Ptolemy in 150 C.E., and from the ninth century until the mid-fourteenth, it was under Hindu rule, before being transferred to the Sultan of Gujerat.

Bombay was ceded to the Portuguese in 1534 after being occupied by Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1510; it then went to Charles II of England as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, sister of the Portuguese king, whom he married in 1661. It later became the capital of the Bombay presidency under the British and, after 1947, the Bombay state. In 1668, Bombay was leased to the East India Company, and four years later, the company's Indian president, Gerald Aungier, transferred the Indian headquarters of the East India Company from Surat to Bombay. Consequently, Aungier is considered the city's modern founder. He had a policy of religious tolerance, which attracted the Parsi merchants who played a prominent part in the city's commercial and, later, industrial development, especially in the textile and shipping industries. With the expansion of British power in India, most of western India as far north

as Sind and Gujerat became part of the Bombay presidency.

The first railway in India was built from Bombay in 1853, and the Bombay-Baroda and the Central India railway lines were constructed in the 1860s. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made Bombay the premier city in Asia and a world entrepôt. The first meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was held in the city, and Bombay played an important part in the nationalist movement. In the twentieth century, it developed the world's largest movie-making industry. In 1960, Bombay became the capital of the new state of Maharashtra.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; India

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Bonaparte, Napoleon (1769–1821)

Napoleon Bonaparte, a French military and political leader, served as first consul of the French Republic from 1799 to 1804 and as the emperor of France from 1804 to 1814 and again in 1815. Judgments regarding his contribution to the development of colonialism and imperialism, as well as his overall historical record, are necessarily complex and controversial. On the one hand, he would be deemed a failure if judged by the very few (and unsuccessful) attempts made to restore the shattered French overseas empire in 1802 and 1803 (consider, for example, the failed military expedition to Haiti and the reestablishment of slavery in the Antilles and Guiana). Moreover, by the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the British occupied all of France's colonies. On the other hand, he would be deemed successful if judged by France's spectacular conquest of Egypt between 1799 and 1801 and his personal contribution (until 1800) to the social reforms and establishment of French rule in that country, which ultimately opened the Orient for European expansion.

From 1803 to 1810, Napoleon actively tried to support the besieged French outposts in the Indian Ocean. Additionally, he tackled wider imperialist

projects between 1801 and 1809—the conquest of India, the partition of the Ottoman Empire—and had a variety of expansionist plans for the Caribbean, Spanish America, Brazil, the United States, Muscat, Algeria, Morocco, Mozambique, and Australia. Considered within the framework of the worldwide struggle against England, these efforts revealed Napoleon's great colonial ambitions.

The British naval preponderance obstructed Napoleon's real and potential colonial schemes and shifted the focus of his imperialist policy toward Europe. There, he succeeded in establishing effective, although incomplete, military, political, and economic control over much of the continent. By 1812, the Napoleonic empire included: the imperial core (France, with its enormous territorial acquisitions), the so-called military districts (the Hanseatic German cities under direct French rule), vassal states ruled by members of the Bonaparte dynasty (Italy, Naples, Spain, Westphalia, and several small German and Italian principalities), French protectorates (Switzerland, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Duchy of Warsaw), and dependent allies (Austria, Prussia, Denmark, and Norway). Moreover, due to Napoleon's victories in Europe, the French overseas empire was briefly expanded: the Ionian Islands (1797–1799 and 1807–1809), Louisiana (formally 1800–1803), Tamatave (Madagascar) (1803–1811), and Java (1810–1811). In addition, the French occupation of Malta in 1799 and 1800 was an immediate consequence of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition.

At the same time, numerous and far-reaching by-products of the Napoleonic era shattered and transformed the old imperial order. Napoleon's occupation of Spain and his invasion of Portugal undermined the Spanish and Portuguese Empires and stimulated the emancipation of Latin America; Napoleon failed to subjugate Spanish America through the vassal Spain and later sought to establish contacts with Latin American insurgents. And by selling Louisiana to the United States, he helped to change the American geopolitical priorities and weaken British influence in the country. The British Empire, for its part, expanded enormously, curbing Napoleon's global adventures.

Combining a revolutionary heritage and imperialist ambitions, Napoleon himself frequently exploited the liberal ideas of the French Revolution in his conquests. This undermined foreign domi-

nation in Italy, Poland, and the Balkans. Conversely, the popular resistance to Napoleonic imperialism led to a national awakening throughout Europe and the Middle East. Some of Napoleon's expansionist projects and ideas were taken up by his French successors (for instance, the colonization of Africa and the Levant and the building of the Suez Canal).

Napoleon reexamined his own colonial legacy while exiled in St. Helena. The former emperor described the expedition to Haiti and the reestablishment of slavery as among his greatest follies (he formally abolished slavery during his brief return to power in 1815). He also foresaw the radical transformation of the old-fashioned colonial system, including the gradual emancipation of the British settler colonies.

Peter Rainow

See also Algeria; Brazil; British Empire; Egypt; French Empire; French Revolution; Haiti; India; Morocco; Mozambique; Ottoman Empire; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire; Suez Canal; War and Warfare

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Booth, Joseph (1851–1932)

Joseph Booth was an individualistic and anticolonialist British Protestant missionary in central, southern, and eastern Africa—areas from which he was often deported for his criticisms of colonialism. Between 1892, when he first went to Africa, and 1915, when John Chilembwe, one of his first converts to an independent Baptist attitude, led a rising against British power in Nyasaland, Booth's radical Christianity influenced a generation of mission-educated African intellectuals. He popularized the slogan "Africa for the African" and published a book with this title through an African American press in 1897. Booth believed that the African American had a special destiny in the liberation of Africa, and he endeavored to develop his connections with a number of leading African Americans, especially W. E. B. Du Bois.

Booth was widely traveled in Africa, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Britain, and his horizons were not limited to Africa, although it was there that his anti-imperialist influences were greatest. He also spoke energetically in Britain on colonial questions, and he assisted Indian nationalists, such as Dadabhai Naoroji, the author of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (1901), in their efforts to ameliorate British rule in the subcontinent. But for some critics of imperialism, Booth seemed insufficiently militant. He was a lifelong pacifist and could not approve of the ultimate step of taking up arms against imperial rule. Colonial authorities, however, ignored this fact and wrongly accused him of immediate implication in the 1915 rising in Nyasaland. In the struggle against imperialism, Booth preferred to use tactics such as establishing Africa self-help institutions and sending petitions, looking forward to independence, to the British government. He made great personal sacrifices for his beliefs over a long life and died almost destitute.

George Shepperson

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Chilembwe, John; Christianity

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Bosnia

Bosnia is a former Yugoslav republic on the Balkan Peninsula and is surrounded by Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro. Throughout the centuries, four major invasions of this land created a diverse ethnic and religious population, ultimately leading to internal conflict in modern times. In the first century B.C.E., the Romans incorporated the area as the Province of Illyricum. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 C.E., the Goths and the Slavs exerted control until the twelfth century, when Hungary conquered the region.

In 1493, another invasion, this time by the Ottomans, introduced Islam to a population already divided between Catholic and Orthodox Christianity. Deep-seated differences between the groups resulted in increased tensions, especially as the power of the Ottoman Empire declined. In 1908,

the Austro-Hungarian Empire invaded Bosnia, driving the Ottomans out and annexing the province. National autonomy and cultural independence led to internal dissent and agitation, with the major European powers supporting opposing sides in a power struggle over land. Then, in June 1914, a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne, and his wife, an act that led to the outbreak of World War I. At the end of hostilities, Bosnia and Herzegovina joined Serbia under the monarchy of Aleksander I, who renamed the country Yugoslavia in 1929. During World War II, the country was divided, but it regained its unity after the conflict under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. Peace and toleration of all ethnic and religious groups continued until his death in 1980. Thereafter, the Soviet Union dominated the country until a declaration of independence was proclaimed in 1991 after the breakup of the Communist bloc. By May 1993, hostilities broke out between Croats and Slavic Muslims, but they later joined together in an alliance against the Serbs. Fighting continued until the three groups signed the Dayton Accord in December 1995. Today, UN war crime tribunals continue to pursue individuals involved in the ethnic cleansing of the Bosnian Muslims that occurred from 1992 to the end of the conflict.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Ottoman Empire; Serbia; Tito, Josip Broz; World War I

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Botswana

See Bechuanaland

Bougainville, Louis-Antoine (1729–1811)

The Paris-born son of a bourgeois family, Louis-Antoine Bougainville (Comte de Bougainville) was a brilliant student, highly regarded for his scientific abilities. He started his military career in 1750 and was soon involved in the colonial rivalries that pitted France against Great Britain. In 1754, he was the secretary of Maréchal de Lévis-Mirepoix, who was dispatched to London to protest against the

British actions in the Ohio Valley. When the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) started, Bougainville was sent to New France as the aide-de-camp of Marquis Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, commander of the French regular troops in Canada whose mission was to defend the colony against British attacks. As such, he participated in all the campaigns led by Montcalm and was entrusted with several military and diplomatic missions. His stay in Canada allowed him to meet Native Americans, whom he planned to study with a philosophical eye. His image of the *Bon Sauvage*, or noble savage, did not survive the realities of the war, and by the time Bougainville left Canada, his expectations concerning the state of nature were destroyed. In 1763, he tried to create a new French colony in the Malouines Islands (Falkland Islands) to replace the loss of New France, but the opposition of the Spanish court prevented him from accomplishing this objective. Bougainville then turned his attention to the Pacific. In 1766, he launched an exploratory voyage that would lead him from Montevideo to Tahiti, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), the Solomon Islands, New Ireland, and the north coast of New Guinea before returning via Jakarta and the Cape of Good Hope. His account of this trip (*Voyage autour du monde*), published in 1771, revived the idealization of the state of nature in Europe despite Bougainville's pessimism in this regard. Later in life, as a member of the Academy of Marine and adviser to the minister for scientific affairs, he was deeply committed to French colonial enterprises and assisted the voyages of Comte de La Pérouse and Nicolas Baudin in the Pacific.

Saliha Belmessous

See also Americans, Native; Canada; Falkland Islands; Noble Savage; Solomon Islands

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Bourguiba, Habib (c. 1903–2000)

Habib Bourguiba, the father of independent Tunisia, was born about twenty years after France imposed a protectorate over his country. He led the nationalist struggle that resulted in indepen-

dence in 1956. The following year, the monarchy was abolished and Bourguiba became Tunisia's first president. He ruled until 1987, when his prime minister ousted him in a bloodless coup, and survived another thirteen years under house arrest.

Born in the small town of Monastir in Tunisia's coastal, or Sahel, region (his exact date of birth is unknown), Bourguiba was educated at Tunis and at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he studied political science and law. Back in Tunis in the early 1930s, he helped to found the Neo-Destour (New Constitution) Party to work for independence.

Often referred to as a “dogmatic moderate,” Bourguiba combined a strong commitment to Tunisian independence with a love for French culture. In 1942, when the outcome of World War II was far from clear, Bourguiba supported France and the Allies against the Axis.

Embodying and reinforcing Tunisia's modernizing tendency, Bourguiba promoted secularism. Although Islam remained the state religion, polygamy was abolished. The Code du Statut Personnel (Code of Personal Status) guaranteed women rights that were unparalleled in the Muslim world. The roles of the religious courts and of the Zitouna mosque-university were circumscribed.

Postindependence tensions with France climaxed in 1962 with a violent clash at the Bizerte naval base. The French withdrawal from Bizerte led to a brief relaxation of tensions, but when Bourguiba nationalized foreign interests in 1964, relations between the two nations again suffered. Cooperation with France improved in 1968, and France has provided large-scale assistance since then. In the late 1960s, the Tunisian government came under strong pressure to support the pan-Arab cause led by Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Violent pro-Nasser student demonstrations were suppressed, and demonstrators were sentenced to as much as twenty years of hard labor.

Thomas Turner

See also French Empire; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Tunisia; World War II

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Boxer Rebellion

Between 1880 and 1900, China faced many problems resulting from repeated brushes with the forces of imperialism. Wars ended in defeat and territorial loss. Jobs were scarce as traditional Chinese workers competed with mass-produced imports delivered over the new railroads. Even missionaries trying to spread the “good news” caused upset, for China’s influential gentry regarded members of the so-called Jesus sect as destroyers of tradition, authority, and culture.

These and other issues created a xenophobic movement promising salvation via the elimination of outsiders. It started in northern China during the late 1890s and was especially attractive to rural people. Thousands joined the movement known as Ye He Quan, which combined nationalism, mysticism, and martial arts, and Western journalists called these people Boxers, through an imperfect translation of the Chinese. At first, they were considered little more than bandits. By 1900, however, Western diplomats were calling on their governments for protection as an army of Boxers attacked foreigners all over northern China and laid siege to the foreign legations in Peking.

Another short colonial campaign followed, as an international relief force landed on the Chinese coast and fought its way to the capital. After several major battles, the Chinese government sued for peace, agreeing to yet more territorial losses, political concessions, and monetary reparations. These terms, codified in the 1901 Boxer Protocols, served to anger new generations of Chinese nationalists and spawn anticolonial feelings in the twentieth century.

John Dunn

See also China

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Brazil

The Portuguese navigator Pedro Alvares Cabral arrived on the coast of Brazil on April 22, 1500, and claimed the land for the Portuguese Crown. However, because the Portuguese had recently found the lucrative sea route from Europe to the Far East

by rounding the southern coast of Africa, the discovery of Brazil was considered of minor importance. In Brazil, the Portuguese did not find the gold and wealth that the Spanish had chanced upon on the west coast of South America and in Central America. Nor were there rich empires such as those of the Incas, the Mayas, and the Aztecs. Indeed, the native inhabitants that the Portuguese first met in Brazil, the Tupi-speaking people, were food gatherers, hunters, and subsistence farmers, with no gold or silver to offer. They practiced a nomadic agriculture, cultivating manioc, beans, peppers, squash, pineapple, and other crops, and moved whenever the soil became exhausted.

The first economic activity developed by the Portuguese in Brazil was the extraction of brazilwood, which yielded an excellent red dye that was used in Europe at the time to color clothing. For the first few decades after Cabral’s arrival, the Portuguese exchanged European goods for brazilwood with the natives along the coast. The relationship of the two groups was, by this time, reasonably peaceful. However, conflict broke out after the 1530s, when colonization began to take place and the Portuguese began establishing themselves in Brazil.

In the seventeenth century, sugar became a profitable commodity, and Brazil soon became Europe’s most important supplier. As sugar production required a plentiful and reliable labor force, attempts were made to use the indigenous people on the sugar plantations. Their mortality rate proved high, however, and the Portuguese began importing enslaved Africans into Brazil; in fact, during this period, Brazil became the largest importer of African slaves in the world. The sugar economy developed steadily until the second half of the seventeenth century, when sugar from the Caribbean islands began to rival that from Brazil and the latter lost its monopoly in the European market.

Yet the number of enslaved Africans in Brazil did not decrease. In fact, it tripled by the eighteenth century, when Brazil provided most of the world’s supply of gold following the discovery of gold and diamonds in the Province of Minas Gerais, and it remained high in the nineteenth century, when Brazil became the world’s largest producer of coffee. Brazil was the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery. In addition to the enslaved Africans, Brazil also received successive

waves of migrants, mainly Portuguese but also Italians, Spanish, Germans, and Japanese, among others. Through intense miscegenation, these peoples have created the modern nation of Brazil.

In 1822, Brazil won its freedom from Portugal when Dom Pedro, the son of the Portuguese king, who was supported by the Brazilian elite, declared that nation's independence on September 7. In this fashion, Brazil became the only country in Latin America to have been ruled by a monarchy. That political system lasted until 1889, when a republican coup overthrew the Brazilian emperor, Dom Pedro II. Today, Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world, both in population and in geographic area, and also the only Latin America nation whose people speak Portuguese. It is an industrialized country and has the ninth largest economy in the world, though its income distribution is among the worst anywhere.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Cabral, Pedro Alvares; Coffee; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Brazza, Pierre (1852–1905)

An explorer and colonial administrator, Pierre-Paul-François-Camille Savorgnan de Brazza was born and raised near Rome. He wanted to pursue a naval career, but Italy lacked an organized navy, so he became an officer in the French navy and a French citizen. His first undertaking in Africa (1875–1878) was the exploration of the Ogowe River in Gabon. He reached its source and sighted the Alima, a tributary of the Congo.

In 1880, he returned to Africa to explore the area north of the Congo River and soon found himself in competition with Henry Stanley, who was exploring the southern shores for King Leopold II of Belgium. Both men were aware of the importance of Stanley (now Malebo) Pool for control of the area. Brazza concluded a treaty with the local African king Makoko and left for France to

have it ratified. That ratification, however, became embroiled in international politics and was opposed by powerful French companies invested elsewhere. Ultimately, the treaty was ratified, and in 1886, Brazza was appointed governor of the area that became the French Congo five years later.

By most colonial standards, Brazza was humane. He toured the colony with a minimum of arms and with tons of goods for barter and gifts, establishing friendly relations with indigenous chiefs. He opened schools and clinics and secured fair wages for Africans. However, his enemies campaigned against him as the "foreigner" and the "nigger-lover." Although he had vastly enlarged the French Empire in Africa, he was recalled in 1897.

After his departure, conditions in the French Congo deteriorated. A scandal erupted in 1905 when the French public heard of the conviction of two Frenchmen for particularly brutal acts. Embarrassed, the French government sent Brazza to investigate. He drafted a truthful report that highlighted the corruption and abuse he found. In ill health, he died on his return journey to France. He was honored with a state funeral, but his report on conditions in the French Congo was suppressed.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Belgian Congo; Exploration; French Empire; French Equatorial Africa; Leopold II; Stanley, Henry Morton

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Bretton Woods Conference

The Bretton Woods Conference was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944. Attended by representatives from forty-four nations, the conference was focused on devising measures to avoid an international financial collapse following World War II. With the specter of the Great Depression of the 1930s looming over the proceedings, the officials in attendance drew up plans for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). The former would monitor the international financial system and manage a cash reserve system that a member nation could turn to at times of short-term deficits in its balance of payments. The latter would provide long-term loans

to member governments to facilitate development-oriented projects. The IMF and the World Bank were formally established in December 1945 as specialized agencies of the United Nations.

More broadly, the Bretton Woods Conference marked the establishment of a framework to manage the postwar international political economy. The IMF and the World Bank were important components in an effort to lock countries into a U.S.-centered economic order—and this became a critical consideration in the light of the superpower rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, which took hold within a couple of years after World War II. The Bretton Woods Conference laid the foundation for a U.S.-led consensus about both the appropriate model of economic development and the best approach to the management of international economic relations. As time passed, this consensus shifted from the Keynesianism of the early Cold War era to the neoliberalism that began to emerge by the late 1970s. The IMF and the World Bank, the main institutions spawned by the Bretton Woods Conference, have played an increasingly significant role in international economic affairs even as the ideas about economic development that prevailed at the time of their establishment have shifted.

Mark T. Berger

See also Economics; International Monetary Fund; United Nations; World War II

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Brezhnev, Leonid (1906–1982)

Leonid Brezhnev served as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982. Under his regime, nationality issues became a major threat, as attempts to create the "New Soviet Man" floundered. Brezhnev initially called for the recognition of national differences, but by 1972, the sixtieth anniversary of the November Revolution, he claimed the nationality question had been resolved. He then began to call

for the creation of the "Soviet People"; however, the 1977 Constitution—the so-called Brezhnev Constitution—failed to abolish the upper chamber of the Supreme Soviet, the Chamber of Nationalities. Ethnic appointees to government positions, especially those of an honorific nature, were increased, further emphasizing the multiethnic nature of the Soviet empire.

As the central government weakened, Moscow was increasingly unable to maintain control. It allowed local ethnic leaders to build up patronage-based power systems that served to reinforce ethnic identity and nationalism in the republics. It also built the Baikul-Amur Railroad to bring in Russian settlers and cement control over the region. But unlike its predecessor, the Trans-Siberian Railroad, the mammoth Baikul-Amur Railroad, which ran north of the old line, did not by itself dramatically increase the settlement of Siberia. However, many young Russians did move to Siberia, lured by higher wages and increased benefits.

Abroad, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) intervened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in general reinforced Communist governments in Eastern Europe. And after border skirmishes with China in 1969, the Soviets attempted but failed to improve relations with China. Under Brezhnev, the USSR also turned to Africa and the Middle East, especially South Yemen, supplying the areas with foreign aid, military assistance, and arms. When a Marxist faction seized power in Kabul, Afghanistan, in August 1978, Moscow at first resisted military intervention, but in December 1979, a rump meeting of the politburo approved military intervention because of the region's strategic importance. This move had a catastrophic effect on détente with the United States.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Cold War; Decolonization; Soviet Union

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British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)

In 1923, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) exchanged broadcast messages with the

United States, and the new technology called radio, or “the wireless,” was rapidly embraced. Within two years, an international regulating agency was founded to reduce wavelength interference. The BBC quickly began to plan the Empire Service, radio programming aimed at the British colonies, in order to compete with U.S. broadcasting and because it was felt that Britain had an obligation to lead the colonies. The Treasury refused to supply funding for these efforts, but the BBC went ahead on a shoestring budget funded by listeners in Britain, and by December 19, 1932, the Empire Service had been inaugurated and regular broadcasts were being transmitted over its signals.

At that point, the BBC Empire Service catered mostly to colonials of British origin, and the broadcasts were designed to keep expatriates in touch with matters back in Britain; there was also some vague intention of spreading British culture. Still, most programs broadcast on the Empire Service had been produced for the BBC home market, and for ten hours a day, the programs were sent out, in English, to these far-flung areas. For its purposes, the BBC divided the empire into five zones (Australia, India, southern Africa, western Africa, and Canada), which accorded with a subjective view of the empire but ignored the physical realities of time zone differences.

The events of the 1930s caused almost immediate change, however, in the form and intent of the Empire Service. As early as 1933, Germany had begun to broadcast, in English, a regular series that presented German political views. As tensions grew, use of the Empire Service began to be seen as an appropriate means by which to compete with Nazi broadcasts. In response to international pressures, broadcasts began to be heard in languages other than English by the late 1930s.

In the postwar years, radio reflected the profound changes that had occurred in British society, but there was a struggle to find a balance between entertainment and education in the Empire Service. By the end of the 1950s, the operation became known as the General Overseas Service, a name that reflected the growing de-emphasis on the empire; the shift was completed in 1965 with the adoption of a new moniker—the World Service. Meanwhile, the old arbitrary zones were converted into a system keyed to existing time zones

for the convenience of listeners. There was an accompanying shift in outlook, as well, with far less dependence on material from the BBC’s domestic broadcasts; news and current affairs concerning the areas receiving the broadcasts received new emphasis. Thus, a great decentralization had taken place, as Britain was moved from its prior status as the center of broadcast concerns and the paternal dispenser of “civilization” to become just one of many parties competing for attention and airtime.

Cynthia Curran

See also British Empire; Media

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British Central Africa Protectorate

See Nyasaland

British Commonwealth

See Commonwealth

British East Africa Company

See Imperial British East Africa Company

British East Africa Protectorate

See Kenya

British East India Company

The British East India Company was established on December 31, 1600. It was granted a monopoly by Queen Elizabeth I on all trade between England and the area east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of Cape Horn. By the 1640s, the company played an important role in European and Asian trade, and by the end of the seventeenth century, it was a major commercial and political force in London. Throughout its history, the company’s operations were centered on the Indian subcontinent. In the seventeenth century, the west coast and the southeast of India was more important, but by the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the rising trade in piece goods from Bengal

and the growth of the company's trade to China, the center of gravity of its operations had shifted to the northeast of the subcontinent. In the mid-eighteenth century, the company increasingly turned to military and political intervention to advance its interests. The decline of the Mughal Empire centered on Delhi, and the accelerating competition of the French in the region encouraged the company and the British government to dispatch a growing military force to India in the 1740s and 1750s. The company's employees and officers were able to use the expanded company and British military forces in India to protect and enhance the company's commercial and territorial interests and to acquire substantial fortunes for themselves through present taking and private trade.

Between the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the East India Company laid the foundations for territorial power in the subcontinent. By the late eighteenth century, however, even as the company was expanding its territorial influence, it was also slowly being brought under greater supervision by the British government. A board of control to oversee the company's affairs was established by Parliament in 1784, and Lord Cornwallis was appointed governor-general to facilitate efforts to augment government oversight of company activities. Although company employees continued to abuse their authority (which had prompted many of the changes in the first place), their financial and political autonomy was increasingly constrained. However, these measures did not prevent continued territorial annexations in the first half of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the company controlling over 60 percent of the subcontinent by the 1850s. In the wake of a major rebellion in 1857, sparked by unrest amongst the company's Indian troops and fueled by widespread dissatisfaction with the changes brought about by company rule, the East India Company was shut down and the administration of its Indian territories was taken over by the British government.

Mark T. Berger

See also British Empire; China; Elizabeth I; India

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British Empire

By any measure, the British Empire was one of the largest ever. No other so completely encircled the globe, as affirmed by the frequent observation that “the sun never sets on the British Empire.” The details of the empire's history, of course, are more complex, although they do reveal ever changing patterns of colonial expansion and control of non-European territories. A standard interpretation divides the British experience into two phases: an early or first empire ending in the aftermath of the American Revolution, followed by the somewhat different experiences of a second empire. Another interpretation would also recognize a third phase, following the 1884–1885 Conference of Berlin. But there can be little doubt that there are considerable connections between the three eras.

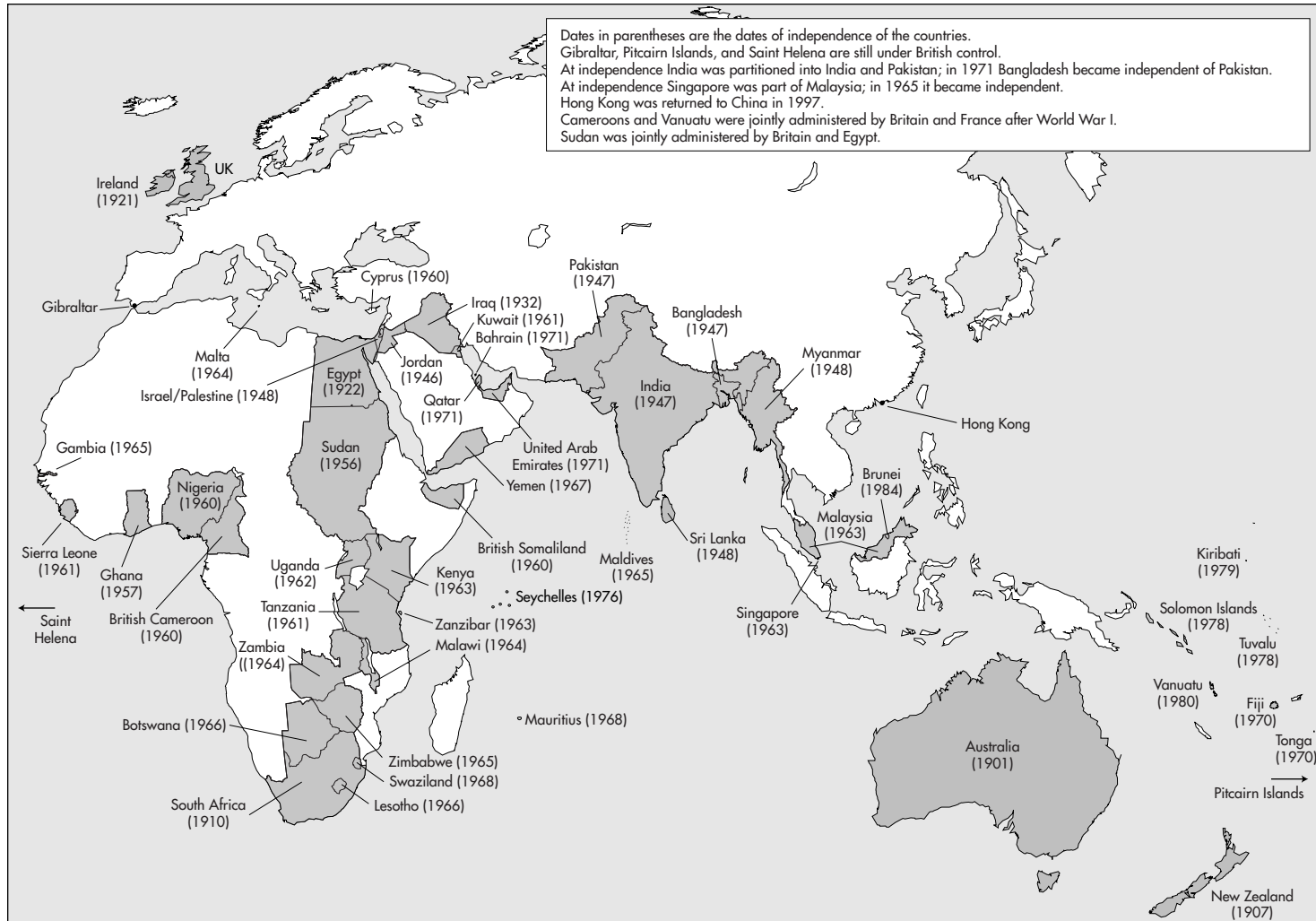
Nonetheless, the beginnings of the British Empire are in some dispute. Certainly, the basic nature of British colonialism has some roots going back at least to the twelfth-century English conquest and occupation of Ireland, although the maritime adventures of the sixteenth-century English naval and merchant seamen were responsible for the extension of English economic power throughout the Atlantic to North America and the Caribbean. The resulting claims of British sovereignty over these territories led to the development more of commercial colonies than administrative centers, and there was precious little central coordination of governmental activity except in one area: the enforcement of trade and exchange rules consistent with the prevailing economic doctrine of mercantilism, which subordinated interests of the overseas possessions to those of the home country. Thus, the obsession with maintaining colonial production led to policies that encouraged the development of labor in the new territories. Accordingly, religious dissidents such as the Puritans were sent to distant colonies, indentured servitude was instituted to encourage less-fortunate people to leave the British Isles, and finally, slavery and the slave trade from Africa was vigorously promoted.

By the seventeenth century, English businesspeople were extending the Crown's mercantile

BRITISH EMPIRE—WESTERN HEMISPHERE



BRITISH EMPIRE—EASTERN HEMISPHERE



principles to outposts in India; by the eighteenth, they spread to Australia as well. All these efforts led to conflicts with European rivals and boiled over into the first great conflict over empire, the Seven Years' War. The British victory marked a new phase in its colonialism, with India and the East its greatest focus. But in many ways, Britain's efforts to use its indigenous colonial subjects—and especially Native Americans—to support the empire during the Seven Years' War led to the greatest challenges to its first colonial endeavors. It is generally believed that with the successful revolt of colonial settlers in the American Revolution, the first phase of British imperialism came to an end, although it certainly continued at least until the United States succeeded in defending its independence in the War of 1812 and particularly with the British defeat at the Battle of New Orleans in 1814.

Subsequently, India clearly became the most important focus of the British Empire, with a resurgent East India Company serving as the agent of both royal and national interests in the subcontinent and its relationships with the Afro-Asian region. Many in England, particularly, quickly rose to defend the imperial developments during this period as having a salutary impact on all the peoples who came into contact with British commercial and political power. Others focused more narrowly on the rights and privileges of the English, no matter where in the world they might have settled. Both of these approaches gave impetus to further colonial expansion, moving out of Australia to New Zealand and eastward into Southeast Asia. The efforts of Thomas Raffles to ensure British control of the strategic island of Singapore is but one example.

Much of British colonial policy through the nineteenth century remained concentrated on India, which—perhaps rightly—was generally considered to be the jewel of the empire. Efforts to secure the sea-lanes from London to India were paramount, controlling Cape Town and its immediate vicinity first and then the eastern edges of southern Africa at Natal. The route around the Cape of Good Hope, however, was long and arduous, and establishing a shorter connection was a top priority. These efforts led to a somewhat belated interest in the Suez Canal, which was initially developed by French interests. By the time it was

completed in 1869, free access to this waterway became a hallmark of British policy and led to numerous interventions in the domestic affairs of Egypt and to involvement in Aden and Somalia as well. Just as these policies were designed to sustain British commercial ties to India, so, too, were British interests in China largely a result of attempts to maintain the economic well-being of the centerpiece of the British Empire in India. Trade with China was desirable for British commerce, and it was also a significant means of supporting colonialism in India. With the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, Britain gained rights to the deepwater port of Hong Kong as a base for these economic activities. However, Chinese resistance to some British efforts—such as the insistence that China permit the importation of Indian-produced opium—led to several conflicts, generally known as the Opium Wars, in which British naval military superiority forced Chinese submission.

This period of British colonialism also saw the extension of some aspects of the previous labor policies to other segments of the empire. This development was most evident in Australia, where the practice of settling prisoners—as had been done in the Georgia colony in North America—was extended and greatly expanded.

The British were slow to see the impact of the American Revolution on other English settlers in the empire. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, they did begin to extend locally responsible government to some of their colonies, particularly the Cape Colony in southern Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Clearly, these colonies differed in one important respect from India, Singapore, and other imperial outposts: they had significant populations of English Europeans who were increasingly allowed to, in essence, govern themselves. From the late nineteenth century, these colonies were treated differently in British policy, and from 1902 (with South Africa included after 1910), they were managed by a separate Dominions Office, distinct from the British government's Colonial Office.

In part, this distinction reflects developments after the 1880s as the British—not quite as reluctantly as its officials sometimes suggested—claimed many more colonial possessions, mostly in Africa. This marked a somewhat new phase in the British Empire, this one spurred on more by

European political rivalries and stoked by the evangelical aspirations of an increasingly literate British public. The rise of Germany was a major factor in this development, with many of its citizens seeking colonial expression as a measure of equality with Britain and France. This was further exacerbated by the personal ambitions of Leopold II of Belgium. Following the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, Britain was caught up in the frenzy to ensure that it did not allow others to make claims to all of the territories in southern, eastern, and central Africa, which had theretofore not had colonial claimants.

Many of the efforts to claim territory began with British interests in southern Africa—for instance, those being pursued by individuals such as industrial mogul Cecil Rhodes and the Scots missionary David Livingstone. Rhodes promoted a “Cape to Cairo” vision for the British Empire in Africa, whereas Livingstone was associated with a supposedly more humanitarian approach that he saw as an attempt to bring the benefits of “Christianity, commerce, and civilization” to the peoples of the continent. Both, however, clearly built on the economic base that had inspired British colonial efforts since the sixteenth century. And once public pressures and political realities pushed the British government to recognize and assert its authority over these new colonies—although some were officially proclaimed protectorates—it was the Indian experience in governing non-European peoples that became the key example (thanks to the influence of Frederick Lugard) for the new, twentieth-century British colonial administrators.

Indeed, the twentieth century brought dramatic change to the British Empire and not only with its separation into dominion and colonial divisions. Not surprisingly, the major global events of the 1900s—World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II—each had an impact on the empire. And though each had different implications, the net effect was to draw more of the indigenous peoples of the empire into greater engagement with their British colonial overlords. At the same time, worldwide views about both the practice and the propriety of colonialism, expressed through the League of Nations and subsequently the United Nations, served to undermine the confidence the British had held in their colonial enterprise for centuries. By 1960, this shift in

attitudes was recognized by Prime Minister Harold Macmillan as a “wind of change,” and it resulted in a massive decolonization movement and the achievement of independence by many British colonial possessions in the years after World War II; included in this group were some of the West Indian possessions that had been colonies since the first commercial expansions of English power in the seventeenth century. However, some marginal areas stayed in the colonial fold, and British opinion remained strongly supportive of those vestiges of the colonial tradition. Thus, in 1982, Great Britain was quick to resist (successfully) the attempts by Argentina to assert its claims to the Falkland Islands.

This episode seemed to be an argument against the continuing importance of economic forces in the preservation of the British Empire, though there can be little doubt that such matters were largely responsible for the nation’s imperial drive. But what principal factor might explain the essential operation of the empire once it was under British rule? One widely held explanation focuses on the undeniable fact that most of the indigenous peoples within the empire were not Europeans; in fact, by some definitions, they all—Asians, Native Americans, Aborigines, and Africans alike—were “black people” being ruled by whites. This view rests heavily on the development of the slave trade that was so crucial to the first empire as well as its later extension to the Indian Ocean, including the indentured servitude of laborers from Malaysia and India in South Africa. This conception of race and racism as a crucial element in understanding British colonialism has been controversial, but it does have many adherents, especially in the former colonies. It is also related to the arguments, most importantly advanced by Eric Williams, that the British commercial interest in the slave trade was instrumental in financing the Industrial Revolution in England. Such views were not willingly accepted in the British consciousness.

Another view of the practical operations of the British Empire has focused on matters of class rather than race and on the related matters of status and rank within the apparatus of empire. This view follows from the hierarchical nature of British society, which, in many ways, was not just replicated in the colonies; it also flourished there as many English subjects of ordinary means and

status found themselves in positions of authority, frequently based on merit or particularly notable achievements. In this way, the British Empire did serve to expand opportunities for English men and women while at the same time underscoring the essentially stratified nature of British society. This may, in fact, help account for the long devotion of the British public to the existence of empire and to the collective memory of a glorious imperial past.

Melvin E. Page

See also Aborigines; Aden; American Revolution; Americans, Native; Australia; British East India Company; Canada; Cape Colony; Cape Town; China; Class; Colonial Administration; Conference of Berlin; Decolonization; Egypt; Falkland Islands; Great Depression; Hong Kong; India; Ireland; League of Nations; Livingstone, David; Lugard, Lord Frederick; Macmillan, Harold; Malaysia; Mercantilism; Nanking, Treaty of; Natal; New England; New Zealand; Opium Wars; Puritans; Racism; Raffles, Sir Stamford; Rhodes, Cecil John; Servitude, Indentured; Seven Years' War; Singapore; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Somalia; South Africa; Suez Canal; United Nations; War and Warfare; Williams, Eric; World War I; World War II

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British Honduras (Belize)

When Spanish conquistadores began carving swaths through the rain forests of Central America in their restless search for gold-rich empires to plunder, the Maya Indians, who had lived, farmed, and built impressive cities in the region since 2000 B.C.E., were already in sharp decline. Those that remained ably fought off the Spanish invaders but had less success fending off imported diseases. By the time the first English buccaneers began to anchor off the Honduran coast in the early 1600s, the Maya had moved inland, and the Spanish limited themselves to the Pacific regions of the isthmus, leaving the mosquito-infested mangrove shores virtually unoccupied.

The earliest English pioneers were less interested in exploiting the land than in establishing pi-

rate bases from which to plunder Catholic Spain's treasure ships. Only in the mid-seventeenth century did the so-called Baymen begin to realize the handsome profits to be made in cutting and exporting logwood to Europe for processing into a valuable dye. In the 1660s, the woodcutting settlement at Belize began to take on the appearance of a permanent town, making it a contentious issue in most Anglo-Spanish treaties thereafter. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Spanish repeatedly tried to dislodge the English (in 1717, 1730, 1754, and 1779), but though the English often withdrew, the profits of the dyewood and mahogany trade continually lured them back. In 1798, Belizean settlers successfully repulsed a Spanish attack in the Battle of St. George's Caye and were afterward left in peace.

The commencement of large-scale mahogany logging operations in the 1790s had a profound effect on ethnic relations in the English settlement. Large numbers of African slaves were imported into Belize to serve as woodcutters for the colonists and for the twelve largest landowners, who owned nearly all of the private land. There were at least four major slave revolts in the settlement, and several hundred slaves successfully escaped across the borders to find freedom in Spanish territory before 1838, when emancipation officially ended slavery in the British Empire. In the wake of the bloody Caste War that erupted in the Yucatán in 1848, thousands of Maya and mestizos also sought refuge in northern Belize, most settling down as small-scale farmers. But it was forest production that continued to dominate, and mahogany logging operations also brought the English into direct contact (and conflict) with the Maya Indians of the Belizean interior. Although the Maya resisted encroachments on their ancestral domain, most were ultimately forced from their lands in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1872 opened new territory to settlers by confining the coastal Garifuna (who were a mix of Carib Indians and African Maroons) and inland Maya Indians onto small reserves.

Although Belizeans profited as intermediaries in the trade between the Central American republics and Great Britain in the early nineteenth century, the sparsely populated settlement soon lapsed into economic obscurity. After negotiating

boundaries with Guatemala in the 1850s, the settlement of Belize officially became the royal colony of British Honduras in 1862. In 1875, the British Honduras Company, responsible for promoting immigration and distributing land, changed its name to the Belize Estate and Produce Company (BEC) and began to amass enough land, power, and political influence to dominate the colony well into the 1970s. Although Belizeans experimented with other agricultural products (bananas in the 1880s and citrus cultivation in the 1920s), forest and timber products accounted for 82 percent of total exports in 1935, and they continued to dominate the export economy into the 1950s. Belize had some limited success in encouraging immigration in the twentieth century (with overall population increasing from 30,000 in 1900 to 90,343 in 1960), but devastating hurricanes in 1931 and 1961 twice bankrupted the colony's fragile economy. Only in the last few decades has the colonial "problem" of underdevelopment been turned to advantage, as Belize marketed itself to the emergent ecotourism industry.

The devaluation of the Belize dollar on December 31, 1949, inflamed anticolonial and proindependence sentiment in the colony, especially among the hardest hit laboring classes, and in 1950, the People's United Party (PUP) was created with the aim of achieving political and economic independence. Working closely with the General Workers Union (GWU), the PUP organized a successful national strike in October 1952 and two years later won the campaign for universal adult suffrage. In 1964, Belizeans won the right to self-governance and passed land reform laws that diversified the economy and redistributed 525,000 acres to small-scale farmers between 1971 and 1982. Land claims and boundary disputes with neighboring Guatemala delayed independence, but it was finally achieved on September 21, 1981.

Francis X. Luca

See also British Empire; Central America; Maya; Spanish Empire

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British West Indies

The British West Indies, a narrow chain of islands, lie between the tip of the Florida peninsula and the northern coast of South America. The shared historical experience of mainland territories such as British Honduras and British Guyana as well as the Atlantic island of Bermuda means that these are also considered to be part of the British Empire in the Caribbean. These territories were first wrested from the Spanish Empire and settled by English colonists in the seventeenth century. As a result of later wars with other European colonizers, additional colonies in the area were added to the British Empire—by then the most dominant power in the region.

The impact of this multicultural and checkered history can still be seen in the language, place-names, music, and food of some of these areas. The British impact is prominent, expressed in language, political institutions, and even cultural arenas such as sports. But more important still, the culture of these ostensibly Anglo territories is even more firmly marked by the imprint of the Africans who were dragged to the Caribbean to labor on sugar plantations between 1500 and 1807. Some also show the cultural impacts of India, China, and even Portugal, as these regions and countries provided replacements for African labor after emancipation.

The sugar plantation system, which was the founding economic and social organization of these colonies, cast a long shadow on the development of the British West Indies. The struggle to escape the dependency and monocultural grip of this system has not been easy. After a long period of colonial rule, the British Caribbean experienced a number of labor-led disturbances in the 1930s, which eventually resulted in political independence in the 1960s. Former colonies assumed republican constitutional status, and all have Westminster-type institutions, retaining links with Britain.

Some of these Caribbean nations briefly flirted with socialist agendas in the 1970s. However, the harsh realities of Cold War politics and economics

and the fact they exist in the backyard of the United States have reinforced their commitment to more conventional approaches to development. One of the enduring legacies of the region's colonial past is the balkanization of the area. The attempt at a political federation, which was the dream of the World War II generation of nationalists, lasted only four years (1959–1962). Ironically, it is slowly becoming clearer that the success of any regional venture is dependent on widening the perspective of the enterprise beyond its British core to other parts of the Caribbean.

Audra Diptee

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Cold War; Decolonization; Labor; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Bronte, Charlotte (1816–1855)

Charlotte Bronte grew up in Yorkshire, England. She had one brother and five sisters, the most notable being Emily Bronte. Like her siblings, she sought relief from the tedium of parsonage life under an authoritarian father by creating a rich world of the imagination. She suffered from deprivations in a boarding school, and some of this experience was later expressed in the lives of her fictional characters. Bronte served in various positions as a teacher and governess, and though women at the time were discouraged from careers in literature, she and her sister Emily published a first book of poems under the pseudonyms Ellis Currer and Actor Bell. The first edition of her own *Jane Eyre* was published under the latter name in 1847.

Charlotte Bronte's reputation today primarily rests on the language and themes examined in *Jane Eyre*. Issues of class, gender, and the triumph of love over travail are among the foremost themes. Bronte wrote out of a world that was largely homogeneous in terms of class. It is ironic that greater attention is paid to *Jane Eyre* by post-colonial writers and critics because of the character of Bertha, an outsider to Bronte's world. A wonderfully preemptive creation on Bronte's part, Bertha is largely invisible and voiceless in the novel. She is portrayed as a mad West Indian Creole woman who stands in the way of true love between Rochester and Jane Eyre. The character of Bertha is re-created and reenvisioned in *Wide Sargasso Sea*, a novel by Jean Rhys.

Daizal R. Samad

See also British Empire; Literature

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Bryan, William Jennings (1860–1925)

William Jennings Bryan was one of the most outstanding political figures in turn-of-the-century America. Born in Salem, Illinois, on March 19, 1860, he studied law at the Union College of Law in Chicago and practiced as an attorney in Jacksonville, Illinois, before entering politics. "The Great Commoner," as he was known, served as a Democratic member of Congress from Nebraska (1891–1895), as a presidential candidate (1896, 1900, 1908), and as secretary of state (1913–1915).

During the presidential campaign of 1900, Bryan ran unsuccessfully against William McKinley on a platform opposed to U.S. imperialism after the Spanish-American War. He campaigned as an outspoken opponent to the annexation of the Philippine Islands but weakened the value of his opposition greatly by connecting it with his radical financial theories of populist agrarianism.

His relationship to the anti-imperial movement in the United States was ambivalent. Unlike many other Democratic politicians, he never joined the Anti-Imperialist League. And though many anti-imperialists opposed the Treaty of Paris that regulated the transfer of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam to the United States, Bryan, who had

been a volunteer colonel during the Spanish-American War but saw no action, endorsed the treaty, believing that a rejection could mean prolonged war and that the Philippines could receive independence after hostilities ended.

Bryan received his party's presidential nomination for the third time in 1908 and ran unsuccessfully against William Howard Taft. His work in securing the Democratic Party's nomination of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 won him an appointment as secretary of state after Wilson was elected to the presidency. Bryan's record on foreign policy was mixed. On the one hand, he applauded Wilson's renunciation of imperialism in 1913; advocated an international arbitration structure; urged friendly, nonexploitative relations with Latin America and independence for the Philippines; and rhetorically rejected military interventions. On the other hand, he agreed to the U.S. military intervention to contain revolution in Mexico, supported military intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, secured an option for the United States to build a canal in Nicaragua (in the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1914), and firmly established U.S. control over the Caribbean.

Bryan resigned in protest to the increased U.S. involvement in World War I after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915. He continued to campaign for neutrality and against America's entry into the war and subsequently became a strong advocate of the League of Nations. He died on July 26, 1925.

Frank Schumacher

See also Guam; Haiti; League of Nations; McKinley, William; Mexico; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I

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Buchan, John (1875–1940)

John Buchan was born in Perth, Scotland, and educated at Glasgow University and Brasenose College, Oxford. While at Oxford, he published five books and many articles. A barrister, member of Parliament, soldier, publisher, and writer, he be-

came the thirty-fifth governor-general of Canada in 1935, a position he held until his death.

Buchan became a staunch advocate of British imperialism during his tenure as private secretary to the British high commissioner to South Africa. The idea of empire as a civilizing and Christianizing instrument is of major significance in Buchan's fiction. In *Prester John* (1910), a novel based on his experiences in South Africa, Buchan's protagonist is an idealistic young Briton who seeks to carry out his duty as a colonizer to the "dark men"—to spread the light of Western civilization to the natives. He invokes the divine right of the British monarch to justify the subjugation of black Africans, whom the protagonist sees as simplistic, selfish, and depraved. For Buchan, imperialism provided the opportunity to offer personal service to humanity; sacrifice, duty, clear purpose, and exemplary conduct were the hallmarks of the true servant of the empire. The rewards were to be found in furthering the colonial cause.

Although he showed signs of being anti-Semitic, Buchan wrote *A Prince of Captivity*, one of the first anti-Nazi popular novels. In the novel, the hero dies at the hands of the Nazis but preserves his integrity. Buchan recorded the process of his own dying in his final work, *Sick Heart River*.

His five major works are *The Thirty-nine Steps* (1915), *Greenmantle* (1916), *Mr. Standfast* (1919), *The Three Hostages* (1924), and *The Island of Sheep (Man from the Norlands)* (1936). *The Thirty-nine Steps* was adapted for the screen by Alfred Hitchcock.

Naceur Amakhmakh

See also British Empire; Canada; Literature

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Buddhism

Buddhism is a religion founded by Siddhartha Gautama of the Sakya clan in Maghada, in what is now Nepal. By tradition, his father, anxious to avoid fulfilling a prophecy that Siddhartha would become a world redeemer, kept him from all discomfort and disturbing experiences. Nevertheless, the Four Sights led Siddhartha to see old age, disease, death, and renunciation. At thirty, he rejected

his normal life and sought enlightenment, studying with famous teachers and practicing rigorous asceticism. Ultimately, he rejected extremes, sought the Middle Way, and achieved enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree, being known then as the *Buddha* (the Awakened One) and as *Tathagata* (Thus-Gone). His first sermon, “The Turning of the Wheel of Dharma,” was given at the Deer Park of Sarnath, near Benares in northern India. He expounded the *dharma*, or universal law, of the Four Noble Truths of the Causes of Suffering and the Cessation of Suffering and the Noble Eightfold Path to enlightenment and escape from the Cycle-of-Souls (*samsara*). His followers became the *Sangha*, or Buddhist community, and he taught for the remainder of his life. He saw himself primarily as a physician for those who suffered, not as a religious leader or prophet. His ad hoc teachings are thought to be best preserved in the Dhammapada and in the Pali Canon of the Theravada School of Ceylon.

Fundamental to the Buddha’s teachings are the Three Marks of Existence: *dukkha* (suffering), *anitya* (impermanence), and *anatman* (no-self). Physical existence is a combination of the Twelve Pre-Conditions of Dependent Co-Arising and the Five Aggregates, which combine to create the empirical individual, but no true “self” is to be found. The Noble Eightfold Path strips away both the Twelve Pre-Conditions and the illusion of self, allowing enlightenment (*nirvana*) and, ultimately, an end to reexistence (*parinirvana*). Enlightened individuals are known as *arhats* or *bhikkhus*.

The *Sangha* was composed of four groups: monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. Initially, only arhats were capable of advancing toward nirvana, one of several ideas that would cause a schism. Three councils were called within approximately 200 years of the Buddha’s parinirvana. By the second, a split developed between the *Sthviravada* (Teachings of the Elders) and the *Mahasanghikas* (The Great Community). By tradition, eighteen schools developed in India. Two major schools emerged: the *Theravada*, important primarily in Sri Lanka and much of Southeast Asia, and the *Mahayana*, important in such places as Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and now North America and Europe. The Theravada School, with its narrower view of enlightenment, is also known as the *Hinayana*

(Lesser Vehicle or Lesser Raft), so named by the Mahayana School (Greater Vehicle or Greater Raft). The Theravada School accepts no writings beyond the Pali Canon and the Tripitaka, or the Three Baskets. The Mahayana School accepts a far greater breadth of writings. It also accepts notions such as the supermundane Buddha, prior and future Buddhas, and the *Bodhisattvas*, enlightened beings who strive systematically for the enlightenment of all sentient beings. A third school, the *Vajrayana* (Diamond Vehicle), developed from the Mahayana, emphasizing the possibility of enlightenment in one lifetime.

The Mahayana School has a wide variety of traditions, from a Buddhism such as that of Tibet, which is heavily religious in its expression, to a split tradition in China (and later Japan) featuring both the Ch’an and Pure Land Traditions. Ch’an is a Taoist-influenced, philosophical Buddhism. Pure Land (and True Pure Land) is a Taoist-influenced, salvationist religion based on transcendent Buddhas. In Japan, these diverse traditions are represented by Zen and Shin. In the post-Soviet era, the reestablishment of Buddhist traditions in Central Asia and Mongolia is being overseen primarily by representatives of the Tibetan tradition.

Buddhism adheres to nonviolence (*ahimsa*) and encourages a moderate and just life, with compassion for all sentient beings. The earliest important secular supporter, Asoka Maurya, rejected military conquest in favor of dharma conquest and became a layperson in the Sangha, giving financial and royal support to the spread of the *Buddha-dharma*, or universal law, beyond the borders of India, even to the capitals of the Hellenistic monarch of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, as well as to Sri Lanka and parts of Asia, beginning what came to be referred to as the Northern and Southern Transmissions.

The effects of Buddhism on the various cultures it has encountered have been profound in virtually every important area of art, literature, architecture, and aesthetics, in addition to politics, philosophy, and society. Buddhism traditionally does not support warfare or imperial adventures, although China certainly produced fighting monks of the Shao-lin tradition and Japanese samurai were often cultured practitioners of Zen. In modern times, the Buddhist culture of Tibet, represented primarily in the West by His Holiness the

Fourteenth Dali Lama of the Gelug School, has been under constant assault from the government of China. As a consequence of the Tibetan experience, as well as that of Vietnamese Buddhists (represented by such men as Nobel Peace Prize winner Thich Nhat Hanh) and the monks who committed suicide by self-immolation to protest the war in Vietnam, Buddhism has become a world force for peace and anti-imperialism.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also China; Hinduism; India; Japanese Empire; Korea; Tibet; Vietnam

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Buenos Aires

In 1535, Pedro de Mendoza, as an agent of Charles V, established a temporary encampment on the west bank of the River Plate, which he christened Puerto Nuestra Señora Santa María del Buen Aire. This first settlement failed, but in 1580, Juan de Garay and a band of mostly Indian-Spanish mestizos returned to the site and built a fort. Garay laid out a town with a jail, a church, and a town hall arranged around a central plaza. In the center of this plaza, he planted the “tree of justice,” a wooden pole that served as a symbol for punishment and authority. Buenos Aires grew on the basis of subsistence agriculture, the trading of hides and furs, and the steadily rising volume of contraband trade in silver and slaves, thanks to the restrictive trade policies of the Spanish Crown.

From the beginning, it was also an administrative center exercising control over the interior provinces; throughout the nineteenth century, local caudillos (political/military bosses) struggled to resist that control. Power, however, followed the path of wealth and population growth that moved steadily from the interior to Buenos Aires. In 1880, Buenos Aires became a federal district, which confirmed the city’s position as the political center of the nation.

Buenos Aires had steadily grown into a colonial port city, controlled by the white elites at the top of

the social apex. In the twentieth century, despite its growth as a metropolis, its social structure had changed slowly. The middle class imitated the upper class, the upper class feared the lower class, and among all classes, attitudes toward manual labor, social distinctions, and materialism recalled those of the colonial period.

Sandra Henson

See also Argentina; Spanish Empire

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Bundists

The Bund, an organization of Jewish workers in Germany, emerged in 1897 as an expression of Jewish pride and as a response to anti-Semitism. There were two types of Jewish nationalist movements at the time, the first composed mainly of Eastern European Jews, who wanted to maintain their cultural identity and sustain their communities (Zionists), and the second composed of Western European Jews, who wanted emancipation and called for a Jewish national resistance. The Jewish masses were caught between anti-Semitism and socioeconomic decay, so that the beginning of the 1890s marked the emergence of a Jewish working class. Anti-Zionist in nature, the Bund aimed to integrate Jews and secure equal rights for them so that they could live peacefully and practice cultural autonomy.

The Bund was the first organization of Jewish workers at the time, and it represented the synthesis of Jewish enlightenment and socialism; as a result, its adherents advocated socialist revolution as a solution to social and national moral problems. This ethic extended to programs such as the Bund Deutscher Madel (the League of German Girls), since the focus increasingly centered on young people. The league involved a strict separation of the adult and youth worlds.

The activities of the Bund continued through the pre–World War II era and intensified as attacks on Jews increased. It was in this atmosphere of terror and fear that the Bund attempted to remind the German Jews of a psychological advantage they possessed: they could be physically but not mentally beaten. In 1942, reports of a Nazi plan to murder all Jews reached the Bund, headquartered

in the Warsaw ghetto, and the Allies, and on December 17, 1942, the Allies condemned this extermination effort. Even during the difficult war years, the Bund did not suspend its activities, and it persists in a minor and nonpolitical form today.

Jennifer Harrison

See also Israel; Judaism; Palestine; World War II; Zionism

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Burma (Myanmar)

In the early nineteenth century, the English East India Company thrice collided with the expanding Burmese kingdom of Ava. Border tensions led to a war between 1824 and 1826, in which Burma lost territory on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Quarrels between British traders and the governor of Rangoon (Yangon) sparked a second war in 1852. Burma was then stripped of the rest of its coastline, leaving only landlocked and drier inland regions. Attempts to fine the British Burma Trading Company for excessive teak logging and tax avoidance and to court the French provoked complete British annexation on January 1, 1886.

British colonialism undermined Burmese identity, exiling the king, weakening the Buddhist hierarchy, treating the country as a province of India, and integrating lower Burma with the world economy as a major rice-exporting region. Burma's colonial treasury benefited, but peasants faced high debt and tax burdens. Ethnic minorities predominated in the police and in the army, and the hill regions they came from were ruled indirectly whereas lower Burma was ruled directly, perpetuating ethnic and regional differences. Finally, Indians played an important role in moneylending and the urban economy.

The resulting tensions, when combined with modern schooling, fueled nationalism. In 1906, members of the Western-educated elite formed the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), aiming to restore Buddhist values. In 1916, they

successfully campaigned for Europeans to remove their shoes in pagodas, and between 1919 and 1922, they advocated the extension of dyarchy to Burma. From 1923, under the dyarchy system, some subjects in Indian provinces came under locally elected ministers.

The YMBA, re-formed as the General Council of Buddhist Associations (GCBA), then split. This gave the initiative to rural *pongyi* (Buddhist monks), who led peasants in the Hsaya San rebellion of 1930; the peasants resented the police and were burdened by tax and debt pressures. Over 1,300 rebels were killed, but the uprising did get Britain to separate Burma from India by the Government of Burma Act of 1935. Effective from April 1937, this measure retained the wide powers of the governor but also provided for responsible government by Burmese ministers. Ba Maw became the first Burmese prime minister in 1937.

Students from Rangoon University now sought more dramatic change. Appropriating the term *thakins* (masters)—a term normally reserved for Europeans—and applying it to themselves, leaders such as Aung San and U Nu sought independence through struggle. They coordinated nationwide strikes in 1938 and 1939 and formed a paramilitary. Taking control of the We Burmans Association (Dobama Asiayon, founded in July 1933), they helped topple the Ba Maw government in 1939. World War II saw Aung San and Ba Maw combine in the Freedom Front, which offered cooperation in return for a promise of later independence.

Some of the thakins fled colonial persecution and were trained by the Japanese, returning with the latter's 1941–1942 invasion. Known as the Thirty Comrades or Thirty Heroes, these individuals led the Burmese Independence Army (later called the Burma Defense Army or Burma National Army). Japan responded by giving Burma nominal independence on August 1, 1943. Aung San then switched sides, founding the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom Organization in November 1944. Starting its resistance on March 27, 1945, it helped the Allies retake Burma. Then, in August 1945, the organization was broadened into the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), which forced Britain to abandon plans for a three-year return to direct rule in order to facilitate reconstruction. The AFPFL won the April 1947 elections to the

Constituent Assembly, leading Burma to independence outside of the Commonwealth on January 4, 1948.

The colonial legacy lived on in the form of ethnic minority revolts and a deep suspicion of capitalism and outside interference. Myanmar, the new name of Burma after 1989, became a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in July 1997.

Karl A. Hack

See also Aung San; India; Ne Win; U Nu

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Burton, Sir Richard (1821–1890)

Richard Burton was born March 19, 1821, into an upper-middle-class family of Irish descent. Raised in France and Italy after his father's military career ended in a minor scandal, Burton became well known as a hooligan, gifted linguist, and master swordsman. Sent to Oxford University in 1840, he was promptly expelled, after which he bought a commission in the Indian army. On arrival in Bombay, he began studying local customs, affairs, and erotica. He also continued his language studies and eventually mastered a total of twenty-nine separate languages and eleven dialects. Because of his language abilities, Burton was assigned to gather intelligence. Unlike other British agents, who simply paid informants, Burton chose to gather information himself by wearing disguises and "going native," much to the horror of his superiors. Although already stalling, his career in the army essentially ended after he turned in an explicit report on the Karachi brothels.

Burton returned to Britain in 1847 under a cloud of scandal and spent the next several years publishing a series of books and articles on Indian customs and religion and his own adventures. All of these early ventures failed to win popular acclaim, so in 1853, he decided to explore Mecca and Medina. Shortly thereafter, he hatched a plan to look for the source of the Nile, which at that point was still a mystery, by marching inland from the Somali coast. This expedition ended in disaster

when Burton and his travel companion, John Hanning Speke, were wounded in an attack by local tribesmen.

After returning home to recuperate, both Burton and Speke saw active duty during the final phases of the Crimean War (1854–1856). They returned to Africa in June 1857 and spent the next two years marching inland in search of the Nile source despite drought, the desertion of their bearers, and constant illness. During the final phases of this expedition, the two men quarreled over money, their different management styles, Burton's drinking, and Speke's claim to have discovered the source of the Nile while on a side trip during one of Burton's bouts of illness. On their return to England in 1859, this quarrel erupted into a vitriolic feud over the validity of Speke's assertion that Lake Victoria was indeed the source of the Nile.

In 1860, Burton married Isabel Arundel and traveled to Utah to study the Mormon community at Salt Lake City. On his return later that year, he began what was to become a long diplomatic career, serving as consul in Fernando Po, Rio de Janeiro, Damascus, and Trieste. In each of these posts, Burton continued to travel widely, and he published numerous travelogues and translations of Indian erotica. Burton was finally knighted in early 1886 for his service to the Crown. Shortly thereafter, his health began to deteriorate. After his death on October 19, 1890, his devoutly Catholic wife burned his private journals and most of his manuscripts in order to save his reputation.

Kenneth J. Orosz

See also British Empire; Crimean War; Exploration; Language

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Burundi

See Ruanda-Urundi

Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell (1786–1845)

The English abolitionist and social reformer Thomas Fowell Buxton was born in Essex and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1807, he

married Hannah Gurney, the sister of prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, and a year later joined the brewing firm of Truman, Hanbury & Co., a move that gained him a fortune to support his philanthropic work.

In 1818, Buxton published *An Inquiry Whether Crime and Misery Are Produced or Prevented by Our Present System of Prison Discipline*, which led to the development of the Prison Discipline Society. That year, he was also elected a member of Parliament for Weymouth, a seat he would hold until 1837; in that post, he served on two select committees whose reports led the government to consolidate and amend the British penal code and in 1820 abolish the death penalty for forgery.

Buxton had long opposed slavery, and in 1823, he joined William Wilberforce's Anti-Slavery Society, soon taking over as its parliamentary spokesman. Businesspeople with colonial interests prevailed on the British government to avoid the slavery question, but public meetings and the extension of enfranchisement in 1832 forced the issue. The 1833 Abolition of Slavery Bill freed all slaves under the age of six immediately; more would be freed when it took effect on August 1, 1834. In 1836, Buxton moved that the House of Commons examine the apprenticeship program, which held technically emancipated agricultural workers under the virtual control of their former masters until 1840: the program was terminated in 1838.

After leaving Parliament, Buxton focused on eliminating slavery in Africa. He had been active in aboriginal protection since the middle of the 1830s, and in 1839, he established the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa and published *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy*. Buxton was made a baronet for his efforts in 1840. A year later, his plans for fighting the slave trade with legitimate commerce were implemented when the British government sent an expedition up the Niger River to develop commercial trade. The effort failed when forty-one participants died of fever, and the society was dissolved in 1843. On Buxton's death two years later, a statue was erected in his honor in Westminster Abbey.

Gail Tinsley

See also British Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Byzantine Empire (Byzantium)

Byzantium (or *Byzantine*) is the modern name for the medieval period of the Roman Empire, roughly from 325 to 1453 C.E. The year 325 is a date of convenience, being the year that Constantine I (Constantine the Great) officially moved the capital of the empire from Rome to the Greek city of Byzantium on the Bosphorus. It is also the year in which he convened the first ecumenical council of the Christian church, to define orthodox Christian theology and cement the alliance between the Roman state and the Christian church that would determine so much of European history.

The crisis of the Third Century was ended by the reforms of Diocletian (283–305), the establishment of the Tetrarchy, the struggle for power that ensued after Diocletian's retirement, and finally, Constantine's accession to the throne and his continued reforms. Effectively, the empire was split along linguistic lines, with a Latin-speaking west and a Greek-speaking east. Pressure on the eastern frontiers of the Danube and in the Middle East drew attention and resources away from the Rhine frontier in the west. Theodosius the Great was the last emperor to rule the unified empire. Its organization can be seen in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (c. 396), a register of imperial offices. Gothic migrations over the Danube in the late 300s and Germanic invasions of the west over the Rhine in the early 400s led to the collapse of the west by 476. Following this, the empire comprised primarily the eastern provinces.

A brief resurgence under Justinian the Great (d. 565), who ruled for nearly fifty years, was the last attempt to reunify the *orbis Romanum*, or Roman world. Though much of the reconquest would be lost, the empire would hold portions of Italy and Sicily until 1071. Justinian's great legal code, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*—the model for most of later European law and thus of many colonial statutes—was published primarily in Latin, but the *Novellae*, or new laws written after the *Corpus*, were published in Greek, an acknowledgment of the new nature of the empire. From that point forward, the culture and character of the empire

would be governed by Hellenic culture and the Orthodox Church, whereas the Latin west would be fractured into barbarian successor kingdoms, with vague memories of imperial Rome, and a Roman papacy that sought to dominate secular monarchs.

The image of Constantinople and the idea of the Roman Empire dominated, at first politically and then ideologically, much of the Middle Ages. For a thousand years, the empire was the gateway for trade and commerce between Europe and the Middle East, only gradually supplanted by the maritime republics of Italy, which often operated from Byzantine ports and harbors. And for a thousand years, Constantinople and the empire were the guardians of Europe, shielding it from the aggressive forces of Sassanid Persia and militant Zoroastrianism and then the militant and expansionist forces of Islam. The victories of Heraclius in the early 600s virtually destroyed the empire of Persia, leaving only a single battle with the forces of Islam to ensure its end. The victory of Leo III over the forces of Islam in 717 and 718 guaranteed the security of Europe for centuries. The defeat of the Vikings of Russia and their conversion to orthodox Christianity in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as the earlier conversion of the Slavs and the eventual establishment of Slavic and Serbian kingdoms in the Balkans, would establish the pattern for much of the history of Eastern and Central Europe up to the present day. The most recent examples of such patterns and conflicts may be seen in three periods of the twentieth century: the ethnic, religious, and political events leading to World War I; the ethnic and religious hatreds exhibited during World War II by pro- and anti-Nazi forces; and the events following the breakup of Yugoslavia.

In the Middle Ages, the Orthodox Church struggled for control of the Christian *oikumene* (community) with the bishops of Rome, but the churches severed communion in 1054—the Great Schism. In the first half of the Middle Ages, the empire struggled for ascendancy with the kingdoms of Western Europe—the Merovingians, Carolingians, and Ottonians—but found its attention continually drawn back to the Danube and eastern frontiers and the threats of

Central Asian nomads and militant Islam. The empire went through several periods of expansion and contraction, but by the time of the rise of the feudal monarchies of Western Europe, it no longer played an active role in Western European politics. Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) appealed to Pope Urban for aid against the Seljuk Turks, which led to the First Crusade, prefigured in the campaigns of Heraclius (610–641) against Persia and the campaigns of Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969) against Islam. The Fourth Crusade (1204) was redirected against Constantinople by Dondalo, the Doge of Venice, out of personal hatred, resulting in the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople. The city was eventually recaptured from the Latins, and the empire was re-formed, but the damage done was terminal. During the period of the Latin kingdom, too much of the core territories of the empire had been lost to the Turks. Recurrent outbreaks of bubonic plague and other diseases, the ambitions of the Italian maritime republics, incidents such as the adventures of the Catalan Company of mercenaries, and imperial court politics quickly cut short any attempts to stabilize and consolidate political and economic power. Despite this slow and continuous decline, Byzantine culture flowered into one of its brightest and most original periods, and its artists and scholars, fleeing the front wave of Muslim Turkish conquests, were a catalyst for much of the Italian Renaissance. The Turks of the Ottoman Empire captured virtually all Byzantine territory in Europe and Asia during the 1300s and early 1400s. In 1453, following a long siege using early cannons, Mehmed II captured Constantinople, killed the Emperor Constantine XI, and ended the empire.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also Istanbul; Ottoman Empire; Turkey

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C

Cabot, John (c. 1450–c. 1498)

John Cabot was Genoese by birth and Venetian by adoption, but his precise birth and death dates are unknown, and other aspects of his life are in dispute as well. He arrived in Bristol, England, in 1494, where he managed to sell his plan for sailing west to discover a new route to Asia to King Henry VII and to the Bristol merchants. Cabot's plan was conceived independently from that of Christopher Columbus, who attempted to reach Asia in 1492 but instead arrived in the West Indies. Henry VII gave official permission to his own expedition and gave Cabot and the Bristol merchants a monopoly on the trade, particularly in spices, from any new lands discovered.

Between 1494 and 1496, Cabot set out with one ship on his first voyage, but being short of supplies, he soon put back to port. His second attempt, setting out on May 20, 1497, in the *Matthew* of Bristol, was more successful; the *Matthew* was, in fact, the first English ship to cross the Atlantic. On June 24, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, Cabot made landfall, most likely near Newfoundland, and he called the island St. John's. With fair wind and good weather, his return passage to Bristol took fifteen days. He arrived there on August 6, to be met by the king and given a gratuity of £10 and a pension of £20. He became popular in Bristol, where he was known as "the Grand Admiral."

In 1498, he planned a return visit to the lands he discovered, with a fully equipped fleet provisioned for a year and financed by Bristol and Lon-

don merchants. The king provided one ship, the merchants four, and they set sail early in May 1498. One ship became damaged in a storm and put in at an Irish port for repairs, but no news of the fate of Cabot and the rest of his small fleet was ever received. Some surmise that he reached the coast of North America, followed it down to the Tropics, and perhaps entered the Caribbean; others assume Cabot and the remainder of his sailors were lost at sea. Because of the lack of reliable records on his voyages, his reputation as an agent of imperial expansion has suffered.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; Canada; Columbus, Christopher; Exploration

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Cabral, Amílcar Lopes (1924–1973)

Known as a resistance leader and political theorist, Amílcar Lopes Cabral came to believe that armed struggle was necessary in the fight against colonialism. Born in Portuguese Guinea (later Guinea-Bissau) of Cape Verdean parents, Cabral studied agricultural engineering in Lisbon from 1945 to 1951. While there, he met fellow African students such as Agostinho Neto of Angola who, like himself, would later become the anticolonial leaders of their coun-

tries. He returned to Guinea-Bissau in 1952 and in the next year commenced an agricultural survey of the country, learning not only about Guinea-Bissau's crops and soils but also about the people's depressed economic situation.

He founded the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, PAIGC) in 1956, becoming one of its main leaders. At first, this group operated peacefully, organizing a petition to the Portuguese government to ask for freedom from Portuguese rule and the right to unify as an independent nation. In 1959, however, Portuguese troops killed fifty striking dockworkers in Bissau. The PAIGC realized that nonviolent protest against colonialism would not bring about change, and armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism began in Guinea-Bissau. For the next four years, Cabral built up a fighting force, headquartered in nearby Guinea-Conakry. From 1962 to 1973, he was the leader of the guerrillas fighting against the Portuguese in Guinea.

Cabral also traveled in Africa, Europe, Asia, and the United States in the 1960s, promoting the PAIGC and his ideas on independence from colonial rule. His thoughts on the anticolonial struggle were based on two main ideas: first, that those people who felt morally obligated to resist oppression had to actively participate in eliminating it and, second, that these personal beliefs must be transformed into a fuller concept of complete moral and social renewal.

Cabral was assassinated in Conakry in 1973 by forces of the Portuguese secret police; he did not live to see Guinea-Bissau's independence from Portugal in 1974, when his half brother, Luis Cabral, became the country's first president.

Patricia Clark

See also Angola; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Decolonization; Portuguese Empire

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Cabral, Pedro Alvares (1467–1520)

Pedro Alvares Cabral was a Portuguese navigator and the leader of the Portuguese expedition that,

in 1500, made the first known European landing in Brazil. Cabral left Lisbon on March 9, 1500, with thirteen ships and a crew of about 1,200, including such experienced navigators as Bartolomeu Dias, who had rounded the Cape of Good Hope (the southern tip of Africa) in 1488. Cabral's objective was to reach India, and his was the second expedition to be sent to Indian waters, following Vasco da Gama's groundbreaking voyage of the late 1490s. However, Cabral's expedition was reportedly blown off course by a storm that took it far west of the African coast; it landed instead in Brazil on April 22, 1500.

Historians have recently debated whether the landing in Brazil was accidental. Although traditional historiography states that Cabral's landing was due to chance, many historians now believe that it was improbable that such experienced sailors as those who accompanied Cabral would have made such a miscalculation. Some believe that the Portuguese had prior knowledge of the existence of a land to the west of Europe. Others have further argued that Christopher Columbus's landing in the Caribbean in 1492 had put pressure on the Portuguese to take possession of whatever lands had been conceded to them by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494. At any rate, Cabral and his men stayed in Brazil only ten days, after which they continued their trip to India and sent one ship back to Portugal in order to inform the king of their finding. Cabral rounded the Cape of Good Hope on May 29, where severe storms took four of his ships, including that of Bartolomeu Dias, who died in the disaster. The remaining vessels arrived in India on September 13, and the Portuguese established a fortified trading post in Cochin. Cabral returned to Portugal on June 23, 1501. Although he was considered as a candidate to lead the third Portuguese voyage to India, Vasco da Gama was chosen instead. Cabral never took part in any other expedition and died in obscurity.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Brazil; Exploration; Portuguese Empire; Treaty of Tordesillas

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Cairo

Egypt's capital reflects a past closely connected with the story of colonialism. Cairo's first brush with Western imperialism came with the French in 1798. Then, although fascinated by the city's vast collection of ancient and medieval architecture, Napoleon and his savants insisted on change, especially in civic administration, and street design.

Throughout the century that followed, a strong Western influence persisted in Cairo's development. Railways connected the city to Alexandria and Suez by the 1850s. During the reign of Khedive Ismail, the Azbakiyyah district gained a European-style quarter and an opera house. Influenced by the Exposition Universelle of 1867, Ismail wanted Cairo transformed into a Western city. Although he concentrated his resources on select districts, a master plan envisioned Paris-like boulevards and parks everywhere.

Extensive loans helped pay for Cairo's beautification, but a threatened default also allowed for the British invasion of 1882. The occupation that followed lasted until 1946, and it established a significant English influence in Cairo's urban planning. One immediate result was the creation of more western districts, military barracks, and office space. Tramways and bridges followed. All this attracted immigrants, and between 1882–1900, Cairo's population grew from 400,000 to 600,000.

In World Wars I and II, Cairo was the headquarters for Allied forces in the Middle East. During these conflicts, vast numbers of troops and civilians moved into the city, supporting economic boom times. War also spawned factories and support facilities, some of which survived the transition to peacetime. Cairo's colonial era ended in 1946, when British troops withdrew. At last, an Egyptian flag again flew over the Citadel.

John P. Dunn

See also British Empire; Egypt; Islam; Khedive; World War II

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Calcutta

Calcutta is the largest city in India and one of the largest commercial centers of Asia. It is also the heartland of Bengali language, culture, and civi-

lization. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784, the University of Calcutta in 1857, and the University of Jadavpur in 1955. The Bengal cultural renaissance, led by Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833), developed in the early nineteenth century. Located on the east bank of the Hoogly, a tributary of the Ganges, Calcutta owes its greatness to the river that links the city to the industries and commercial network of north India.

The history of the city is largely associated with the British, who founded it in 1690. In 1696, the British built Fort William, and two years later, they purchased three villages, which constituted the early city, from the Mughals. In 1756, the nabob of Bengal captured Calcutta and incarcerated 146 prisoners in a small room overnight; only a score of them emerged alive. This incident became known as the “black hole of Calcutta” event, and it led to British reprisals and recapture the following January. In June 1757, Robert Clive won the Battle of Plassey, and Calcutta became a British presidency. In 1773, it became the capital of British India, the governor of Bengal became the governor-general of India, and a supreme court was established in the city. It remained the capital of British India until 1912, when the capital was transferred to Delhi. From the 1920s until the 1940s, Calcutta became the center of communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims as the nationalist movement gathered force. The riots that took place from August 16 to 20, 1946, at the instigation of the Muslim League, were the worst in the city's history. Since 1947, Calcutta has grown into one of India's most vibrant cultural, industrial, and commercial centers.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; Clive, Robert; India

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California

The largest state by population in the United States and the third largest by area, California was first explored by the Spanish in the mid-sixteenth century and settled by missionaries in the late eighteenth century. It became part of Mexico when that

country won its independence from Spain in 1821, but it was ceded to the United States after the Mexican-American War in 1848.

California was originally settled by a dozen or so Native American tribes, with a pre-Columbian population estimated at 150,000. The first Europeans to sight the territory were the Spanish explorer Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542, the English buccaneer Francis Drake in 1579, and, in 1602, the Spanish merchant Sebastián Vizcaíno, who named many of the region's coastal features. But California's remoteness from both Europe and the heartland of New Spain (Mexico) meant that the state remained largely unsettled by Europeans into the late eighteenth century.

Fearful that British or Russian traders—both economically active in the north Pacific—might lead their respective countries to lay claim to the remote territory, Spain moved to establish its hold on California by dispatching Franciscan missionary Junípero Serra in 1769 to establish missions. Over the next decade, Serra established twenty-one missions between San Diego and the San Francisco Bay area. At the same time, the Spanish viceroy in Mexico sent an army expedition under Gaspar de Portolá to establish a military outpost at Monterey, which became the capital of the territory.

Under both the Spanish and the Mexican governments, there was little European settlement, even as most of California's Native Americans—particularly those along the coast and in the Central Valley—were herded into mission compounds, where many of them died from European-borne diseases. In 1834, the missions were secularized by the Mexican government; although half of the missions' vast holdings were supposed to be given to the Indians, most were seized by well-connected Spaniards, who established vast cattle ranches.

U.S. involvement in California began modestly in the early 1800s as small numbers of New England traders made their way by sea to the territory, exchanging manufactured products for cattle hides grown on the huge Mexican ranches, largely in the southern half of the region. Meanwhile, other Americans—still small in number—were settling in the northern half of the region as farmers and ranchers.

As tensions rose between an expansionist United States and Mexico in the 1840s, leading to

the outbreak of war in 1846, these American settlers in northern California declared the territory an independent republic in 1846. At the same time, several battles between U.S. and Mexican forces in the southern half of the territory—at San Pascual in December 1846 and Cahuenga Pass in January 1847—led to a U.S. takeover, which was formally confirmed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed by the United States and Mexico in February 1848.

The discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills in January 1848 led to a flood of gold-seekers from the eastern United States and around the world in the late 1840s and 1850s. Indeed, by 1850, when California became the thirty-first state, the non-Indian population of the territory had risen to over 200,000. Over the next fifty years or so, the original Mexican ranch owners—known as Californios—would see much of their property taken from them by American land speculators, often through fraudulent means.

The twentieth century saw California transformed from a largely agricultural state with a relatively small population to an economically diverse state with a population in excess of 33 million. Interestingly, by the year 2000, California had become the first state in the Union in which over half the population was of non-European origin, with the largest single ethnic group being Mexican.

James Ciment

See also Americans, Native; Christianity; Spanish Empire
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Calvinism

In the period before 1800, Calvinism as it related to colonialism was primarily an affair of the Dutch who lived abroad. Calvinism, or the Reformed Church, was the state religion of the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces and thus was also the official religion of the overseas Dutch. Although the charters and missives of the Dutch East India Company and Dutch West India Company contained bombastic appeals for the Dutch to “advance the Christian faith abroad” or “convert the

heathen peoples,” very little of either took place in the Dutch colonies.

Unlike Catholic powers, whose Christianizing mission in their colonies was put on a par with their economic goals, the Dutch realized early on that religious tolerance paid when dealing with polyglot trading partners, especially in Asia where Dutch survival necessitated coexistence with traditional local belief systems and powerful Islamic sultanates. And whereas the theological convictions of the Spanish and Portuguese left a uniquely Catholic stamp on the peoples they controlled and the policies they pursued, the doctrines of Calvin had little influence on Dutch colonial behavior. In some areas, such as Ambon and Maluku, where the Portuguese had previous success in gaining converts to Catholicism, the indigenous congregations became Calvinist under Dutch rule, but they rarely possessed consistories or other organs of Reformed Church government. Although Reformed services were held in Asia and Calvinist conversion was necessary for an Asian woman to marry a Dutch man, evidence such as the repeated ban on performing *wayang* (traditional Javanese puppet shows) during church calls into question the extent to which the congregations were truly “reformed.”

South Africa’s nineteenth-century Boers sought an identity separate from the *uitlander* (the Afrikaans term for foreigner) British and especially the African populations and began using Calvinism and the South African Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) to this end; the NGK sought theological justification for apartheid until 1986, when it reversed its position. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European missionaries and interfaith missionary societies, many of whose members were of the Reformed or Presbyterian Church, began working worldwide in humanitarian and evangelical capacities independent of the respective colonial and postcolonial states, often seeking out remote peoples in virtually unexplored territories. Some of the most lasting contributions of these mission efforts were the protoanthropological research conducted by lay ethnographers and the grammars, dictionaries, and painstaking linguistic groundwork done in the languages they serviced.

Eric A. Jones

See also Boers; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; Dutch West India Company; Religion; South Africa

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Cambodia

Human civilization has long existed in the country now known as Cambodia: tools have been used in the region for at least 6,000 years, and rice has been cultivated for over 2,000 years. As early as the first century C.E., Chinese traders reported the existence of kingdoms in the region. By 802 C.E., the Khmer people established the Kingdom of Angkor. This great civilization not only dominated most of the area covered by modern Cambodia but also conquered large parts of the Indochinese peninsula.

Starting in the fifteenth century C.E., however, the Khmers’ influence waned, and it was their turn to fall under various foreign influences. The Khmer abandoned Angkor in 1432 and were forced to establish several capital cities, most notably Phnom Penh. Over the next four centuries, the regions under the control of the Khmer were reduced to the area covered by current-day Cambodia. By the mid-nineteenth century, torn by disputes between its princes, Cambodia became the battleground of Thai and Vietnamese military forces. In exchange for France’s help against these opponents, King Norodom I was forced to accept a French protectorate in 1863. Cambodia enjoyed a relatively peaceful period after the expulsion of its enemies, even though Siam still threatened it from time to time.

The peace was definitely shattered during World War II, when Japanese troops entered French Indochina to use it as a military base. In 1941, Norodom Sihanouk was proclaimed king of Cambodia. Sihanouk declared his country’s independence from France shortly before Japan’s surrender in August 1945 but was soon forced to recant. Although the young king pledged his allegiance to the French once they had reestablished their rule in Indochina, he continued to struggle for his country’s autonomy. Because of the king’s persistence, and although his country had

been spared almost entirely by the armed independence struggle in neighboring Vietnam, the French had granted enough autonomy to Cambodia by 1953 that it could claim a seat at the United Nations. After implementing the first part of the Geneva cease-fire agreement in August 1954, the French undertook negotiations with Cambodia to finalize its economic independence.

Sihanouk remained at the head of his country after independence, maintaining close ties to France and pursuing a policy of neutrality during the Vietnamese conflict. Nevertheless, as Sihanouk's enemies gained ground in Cambodia, the U.S. government, under President Richard Nixon's administration, decided to start systematic bombing campaigns there in 1969. Sihanouk was deposed the following year in a military coup supported by the United States and led by Gen. Lon Nol, who established the Khmer Republic. After five years of fighting Nol's troops, the Communist-led Khmer Rouge took power in Cambodia in 1975. The country was renamed Democratic Kampuchea and for three years was subjected to a dictatorship headed by Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan. Over 2 million people perished under this brutal regime before the Vietnamese invaded the country in 1978 and 1979 and proclaimed the Popular Republic of Kampuchea. In 1989, due in large part to King Sihanouk's tireless efforts, the Vietnamese army left Cambodia, and the country was once again able to assert its independence from foreign influences.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also French Indochina; Japanese Empire; Vietnam; World War II

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Cameroon

European contacts with Cameroon, which is located on the west coast of Africa between Nigeria and Gabon, began in the late fifteenth century when Portuguese traders en route to Asia stopped along the coast. Thereafter, contacts remained intermittent and occurred only when European merchants went to the coast to purchase slaves, ivory, and palm oil from local middlemen. Although coastal peoples like the Douala and Bimbia deliberately denied Europeans the right to set up

permanent bases in order to maintain their independence, domestic problems led several chiefs to petition the British for formal protection by 1833. These calls were echoed by British Baptists who set up a mission station at the base of Mount Cameroon in 1858. Despite these requests, the British declined to take on the expense of setting up a new protectorate in Africa, preferring instead to rely on trading firms such as the John Holt Company to maintain their ties to the region.

By 1880, however, British merchants were facing increasing competition from German firms such as the Woermann Company. By 1884, the Germans took matters into their own hands and sent a gunboat under the command of Gustav Nachtigal to coerce the coastal tribes into signing treaties creating a German protectorate. German holdings increased throughout the next three decades as a result of military campaigns and negotiations with France for the cession of neighboring pieces of territory. Despite the increase in the territory under their control, the Germans' presence in Cameroon remained extremely limited and was focused primarily along the coast, in the form of several marginally successful palm oil plantations.

The German period finally came to an end in 1916, when a combined Anglo-French force invaded and seized the colony. When the war finally ended, France took possession of the bulk of Cameroon as a League of Nations mandate. A similar mandate for northern Cameroon was given to Britain. Both mandatory powers administered their respective zones until rising nationalism led to demands for independence. France finally granted Cameroon its independence in 1960. Shortly thereafter, the northern sections of the British zone voted to become part of Nigeria, and the rest voted to join the newly independent nation of Cameroon.

Kenneth J. Orosz

See also British Empire; German Empire; League of Nations; Nigeria; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Camus, Albert (1913–1960)

Albert Camus, novelist, essayist, and playwright, was born in Mondovi, Algeria, on November 7,

1913. His extensive writing was recognized when he received the Nobel Prize in literature in 1957. As an existentialist, Camus explored the themes of a godless people and the inherent absurdity of life, as well as the importance of the choices the individual makes in crafting a satisfactory existence. Further examination of Camus's work reveals another theme—the author's strong resentment of colonialism. Accordingly, he urged people to rebel against foreign occupation in order to become whole human beings. As he stated in *The Plague* (1947), one of his better-known novels, "It is not rebellion itself which is noble but the demands it makes upon us."

Camus viewed foreign occupation as a form of fanaticism that had to be contained. Thus, *The Plague*, though set in North Africa, is often viewed as an allegory disdaining the Nazi occupation of European countries during World War II. In the novel, the occupying force is a legion of rats that take over the town of Oran and isolate the people from the rest of the world. The townspeople insist that the rats and the diseases they bring, however repulsive, are really nothing to worry about. Even the death of a rat is envisioned as an innocuous event: the small puddle of blood spreading around its nose is likened to a red flower. The absurdity shines through in the contrast between appearance and reality.

Camus's point was that the threat posed by colonialism in its initial stages is often minimized, much as the people of Oran minimized the incursion of rats in their town. Only later are the horrific effects of foreign occupation—be it by colonizers or rodents—made manifest and acknowledged. And in the wake of such an occupation—that is, in the process of decolonization—the people are left to face monumental difficulties as they strive to rebuild the physical structures of their land and the mental structures of their society.

Camus continued to write until his death. His most widely known works include *The Stranger* (1942), *The Myth of Sisyphos* (1942), *Caligula* (1945), *The Rebel* (1951), and *The Fall* (1956). He was killed in an automobile accident on January 4, 1960.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Algeria; Decolonization; French Language; Literature; World War II

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Canada

The earliest attempt to colonize Canada occurred about 1000 C.E., when the Vikings established a settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland. Had the settlement survived, Canada's history would certainly have been very different. But the settlement did not survive, probably due to conflict with the indigenous people of the island (called Skraelings by the Vikings). Consequently, the colonial history of Canada is considered to begin much later, in the early sixteenth century.

Canada is an indigenous word, most likely of Iroquoian origin, meaning "town" or "village." The term was first used in 1535 by the French explorer Jacques Cartier, who misapplied it to the entire area, not just one village. Other early European explorers who visited the Canadian shores were John Cabot (1497); Gaspar Corte-Real, a Portuguese who is credited with bringing the first aboriginal people from Canada to Europe in 1501; Martin Frobisher, an Englishman who spent several years searching for the Northwest Passage in the high Arctic in the 1570s; and Henry Hudson, another Englishman, who in 1610 explored the bay that now bears his name.

In its early years, Canada consisted of what is now Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, and the early Canadian colonial history has been written by the French, who dominated the region after founding Quebec in 1608. The colony of New France was chartered in 1663, and it quickly became the focus of a widening French-British rivalry in the New World—a rivalry that was very disruptive to the lives of its inhabitants, both indigenous and settler. This rivalry culminated in the cession of New France to the English in the Treaty of Paris (1763). The British Quebec Act (1774) guaranteed the use of the French civil code as well as French language, land tenure, and religious rights. The Quebec Act also extended British jurisdiction in North America into the area north of the Ohio River—one of the "intolerable acts" that led to the American Revolution.

Of course, America's successful revolution led to negotiations with the British over the boundaries of what was then known as British North America. The modern boundaries of Canada were eventually recognized through negotiations established by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, although not finally settled until 1848. The British Constitution Act of 1791 separated British holdings into Upper and Lower Canada, largely divided by language. The only serious attempt at a U.S.-style revolution came in 1837 and 1838, when rebels led by W. L. Mackenzie and Louis Papineau organized agrarian discontent against the urban oligarchies that ruled Upper and Lower Canada through assemblies that they dominated. This rebellion, though brutally suppressed, did lead to certain reform, culminating in the Act of Union, which joined Upper and Lower Canada in 1840.

The British North America Act of 1867 established Canada as a dominion, with four founding provinces: Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. In 1867, the vast west and north were still under the nominal control of the Hudson's Bay Company. Negotiations with the company led to the annexation of this vast northwestern territory to Canada. After the negotiation of several "numbered treaties" with many indigenous peoples and the suppression of two "rebellions" led by the great Metis leader Louis Riel (in 1870 and 1885), the prairies were opened for settlement. Manitoba entered the confederation in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, Saskatchewan in 1905, and, finally, Newfoundland in 1949. These five provinces plus Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Alberta, along with Canada's three territories (Northwest Territories [1870], Yukon [1898], and Nunavut [1999]), comprise the world's second largest country—and one that is often cited by the United Nations as the best country to live in.

Canada's constitution was "repatriated" in 1982, thereby transferring full constitutional power from Britain to Canada, although the governor-general, appointed by Ottawa, represents the British Crown in Canada. The repatriated constitution, though it recognizes "existing aboriginal rights" and the "distinct society" status of Quebec, has not been universally accepted. Aboriginal people and the Quebecois still feel that their rights in anglophone Canada are in jeopardy. Consequently,

since 1982, the country has essentially been in the process of reforming its constitution, with the failures of the Meech Lake Accord (1990) and the Charlottetown Accord (1992) being serious setbacks to national unity. Two Quebec separatist referenda have been held (in 1980 and in 1995); both were defeated, although the 1995 referendum lost by a mere 54,000 votes (out of 4.7 million cast), a margin of only 1.1 percent.

Phillip Bellfy

See also British Empire; Cabot, John; French Empire; Frobisher, Sir Martin; Hudson, Henry; Iroquois Federation; Paris, Treaty of; Quebec; Seven Years' War

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Canary Islands

In 1344, Pope Clement VI granted the Canary Islands to the Castilian nobleman Luis de la Cerda, thus beginning a close relationship between the islands and the Iberian Peninsula. Due to the need for Atlantic bases to support expeditions of discovery, the Crown of Castile showed a growing interest in the islands; in 1477, it came to an agreement with the Peraza family, which owned the smaller islands, to allow for such bases, and then it started the conquest of the bigger ones.

The Castilian occupation was not easy because of the rivalry between the conquerors and the indigenous population. The Guanches, a tall, burly, blue-eyed, and blond-haired people that populated the Canary Islands, were organized in kingdoms and factions. However, the Christianization and Hispanization of the islands occurred very quickly, and crossbreeding soon caused the original language and culture to disappear; nowadays, only a few remnants of the Guanche culture remain. Prosperity arrived with the growth of sugarcane crops and when, despite the distrust of Seville and Cádiz, free trade with America was established. However, life was not easy, due to volcanic eruptions, severe droughts, and attacks from Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Berber pirates.

After the Spanish civil war (1936–1939), the underdevelopment of the islands was notable, but the area's status as a free port and, later, as a tourist

destination helped promote economic growth. The geostrategic importance of the Canary Islands has been reevaluated since 1975 in light of the tripartite agreement on Western Sahara, the Hispano-Moroccan treaties, and the 1982 entry of Spain into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Among the inhabitants of the islands, these issues, which were debated even in the Organization for African Unity, have stimulated nationalistic sentiment against Spanish centralism and support for a neutralist, anticolonialist approach. In August 1982, following heated confrontations between various political forces, the Canary Islands obtained autonomous status within Spain, with a level of power similar to that of other historical nationalities in the country, preserving the system of governments for each island and warranting a special tax regime.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also Spanish Empire

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Cape Colony (1652–1910)

When Jan van Riebeeck, an employee of the Dutch East India Company, established a refreshment station for Dutch ships on the shores of Table Bay in 1652, he did not intend to found a settlement colony. But, indeed, the Cape Colony did grow from his small station, which was located on the site of present-day Cape Town. In 1657, he allocated the first farms to settlers beyond the company's area of jurisdiction, and one year later, the first slaves were imported. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the colonists had settled almost all of the southwestern Cape, where the Mediterranean climate enabled them to grow wheat and cultivate grapevines. From early in that century, more and more colonists trekked north and east into the more barren interior, where they engaged in pastoralism on large tracts of land. The colonial boundary was moved progressively farther into the interior in the wake of the settler advance. By the end of the 1770s, the colonial boundary in the east was fixed some 600 miles from Cape Town, on

the Fish River, where the advancing colonists encountered Bantu-speaking farmers.

So, by the time of the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795, as a war in Europe was being fought by Britain and the Netherlands, the colony included a large tract inland of the strategically important Cape peninsula. The British took over the entire colony to the Fish River. Except for three years of Batavian rule (1803–1806), the Cape remained a British colony. British troops played a key role in subordinating Bantu-speaking farmers east of the Fish River in a series of wars, which led to further extensions of the colonial boundary to the east and the incorporation of a progressively larger African population. In 1847, the Cape governor had extended the colony's northern border to the Orange River, a natural line of demarcation, to which *trekboers* (Dutch pioneers) had advanced some decades earlier. The lands on which diamonds were discovered were added to the Cape in 1880, as was Basutoland (Lesotho) for a period (from 1871 to 1884) and, in 1895, the southern portion of a large tract that the British annexed as Bechuanaland (Botswana) in 1885. Under "responsible government" (full self-government) from 1872, the Cape Colony ceased to exist in 1910, when it became the Cape Province of the new Union of South Africa. The Cape's nonracial franchise was part of a liberal tradition that set the Cape Colony apart from other components of the new union.

Christopher Saunders

See also Boers; British Empire; Cape Town; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; South Africa

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Cape Town

The small settlement that the Dutch East India Company established on the shores of Table Bay in 1652 grew into the modern city of Cape Town, the second largest in South Africa. Table Mountain provided some shelter from storms, and the area

was well watered. San hunter-gatherers and Khoi-khoi pastoralists had used the land; some of their descendants became part of the working population of the emergent town. De Kaap became Kaapstadt, then Cape Town. British rule from 1795 gave the town an increasingly British character. Although it was the main military headquarters as well as an administrative and marketing center, Cape Town remained heavily dependent on its trade with passing ships and its position as the primary port of entry to the interior. In the late nineteenth century, small manufacturing began to be significant, and black Africans from the eastern Cape began to settle in Cape Town, adding to the city's cosmopolitan population mix. Though enforced residential segregation for Africans began in 1901, Cape Town long enjoyed a reputation for relative racial tolerance and political liberalism.

In the twentieth century, Cape Town increasingly became an industrial city; from 1910, it was the home of the South African Union's Parliament. The central government at Pretoria intervened more and more in the life of the city, however, and after 1948, Cape Town had to follow apartheid laws, which meant much greater residential segregation on racial lines. It was from the balcony of Cape Town's city hall that Nelson Mandela delivered his first speech after walking out of jail in 1990. The city entered the twenty-first century uncertain whether it would retain Parliament and with its tourist industry concerned about the violence that had spread from the ghettos to other parts of the city.

Christopher Saunders

See also Boers; British Empire; Cape Colony; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; South Africa

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Cape Verde Islands

The Cape Verdes are a group of islands located off the west coast of Africa, approximately 375 miles west of Cape Verde, the western tip of the continent. These islands were uninhabited prior to the arrival of Portuguese explorers between 1456 and

1460. In 1462, the first Portuguese settlement in the Tropics was established on the island of Santiago, thus founding the city of Ribeira Grande (now Cidade Velha). The population of the islands consisted of a large number of both enslaved and free mainland Africans, a handful of Portuguese (mostly convicted criminals), and a number of Jews, or New Christians, who settled there in an attempt to escape the Inquisition in Portugal.

Soon after the habitation of the islands, the Portuguese began experimenting with crops that could be grown in the arid climate. There was an attempt to develop sugar plantations. However, due to the lack of precipitation, sugar production in the Cape Verdes never reached the levels that it did in Madeira and São Tomé, two other Portuguese Atlantic islands that were being colonized during the same period. The planting of cotton and the manufacturing of cloth proved to be more viable economic activities for the islands.

Yet the Cape Verde Islands gained a measure of economic importance as an entrepôt in the European and Portuguese colonial commerce with West Africa—particularly the commerce in slaves. Slaves were brought to the islands to wait for transport to Brazil and the Caribbean. With the development of the Atlantic slave trade, the economy of the islands flourished, and their prosperity attracted other Europeans—such as the English, Dutch, and French—who attacked the Portuguese settlement in Cape Verde several times in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

With the end of the slave trade in the nineteenth century, the islands suffered economic decay. Constant droughts created crises of famine, and in the twentieth century, emigration—particularly to Portugal—became an alternative for the Cape Verdeans. Since the country declared its independence from Portugal in 1975, thousands of Cape Verdeans have moved to that country in search of better economic opportunities.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Cotton; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and Slave Trade; Sugar

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Capitalism

Capitalism has always been an adaptable creature. Its greatest strength has been its ability to change over time and accommodate new forms of governance within and between countries. At its most basic, it refers to an economic system in which private capital, stock, or wealth is used in the process of producing and distributing goods for a profit.

According to Raymond Williams, the word *capitalism*, used to describe an economic system, appeared in the early nineteenth century in England, France, and Germany. It referred to a particular economic system that changed over time and was therefore not a reference to a static or formulaic economic theory. During the period of the decline of absolutist power in Europe, the term referred to a system in which the means of production were centrally owned by an emerging bourgeois society. Capitalism involved a system in which the owner of the means of production employed waged laborers.

The capitalist era is generally said to have existed since the sixteenth century, though it has passed through several stages, from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism to financial and corporate capitalism. These changes have occurred in different places at different times: the evolution of capitalism has not been linear.

In *Civilization and Capitalism*, Fernand Braudel focused on the period from the sixteenth century but argued that in the story of capitalism, one can obviously see earlier roots in the system. There was the rise of the town across Europe and the slow abandonment of agrarian lifestyles. There was trade between these urban centers and the increasingly widespread use of paper money. There was the growing pool of labor from which the capitalists could draw to support their businesses. In time, there were dramatic increases in production, especially with the Industrial Revolution, and those involved in long-distance trade ultimately sought markets overseas or across national boundaries. For the



French and African ivory traders meet on the coast of West Africa in the late eighteenth century. Trade in luxury goods like ivory was a source of early capital accumulation that helped fund the Industrial Revolution and imperial European rule. (Library of Congress)

present purposes, it is this aspect of capitalism that is of most interest.

Mercantile capitalism existed from the late fourteenth century, centered on Venice and its accumulation of trading posts in the eastern Mediterranean that provided access to the commodities from the east and an ability to control trade in the region. Though there is a traditional assumption about the separation of the private (capitalist) sector and the public (state) sector, capitalists from early on built arsenals to protect their businesses. The Venetian state operated a naval power beginning in the fifteenth century. The centers of the capitalist system moved over time—from Venice to Antwerp in the sixteenth century, to Genoa later that century, and to Amsterdam in the mid-seventeenth century. The desire for economic growth and the fact that further eastward expansion was blocked by Islam were, according to historian Tony Spybey (1992), “the prime factor in Europe’s emergence as a set of maritime powers.”

Trade dominated mercantilist capitalism, though the initial Spanish interests in Latin America involved territorial conquest and a plundering of their wealth. Growth in the rates of domestic production gradually increased profits and the organization of colonies on the shores of distant lands to store and protect the goods and materials acquired for sale. Gradually, as more areas in the non-European world were drawn into the world economy, European settlement began to increase, at first on the coastal regions of the commercial empires.

The British Empire, which dominated the world economy from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, functioned as a nation-state rather than like the earlier city-states. The Industrial Revolution dramatically accelerated the capitalists’ interest in overseas markets and territory. When industrial capitalism intensified the search for markets, the cultures of the colonial areas changed dramatically. The mercantile period tended to involve the edges of the colonial areas, whereas industrial capitalism began to transform vast swaths of land and societies. With industrialization, colonialism accelerated. Until the late nineteenth century, colonial powers pursued their capitalist instincts and occupied areas to exploit resources. In the last few decades of the nineteenth

century, however, especially after the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, the occupation of territory and the formation of colonies preceded the exploitation of resources for the growing world economy.

The cartographic division of Africa at the Berlin Conference obviously preceded the actual European penetration of the interior of the continent. But this growing process and the resource extraction created systems of commodity exchange and pricing. Commercial gain, or profit, perhaps drove the process, but the European powers always had an eye on each other. Although capitalism was one of the principal reasons for accelerated colonialism, national prestige and concerns for the security of trade and sea-lanes of communication also influenced the process.

From the late 1870s, the various European powers and the United States rapidly acquired 17 percent of the world’s surface, leaving relatively few areas that were not dominated by Europe or its former Western colonies. The growing capitalist societies and the growing competition among them ensured the accumulation, growth, and “efficient” use of resources. The desire for profits constantly drove the capitalist powers to search for new markets, cheaper labor, and areas from which to extract resources.

After the Civil War, the United States underwent rapid industrial expansion, and ultimately, the internal success of its economy led it to look for new markets across the oceans. Thus, in 1898, the United States became a formal colonial power with overseas territory, especially with the acquisition of the Philippines. Thereafter, as Washington viewed the intensification of European rivalry in China, Secretary of State John Hay issued the Open Door notes that sought equal access, “fair field and no favor” for the United States, Europeans, and Japanese. The Open Door diplomacy of 1899 and 1900 signaled the rise of U.S. power and influence and a desire not to acquire further territory but to continue with economic expansionism.

World War I changed the shape of the colonial world order and in the process gave rise to the increasing influence (and hegemony after 1945) of the United States. Colonialism was under growing scrutiny from the United States, especially as expressed in President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points of 1918. The crumbled empires of the Middle East became mandates of the League of Na-

tions. U.S. influence rose as the European powers declined in the interwar period. The Great Depression and the crisis in world capitalism following Wall Street's Crash of 1929 further intensified the colonial system. The capitalist economies began to focus inward as the world economy divided into several closed trading blocs. The colonial areas were severely affected by the crisis, as commodity prices were driven down.

The United States took the opportunity to expand its reach into the global market during World War II. Under the terms of the Atlantic Charter and the lend-lease agreement, former colonial economies were increasingly opened to U.S. trade. In the postwar period, following the creation of the Bretton Woods system in 1944, U.S.-style capitalism began to dominate the Western economies. Washington tentatively pushed decolonization for political as well as economic reasons.

The rapid growth in the world economy in the postwar period, with the United States now at the center of the world capitalist system, ushered in a period of what Kwame Nkrumah referred to as neocolonialism—the operation of informal or economic control over the destiny of politically independent sovereign states.

David Ryan

See also Bretton Woods Conference; Communism; Economics; Industrial Revolution; North-South Conflict; Theories of Imperialism

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Cartier, Jacques (1491–1557)

Jacques Cartier, born in St. Malo, France, won a commission from Francis I, king of France, “to discover certain islands and countries where it is said that he should find great quantities of gold and other valuable things.” It is also quite likely that Cartier was seeking a northwest passage to the Orient. The idea of a northwest passage had intrigued the first English explorers to the New

World. In 1509, for example, Sebastian Cabot fitted out an expedition to locate such a route. He spent a lifetime trying to convince financial backers that he had actually located it, although he had merely sailed through the Hudson Strait and into Hudson Bay.

France, however, embarked on a more aggressive program to discover what lay between those regions and the lands of New Spain, efforts that led to the “real” discovery of Canada. The inspiration came from King Francis I, whose expansionist activities led him into conflict with Spain in Europe but who was also prepared to challenge Spain's colonial monopoly. Although the existence of a large body of water lying west of Newfoundland was known, it was not as yet completely explored; that was Cartier's mission. In the last week of May 1523, he sailed through the Strait of Belle Isle into waters already familiar to thousands of French fisherman who regularly fished the Grand Banks. Cartier, however, continued into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, an area entirely new to the European world.

Cartier discovered the Magdalene Islands, Prince Edward Island (which he described), and the Gaspé Peninsula. He found neither gold nor the passage but still returned to France with favorable reports. His cargo of furs, obtained in trade with indigenous peoples, inspired continuing French commercial interest in North America. Cartier himself made two additional voyages to the region, expanding the knowledge and understanding of the area and its people. He never did discover gold or find the Northwest Passage, but in 1541, he became the first colonizer of New France.

Henry H. Goldman

See also Canada; Exploration; French Empire; New France

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Casablanca

Situated on the northwest coast of Morocco, Casablanca—or Dar el-Beida, its official name in Arabic—is the largest city and principal seaport of the northwest African country. Dating back at least to medieval times, Casablanca rose to prominence as a commercial center under the French Protectorate of Morocco from 1912 to 1956.

The origins of the city of Casablanca are unknown, but historical records indicate that there was a Berber-speaking town on the site as early as the twelfth century C.E. Over the next several centuries, Casablanca became a base for pirates attacking European shipping in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. These raids led the Portuguese to destroy the city in 1468. A half century later, in 1515, the Portuguese began a long-term occupation of the site and built a new city there, which they named Casa Branca (or “white house”). The tremendous earthquake that leveled Lisbon in 1755 also destroyed Casablanca 300 miles to the southeast; the disaster led the Portuguese to abandon Casablanca.

Sultan Sidi Mohammed ibn ‘Abd Allah reconstructed the town toward the end of the eighteenth century, and Casablanca increasingly became home to French and Spanish traders, the latter providing its modern European name. But it was the French, who began to occupy neighboring Algeria in 1830, who exercised growing political power over both Morocco and Casablanca during the course of the nineteenth century.

Although the 1906 Algeciras Conference guaranteed Moroccan independence, even as it granted special economic rights in the country to Spain and France, Paris nevertheless occupied the city in 1907 during an uprising against the sultan led by the sultan’s brother. Five years later, France established a protectorate over Morocco and built Casablanca into the country’s premier port, a position it has occupied since the country won its independence in 1956. After the Nazi conquest of France in June 1940, the city was divided between Vichy and Free French forces. In 1942, it was occupied by Allied forces. Today, Casablanca remains Morocco’s largest city—with over 3 million people in the metropolitan area—and its commercial center.

James Ciment

See also Algeciras Conference; French Empire; Morocco
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Castro, Fidel (1927–)

In 1959, Fidel Castro led a revolution that overthrew the Fulgencio Batista regime in Cuba—a regime that had been supported by the United

States since 1933. Castro found the U.S. domination of Cuba and Latin America unacceptable, regarding the relationship as neocolonial. He led an attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, 1953, and after that effort failed, he spent a period in prison and exile until his clandestine return to Cuba in 1956. There, he began the July 26 guerrilla movement that was organized in the Sierra Maestra. By September 1958, Castro’s forces, including Ernesto Guevara, moved out of the mountains; they succeeded in overthrowing the Batista regime on January 1, 1959.

Castro initially claimed that his revolution was humanitarian and that raising the living standards of all Cubans was a central objective. His nationalization of U.S. companies and a frosty visit with U.S. vice president Richard Nixon failed to produce economic agreement between the two countries. President John F. Kennedy imposed an economic embargo and successfully expelled Cuba from the Organization of American States in 1962. In April 1961, the Kennedy administration had planned and supported the failed Bay of Pigs invasion by Cuban exiles. Castro turned to the Soviet Union for economic and, subsequently, military assistance. The Soviet provision of strategic missiles ultimately led to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962.

Following the crisis, Cuban-Soviet ties grew, though the relationship was rarely harmonious. The Soviets provided Cuba with essential aid through the subsequent decades. The United States characterized Castro’s Cuba as a Soviet colony, though Cuban independence was always asserted. Castro has been targeted in numerous assassination attempts directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and his regime has survived the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

David Ryan

See also Batista, Fulgencio; Communism; Cuba; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Organization of American States

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Catherine the Great (1729–1796)

Catherine the Great became empress of Russia in 1762 and continued to reign until her death in 1796. Known for her domestic reforms, she pur-

sued an expansionist foreign policy that increased the size of the empire by annexing territory to the south and the west of Russia. Between 1768 and 1792, she fought two wars against the Ottoman Empire. At the conclusion of the first conflict, which started as a foray across the Turkish border in pursuit of a group of dissident Poles, Catherine obtained access to the Black Sea, formalizing the agreement with the sultan by signing the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji in 1774. Hostilities resumed in 1783 after Catherine assumed control over the Crimea. The Ottomans retaliated in 1787. Catherine's goal remained to drive the Turks out of Europe and to reestablish the Byzantine Empire under her leadership. With her troops advancing to within 250 miles of Constantinople, Catherine accepted the sultan's surrender after the Turks realized the futility of the situation. The Treaty of Jassy in 1792 failed to fulfill Catherine's primary objective, but Russia's territorial gain proved substantial.

To the west, Catherine expanded the borders through an international agreement between Russia, Prussia, and Austria that partitioned Poland. Three indigenous attempts to resist domination resulted in the remaining portion of Poland falling under Russian sovereignty. The inclusion of various ethnic groups and religions within the empire created tension: Catholics and Jews experienced discrimination, and Poles, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Crimean Tatars resented the loss of their independence. The diversity among the non-Russian population required the creation of a secret police force and a uniform system of administration to retain control. Establishing Russian domination over Eastern Europe and initiating a policy of prohibiting Jews from the rest of the empire, Catherine laid the foundation for future discrimination against the minority group and the resentment that continued until the fall of the Soviet Union.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire

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gua, Costa Rica, and Belize (formerly British Honduras). During much of the Spanish period, from the early sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century, Central America was organized into administrative units as part of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala, which was nominally subordinate to the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In 1821, the Captaincy-General of Guatemala was briefly incorporated into Agustín de Iturbide's Mexican empire, which had ended Spanish rule in New Spain. Iturbide fell from power in 1823, and the former Captaincy-General of Guatemala became a federal republic called the United Provinces of Central America. This new polity was unstable, and elite conflict and caudillo-led uprisings resulted in its disintegration into the separate political units of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica by 1838. These incipient nation-states began to consolidate in the second half of the nineteenth century with the rising export trade in coffee and bananas and the influx of foreign capital. Coffee and bananas represented as much as 70 percent of the region's annual exports by the first half of the twentieth century, and they were still central to the export trade in the 1960s and 1970s. The export of these commodities underpinned the political and social ascendancy of landed oligarchies in the various countries of Central America.

The modern history of Central America has also been shaped by the United States. From the 1920s to the end of the 1950s, the United States provided the market for between 60 and 90 percent of the exports from Central America and a comparable percentage of the region's imports. By the 1970s, the economic significance of the United States had declined somewhat, but with the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1981, Central America became the object of a dramatic increase in U.S. military aid and involvement. Reagan's preoccupation was with Nicaragua, where the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front—FSLN) had led a popular revolution that overthrew the regime of Anastasio Somoza (a longtime U.S. ally) in July 1979. In response to the rise of the Sandinistas, Washington increased its military assistance to and operations in the countries neighboring Nicaragua. For example, it set up a number of air fields in Honduras that could be used to support the Contras (primarily a reorganized contingent of

Central America

Present-day Central America includes the countries of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicara-

former members of Somoza's National Guard) or for a direct U.S. attack on Nicaragua. In the case of El Salvador, where a major insurgency led by the Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—FMLN) was under way, U.S. military aid went from \$6 million in 1980 to \$396 million between 1981 and 1984, inclusive (along with \$758 million in economic aid over the same period). By the end of the 1980s, El Salvador had received over \$3 billion in military and economic aid (approximately \$800,000 each day) in ten years. But with the end of the Cold War, the U.S. government rapidly lost interest in the region. The Sandinistas were voted out of office in Nicaragua in 1990, and the insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala formally came to an end with peace agreements in 1992 and 1996, respectively. Although all the countries in Central America are officially at peace today and hold regular elections, all of them (with the partial exception of Costa Rica) are mired in debt and have some of the highest levels of poverty and inequality in the hemisphere.

Mark T. Berger

See also British Honduras; Coffee; Cold War; Nicaragua; Panama; Panama Canal; United States

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Césaire, Aimé Fernand (1913–)

Martiniquais poet, playwright, and essayist Aimé Césaire was one of the most important writers in French of the twentieth century. Born in Basse Pointe, he went to Paris in 1931. There, Césaire discovered the surrealist movement, and he also became involved with Léopold Sédar Senghor and other black intellectuals interested in African culture and history. His experiences led him to become a staunch opponent of French colonial practices, particularly in Africa. In 1934, Césaire, Senghor, and French Guianan poet Leon-Gontran Damas began publishing *L'étudiant noir* (The Black Student), and in a review in 1935, Césaire

first used the word *négritude*. That year, he also began work on “Cahier d'un retour au pays natal” (Notebook on a Return to One's Birthplace), one of his most famous poems. Returning to Martinique in 1939, Césaire cofounded the journal *Tropiques* in 1941: it championed surrealism and advocated the end of colonial rule.

After World War II, Césaire was elected as a deputy to the French National Assembly, a position he held from 1945 until 1993. He joined the Communist Party in 1946 and later that year became mayor of Fort-de-France, the capital of Martinique. Césaire was influential in the passage of a law that raised Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guiana, and Réunion to departmental status, but it did nothing to advance the population's civil rights. In *Discourse sur le colonialisme* (Discourse on Colonialism) (1950), Césaire wrote that colonialism undermined colonizers, “decivilizing” and forcing them to commit horrible acts and enact harmful policies as they oppressed and demeaned indigenous populations to achieve their mercantile ends. The work also drew extensive parallels between colonialism and fascism.

Césaire became convinced of the need for a new world order, one that would reject the colonial model, respect non-Western cultures and traditions, and yet retain the benefits the modern age provided to humanity. Realizing that he could no longer subordinate racial struggles to proletarian ones, he left the Communist Party in 1956. Césaire helped found the Martiniquais Progressive Party and remained as mayor of Fort-de-France, writing all the while. *Toussaint L'Ouverture: La révolution française et le problème colonial* (The French Revolution and the Colonial Problem) (1961) detailed the failure of the Haitian slave rebellion and hypothesized that the French Revolution had also failed because it left so many without real liberty. In *La tragédie du roi Christophe* (The Tragedy of King Christophe) (1963), Césaire continued to explore the theme of black exploitation in Haiti, this time focusing on the 1957–1971 regime of François “Papa Doc” Duvalier. In another play, *Un saison au Congo* (A Season in the Congo) (1965), he presented the story of Patrice Lumumba and his attempts to free the Congo, advocating that foreign-supported governments and dictatorships be overthrown. An adaptation of Shakespeare's *Tempest* followed (1969). Césaire turned from politics

to surrealism in *Noria* (1976) and *Moi, Laminaire* (Me, Laminaire) (1982), his last play.

Gail Tinsley

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism;
Communism; French Empire; French Language;
Literature

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Ceuta and Melilla

The city of Ceuta was conquered by Portugal in 1415 as part of the expansion policy of the Iberian monarchs, who sought to extend their territory down to the southern Mediterranean shore to prevent incursions from the Magrib. The strategic location of Ceuta in the Strait of Gibraltar was essential to ensuring the commercial penetration of Portugal into Africa and securing commercial routes to the Far East and the Sudan-Egypt area. However, Lisbon's economic interest in Ceuta quickly decreased due to the success of its establishments in the Guinea Gulf. In 1640, following the period of Spain's supremacy over Portugal, important areas of the city chose to remain under the Spanish administration, which was confirmed in 1668. The associated city, Melilla, was conquered in 1498 by the Castilian duke of Medina-Sidonia, who in 1556 ceded Melilla to the Crown of Castile. Huge fortifications were built to protect the city from the attacks of Berber tribes in the Rif, and it became a strategic base for the Spanish operations in the west Mediterranean area.

The Spanish Protectorate in northern Morocco (1912–1956) did not change the situation of Ceuta and Melilla nor the sovereignty status over the rest of small islands (Chafarinas) and crags (Vélez de la Gomera, Alhucemas) located nearby. Although Morocco acknowledged some rights of Spain over the two cities, Morocco from time to time claimed sovereignty over them. Since the end of the Spanish civil war (1936–1939), the economy of both cities has been based on their free port status, as well as the fact that they are locations for a prison and military base. After long negotiations, Ceuta obtained the status of autonomous city in March 1995, as did Melilla in September 1995. However, they did not get the same institutional and legal

powers that were granted to the rest of autonomous communities within Spain. Since the 1990s, both cities have become preferred gateways for many African and Asian immigrants seeking to enter the European Union, legally or illegally.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also Morocco; Spanish Empire

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Chamberlain, Joseph (1836–1914)

Joseph Chamberlain, the nonconformist son of a prosperous British shoe manufacturer in London, entered the family business at age sixteen. He later transferred to a cousin's screw-manufacturing concern in Birmingham and was such a good businessman that he was able to retire at age thirty-eight and apply his considerable personal experience in industry and commerce to the political world.

Chamberlain's political power base remained in the industrial West Midlands, which sent him to Parliament as a Liberal member in 1876. He was named president of the Board of Trade under William Ewart Gladstone in 1882, but because Chamberlain was profoundly committed to the expansion and consolidation of the empire, he could not support Gladstone's home rule policy. As a result, he became allied with the Liberal Unionists who joined forces with the Conservatives against the Liberal Party.

It was in 1895 that Chamberlain joined the Conservative cabinet as secretary of state for the colonies and began to promulgate his imperial programs. He was not involved in expanding the British Empire; rather, he was concerned with the material, economic side of colonial administration and wanted to make the colonies profitable. In implementing this "new," or constructive, imperialism, Chamberlain proposed that colonies were, first and foremost, an economic proposition and an enormous potential source of national wealth and economic security. He had a businessman's distaste for resources going to waste, and he wanted to make the empire self-sufficient and, ultimately, richer. Chamberlain was instrumental in



British colonial secretary from 1895 to 1902, Joseph Chamberlain was unsuccessful in persuading the Conservative-led government to abandon its free trade principles for higher tariffs in order to protect imperial trade. (Library of Congress)

the founding of the Schools of Tropical Medicine (in London and Liverpool) and the establishment of numerous institutes to conduct research into better methods of colonial agriculture and husbandry. As with all of his colonial policies, however, he was motivated not so much by purely humanitarian interests as by the desire to ease the way for private capital.

By 1902, Chamberlain was frustrated by his failure to convince the government and the electorate of his ideas, and he campaigned for the establishment of a system of imperial trade preferences, which would involve protective tariffs and preferential trade policies. Chamberlain's ambitions were undone by this highly protectionist policy in a time when free trade was still basic to Conservative philosophy. After his ouster from the Conservative government, he sought to build support through private campaigning, but again, he had little success. In July 1906, Chamberlain suffered a severe stroke and retired from public life.

Cynthia Curran

See also British Empire; Conservative Party; Gladstone, William Ewart; Home Rule; Liberal Party

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Charles V (1500–1558)

King of Spain from 1516 to 1556 and Holy Roman Emperor from 1519 to 1556, Charles V (his title as head of the Holy Roman Empire; in Spain, he is known as Charles I) ruled over the first great overseas empire in history, including extensive territories in Europe, the Americas, and the Philippines. Utilizing the great wealth of his American possessions, he fought numerous wars against the rival French, Protestant challengers to the Catholic Church, and aggressive Muslim Turks.

Born the son of the duke of Burgundy and grandson (on his mother's side) of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain, Charles was put under the charge of his aunt, regent of the Hapsburg-controlled Netherlands, in 1506, after the death of his father and his mother's confinement for insanity.

On his fifteenth birthday, he became duke of Burgundy, and when Ferdinand died the following year, he was made king of Spain. A foreigner who barely spoke Spanish and who brought with him German-speaking administrators, Charles was resented by the Spanish during his three years there. In 1519, he was chosen Holy Roman Emperor and returned to Germany, just as Protestantism was beginning to make headway there. He tried to banish Protestants from the empire and then fought a rebellion against anti-Hapsburg forces in Spain before going to war with France over control of Italy in 1523. When the pope sided with France and refused to institute the church reforms that Charles demanded, the latter sent his forces against him. The poorly paid soldiers then went on a rampage in the infamous "sack of Rome" in 1527.

In the early 1530s, Charles was largely preoccupied with fending off Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean, which made it possible for the Protestant princes of Germany to challenge Charles's rule there. Only the renewal of Turkish hostility in 1538 brought the two sides together. In 1545, Charles helped organized the Council of Trent to reform the Catholic Church. At the same



King of Spain from 1519 to 1556, Charles V presided over the vast expansion of the Spanish Empire into the Western Hemisphere even while he focused much of his attention on European affairs. (Library of Congress)

time, he went to war against Protestant forces, defeating them at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547.

In 1551, Charles was beset by another challenge—the Catholic princes of Germany who resented his growing imperial power and his decision to have his son, Philip II, succeed him as emperor. The princes soon joined forces with the French, defeating Charles at Innsbruck and forcing concessions, including more leniency toward the Protestant princes of Germany.

Three years later, exhausted by constant war, Charles V decided to relinquish some of his power, turning over his German possessions to his brother Ferdinand. In 1555, facing new challenges from France and yet another hostile pope, he decided to rid himself of his remaining realms—including the Netherlands, Spain and its overseas possessions, and parts of Italy—and give them to his son Philip, the future Philip II of Spain. Charles, who had grown increasingly interested in mystical Catholicism, then entered a monastery in Spain, where he died in 1558.

Charles V's legacy is immense. Although he failed to create a unified, Catholic empire within

Europe—hampered by rival Christian monarchs, the rising power of the Turks, and constant economic problems, despite the influx of American gold and silver—he was instrumental in the creation of the vast Spanish Empire in the Americas, promoting exploration, conquest, and settlement in the Caribbean, Central America, South America, and the Philippines.

James Ciment

See also Ferdinand and Isabella; Hapsburg, House of; Ottoman Empire; Philip II; Spanish Empire

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Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) (1887–1975)

Chiang Kai-shek was the leader of the Kuomintang (KMT) and president of the Republic of China. His early Confucian education shaped his conservative values, and his military training in Japanese academies from 1906 to 1909 prepared him for a major political role in the KMT when Sun Yat-sen appointed him the head of the Whampoa (Huangpu) Military Academy in 1923. Following Sun's death in 1925, Chiang's control of the army made him the dominant figure in the KMT. He launched the 1926–1928 Northern Expedition that prevailed over Chinese warlords to unify China under KMT rule, and in 1927, he purged the Chinese Communists who had allied with the KMT under Soviet sponsorship.

As president of the republic, Chiang attempted to establish a strong, unified state in the 1930s but was frustrated by a resurgent Communist movement, warlords who reneged on their proclaimed allegiance to the KMT government, and Japanese imperialism. His decision to focus on eliminating the Communists while yielding to Japanese advances in Manchuria and north China proved unpopular, and after being kidnapped in 1936, he was forced to form a united front with the Communists and other patriotic Chinese elements to fight against Japanese imperialism.

As China's leader during the war of resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945, Chiang was domestically revered and internationally recognized as one of the Big Four wartime leaders. After Japan's defeat, Chiang rejected the idea of forming a coalition government with the Communists.



Leader of the Nationalist Chinese forces in their struggle against Japanese imperialists and Chinese Communists in the 1930s and 1940s, Chiang Kai-shek was forced in 1949 to flee to the island of Taiwan after his defeat in the Chinese Civil War. (Library of Congress)

KMT's strategic military mistakes led to the victory of Communists in the Chinese civil war from 1946 to 1949. The government of the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan. As hopes for a military reconquest of the mainland faded with the consolidation of Communist power, Chiang hoped to develop Taiwan as a model province and thereby trigger a popular demand in mainland China for his return. He remained president and party leader until his death in 1975.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Japanese Empire; Kuomintang; Mao Zedong; World War II

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Children

When one thinks of colonialism, rarely does the image of a child come to mind. Yet children were affected by colonialism and had a significant place

in both the world of the colonizer and the world the colonized. Normally, the overriding ideologies of power, greed, and imperialism push children aside. However, the role of a child as a laborer, interpreter, or conduit of colonialism is highly significant to all aspects of life in the colonized world.

The legend of Virginia Dare is a case in point. The granddaughter of Sir Walter Raleigh, she was believed to be the first English child born in the North American colonies. But she and the other settlers of Roanoke disappeared without a trace, leaving behind only "CROATAN" written on a nearby tree. Were they rescued or massacred? The fate of this colony is unknown. They were never found, having disappeared without a trace. Nevertheless, this small child and her story has remained a strong part of American colonial history.

Such stories are few and far between, evidence that colonial children were a silent minority. Life was difficult for children on the frontiers of the Americas, India, China, and Africa. European children who were brought to these areas had a higher quality of life than did indigenous children. However, that life was filled with a desperate struggle for identity. These children did not know where they belonged. Were they American or British, Martinican or French, South African or Dutch, Cuban or Spanish, Brazilian or Portuguese? Those born in the colonies were conditioned by their parents to believe that their identity and allegiance lay with the home country. However, the home country did not accept them with open arms. These children were labeled as provincial or Creole. They did not have the same rights as European-born children and were continually reminded of this. Rarely would they grow up to be assemblymen, members of the Spanish Cortes, or Parliamentarians. Their parents, however, tried to shield them from discrimination. These children were often sent to Europe, at great expense, to be educated in the finest schools. As a result, many did not return to the colonies in which they were born, preferring to live in the center of European society rather than its provinces and colonial possessions. Those who remained in the colonies, most likely educated in the colonial schools, would always be seen as being in a class below those living in the metropole.

Life was similar but less advantageous for children who were products of unions between the

colonized and colonizer. Caught between both worlds, these children struggled with their identity. They were multilingual, speaking the languages of their parents; many also spoke a creole language that was a combination of the two and sometimes the European language as well. They often served as liaisons and/or interpreters, acting as buffers for both societies. However, these children were marginalized and often unaccepted by either society. Europeans looked down on them because they were part African, part Native American, part Indian, or part Chinese. At the same time, they were not completely accepted by their colonized counterparts because they were given an elevated status and the accompanying benefits. Furthermore, these children were labeled by both worlds. Terms such as *mulatto*, *half-breed*, *mestizo*, and the like would mark them all their lives. The only way to escape such a label was to adopt European characteristics and values. They married those from higher status to improve their social standing and often adopted European dress and Christianity.

Perhaps the hardest life belonged to those children who were part of colonized society. Amerindian children, if they survived, watched helplessly as their families succumbed to European epidemic diseases during the conquest of the New World. African children were kidnapped from their villages and homes to work the plantations of the Americas or to become domestic paramours or soldiers within Africa or in the Middle East. Slave children had their innocence and childhood stolen from them as they were put to work in the silver mines of Latin America, the sugar plantations of the Caribbean, or the cotton plantations of the American South. They ceased to be children and were seen merely as chattel and investment commodities. When slavery was abolished, children from India, China, Java, and Africa migrated west to work as indentured servants in the place of the newly freed slaves.

Children native to India, China, and Africa who were not sold into slavery also experienced a loss of their childhood and innocence as they were forced into adulthood before their time. They saw their parents become addicted to opium or grow exhausted from working on the clove plantations of Africa or the beet sugar plantations of India. Orphans and disowned children took to the streets

and begged for food or money. If they did not beg, they stole. As a result, many children had solid criminal records even before entering adolescence.

Whether slave, free, or indentured, these colonial children all shared common bonds. European or colonized, provincial or metropolitan, they all struggled with their identities and the labels that society gave them. As a result, these voiceless, faceless children entered adulthood without ever securing a foothold in their early years.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Christianity; Education; Labor; Law; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Women

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Chile

The Spanish began colonization of a long and narrow strip of land, south of Peru and west of the Andes Mountains, from their base in Peru in the middle of the sixteenth century, although the Portuguese under Ferdinand Magellan had first visited the land now called Chile in 1520. After establishing control over Peru in 1535, the Spanish sent a military expedition, led by Diego de Almagro, to the south in order to discover hidden treasures of the Native American tribes. However, the expedition was unsuccessful and returned in a few years empty-handed, having found no gold or silver.

In 1540, the Spanish sent another expedition, led by Pedro de Valdivia, to central and southern Chile. The expedition faced strong resistance from the Araucanians, a group of Native American tribes that occupied the northern part of the land they called Tchili (meaning "snow" or "snow region"). De Valdivia founded several fortified settlements, including Santiago (1541), Concepcion (1550), and Valdivia (1552). The Araucanians, who were disturbed by the Spanish attempts to acquire their lands, gathered a sizable army and organized an uprising. De Valdivia and many of his soldiers were killed, and several Spanish settlements were

destroyed. Thereafter, the Spanish viceroy of Peru sent a large military expedition and reconquered all the settlements and forts. The Araucanian rebellion continued for more than a century, although at a much smaller scale.

During the first years of its colonization, Chile was ruled by the viceroy of Peru, and it did not have its own government, as it was an economically underdeveloped and underpopulated region. The Spanish landlords acquired considerable portions of land from the indigenous people and established large *ranches* and *haciendas*, forming a ruling class. The mestizo, descendants of frequent intermarriages between Spanish settlers and indigenous inhabitants, were engaged in farming and in trade. The ranches supplied Peru with various agricultural products, including wheat.

By 1778, Chile had grown large enough to become an administratively separate region, virtually independent of Peru. The emerging Chilean middle class supported separatist tendencies and a growing proindependence movement. On September 18, 1810, the Santiago town council deposed the colonial governor of Chile and declared independence from Spain. The war against the local royalist supporters and the Spanish troops, dispatched from Peru, continued for more than a decade. Although the independence movement led by Juan Martínez de Rozas and Bernardo O'Higgins was defeated in the first stage (1810–1814), the proindependence army gathered its strength during the second stage of the independence war (1814–1818) and finally won the decisive Battle of Maipú (1818) with the help of an army led by José de San Martín, a South American revolutionary. However, it took another seven years before the royalist troops were completely expelled from the country.

Rafis F. Abazov

See also Magellan, Ferdinand; O'Higgins, Bernardo; Peru; Spanish Empire

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Chilembwe, John (c. 1871–1915)

Leader of the so-called Nyasaland native rising of 1915, John Chilembwe received some Western-style education at the Scottish Presbyterian mission in Blantyre. But he broke with that church because of his independent interpretation of the Bible, notably in regard to infant baptism, and joined Joseph Booth, the radical Baptist missionary. Booth took Chilembwe to the United States in 1897, where his independent spirit increased under the tutelage of African Americans, particularly at the Lynchburg Virginia Theological Seminary and College. He returned home in 1900 and established the Providence Industrial Mission in Chiradzulu with help from African American Baptists. For the next fifteen years, Chilembwe attracted to his mission a substantial congregation of other independent-minded Africans in search of education and the liberating promise of the gospel.

Chilembwe often clashed with the owners and managers of European-owned estates, on which many of his followers worked, over labor conditions and their desire to build their own churches on white estates. Chilembwe was also highly critical of the use of African soldiers in British armies for the extension and preservation of the empire. His resentment came to a head during the Great War, and on November 26, 1914, he published a passionate anticolonial manifesto in the local press. The Nyasaland government rapidly censored this letter; but it has since become something of a classic among the documents of African nationalism. Chilembwe's movement contributed to the native rising, from January 23 to February 4, 1915, against British power in Nyasaland. Casualties were small on both sides. The British soon suppressed the rising, shooting Chilembwe as he attempted to escape into Mozambique; thereafter, they tried to stifle all discussion of him and his movement. But John Chilembwe was never forgotten by his own people. During the next half century, many Africans cherished memories of him, often in legendary form. Today, John Chilembwe is a national hero of an independent Malawi.

George Shepperson

See also Booth, Joseph; British Empire; Christianity

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John Chilembwe, a Baptist minister, baptizes a newly converted Christian in early twentieth-century Nyasaland (now Malawi). Like many Africans educated in western missionary schools, Chilembwe would go on to become a nationalist leader. (Library of Congress)

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China

Never colonized by any great power, China nonetheless was semicolonialized in the nineteenth century, as it was compelled to surrender control over significant spheres of its administrative, legal, and economic jurisdiction, beginning with its defeat by Britain in the First Opium War (1839–1842). China's attempt to suppress the opium trade that was exceedingly lucrative to British traders and Britain's resentment over restrictions placed on Sino-Western trade led to war in 1839. British victory forced China to sign the first of many unequal treaties, the Treaty of Nanking, in 1842.

The British had pioneered in informal imperialism, or the acquisition of commercial privileges including access to markets for their industrial goods and sources of raw materials and agricul-

tural goods for their domestic markets, as opposed to formal imperialism, or the acquisition of colonies that would incur administrative costs of governing. Through the Treaty of Nanking, Britain gained the tiny island of Hong Kong as a colony, and it established an informal empire in China by forcing the opening of four treaty ports in addition to Canton for foreign trade. But unlike informal empires elsewhere, informal imperialism in China was a collective enterprise involving the major Western powers and (after 1895) Japan. The great powers followed Britain's example by forcing China to yield additional concessions through gunboat diplomacy. The most-favored-nation status held by each power entitled it to automatically enjoy any concessions surrendered by China through treaty with another power.

Informal empire in China was maintained through the treaty port system. A series of treaties with the powers opened more and more ports for trade. Within some of these ports, including Shanghai, foreign settlements came under the administrative control of foreigners, even though the

populations within them remained overwhelmingly Chinese. China surrendered the right of extraterritoriality, whereby foreign nationals were considered beyond the pale of Chinese law but were instead under the jurisdiction of their own consuls. China also gave up autonomy over its tariffs, limited by treaty to about 5 percent ad valorem. The freedom of missionaries to propagate Christianity was guaranteed.

Aside from Russian encroachments on Chinese territory along the northeastern and northwestern borders in the 1860s and 1870s, China's territorial integrity did not come into question until its devastating defeat by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). China was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan and also to permit the Japanese (and Westerners through most-favored-nation status) the right to engage in industry and manufacturing in China. Its glaring weakness prompted the foreign powers to compete in a scramble for concessions between 1897 and 1899, when China was coerced into the granting of leaseholds or acknowledging as spheres of interest various regions to one or another great power. Within its sphere of influence, each power might enjoy exclusive railway and mining concessions and other privileges. The carving of the Chinese melon threatened to escalate into the division of China into separate colonies of the great powers. This outcome was averted only when the United States, not having a sphere of influence in China, induced the powers to agree to the preservation of the territorial integrity of China and to equal commercial opportunity for all within the spheres of influence through the 1899–1900 Open Door notes.

China's semicolonial status deepened with the dramatic increase of both direct foreign investment in China and Chinese indebtedness to foreign banks, necessitated by modernization projects in response to imperialism and by indemnities owed to the foreign powers after such debacles as the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 that led to military intervention by eight powers. The Manchu dynasty's inability to fend off imperialist demands was a major factor in its overthrow in the Republican revolution of 1911.

The republic inherited the treaty and financial obligations of the Manchu dynasty. The early republican administrations' dependency on foreign support and Japan's aggressive pursuit of its inter-

ests in China, particularly during World War I, further stimulated numerous mass movements against imperialism. Anti-imperialism was a major plank in the platforms of both the Chinese Nationalist Party (or Kuomintang, KMT), which was founded in 1912, and the Chinese Communist Party, founded in 1921. After the Kuomintang came to power in 1928, it was able to negotiate with the great powers for the return of several foreign settlements to Chinese sovereignty, the abolition of tariff restrictions, and the relinquishment of extraterritoriality in principle.

In the 1930s, Japan pursued a policy of expansionism in China, first seizing Manchuria in 1931 and then encroaching on north China, leading to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). China became allied with Britain and the United States, which abolished all unequal treaties with China in 1943. The defeat of Japan in 1945 ended the era of imperialist depredations on China. The establishment of the People's Republic of China by the Communists in 1949 created not only an emerging great power but also—until the death of its leader, Mao Zedong, in 1976—a revolutionary regime committed to the support of anticolonial struggles worldwide.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Boxer Rebellion; Chiang Kai-shek; Chinese Communist Party; Hong Kong; Japanese Empire; Kuomintang; Mao Zedong; Nanking, Treaty of; Shanghai; Sino-Japanese Wars; World War I; World War II

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Chinese Communist Party

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) began in 1921 as an organization of fifty-three intellectuals. At the urging of the Comintern, the CCP entered into a united front or alliance with the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1923, and it contributed to the Northern Expedition launched in 1926 against warlords by mobilizing workers and peasants behind enemy lines. Purged by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, the CCP debated military and political strategy. Relentless encirclement by the KMT forced the Communists to abandon their base area in the

Kiangsi (Jiangxi) Soviet in 1934; then they embarked on the Long March, a heroic strategic retreat over great distances, ending in a base area in northwest China in 1935. Mao Zedong emerged as the CCP's top leader, and the party's previous strategy of worker-based urban insurrections was replaced by Mao's strategy of mobile warfare based on peasant guerrillas, whose support was gained through radical land reform.

The CCP's participation in the war of resistance against Japan (1937–1945) gained it considerable political legitimacy and swelled its ranks with patriots drawn from all classes. A much stronger CCP emerged in the wake of victory over Japan, defeated the KMT in the ensuing civil war (1946–1949), and established the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Initially, the CCP was a firm ally of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and it considered the United States as the foremost imperialist enemy to world revolution. But with its claims that Mao's strategy of rural insurrection served as the model for Third World anticolonial struggles, the CCP challenged the Soviets for leadership of the international Communist movement. From 1958, the CCP's foreign policy was characterized by both militant anti-imperialism and antirevisionism, or condemnation of the Soviets for pursuing peaceful coexistence with the United States. Active CCP support for Third World revolutionary movements escalated with the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. The Chinese Communists proclaimed that North America and Western Europe were "the cities of the world," whereas Asia, Africa, and Latin America constituted "the rural areas of the world" that were destined to encircle the cities with world revolution. Increasing tensions with the Soviet Union, leading to border skirmishes in 1969 and Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia against the government of a fraternal Communist Party state in 1968, prompted Chinese condemnations of Soviet social imperialism.

However, with the Soviets now perceived as the greatest threat to China, the CCP moved toward rapprochement with the United States. Richard Nixon's historic visit to China in 1972 paved the way to the normalization of Sino-American relations. After the end of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao in 1976, the CCP abandoned strident anti-imperialism in favor of national eco-

nom development based on market reforms and increasing relations and economic ties with the West and Japan.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Chiang Kai-shek; China; Kuomintang; Mao Zedong

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Christianity

The relationship between Christianity and colonization is a very complex one, with numerous variables to consider. In some cases, Christianity was established many centuries before the creation of colonies. The Coptic Church in Egypt and the Thomas Christians in India date back to the early days of Christianity.

A distinction has been made between colonies of settlement, which had large numbers of white immigrants (such as Australia and New Zealand), and colonies of exploitation, where climate and other factors restricted immigration to a small cadre of officials, missionaries, and businesspeople (for example, Nigeria). In the former, immigrant Europeans brought Christianity with them as part of their inherited culture.

Some older colonies were founded by European Christians in pursuit of religious freedom—the Puritans in New England, beginning with the Plymouth settlement in 1620, are a famous example. Rhode Island was founded by individuals who wished to adopt beliefs different from those of the Massachusetts Puritans, and William Penn, as a Quaker, founded the colony (and later state) that bears his name, Pennsylvania. The Afrikaners of South Africa are of predominantly Dutch ancestry, and their language is a form of Dutch. They are descended from seventeenth-century settlers. In the early nineteenth century, when the Cape became a British colony, some of the Afrikaners migrated inland (on the Great Trek) to get away from British rule. They came to think of themselves as a chosen people in exodus among unbelievers, an attitude that persisted through the years and helped underpin the white supremacy of the twentieth century, even after the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa had become Christians.

Christianity has spread much more extensively in areas of primal (traditional) religion than where the so-called world religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam—predominate. Primal religion and biblical religion have certain things in common, including a belief in spiritual healing, or in the casting out of evil spirits. In India, with some notable individual exceptions, Christian converts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were drawn from the poor and those of low caste or from remote hill areas on the edges of the Hindu culture sphere. The Dalit movement among the so-called untouchables has a Christian wing. The Naga are an example of a people who have turned en masse to Christianity. The excellent educational facilities run by Christians in India have enabled the Thomas Christians of Kerala and other individuals to become prominent in business, the civil service, and professional life.

Western and Christian ideas influenced some major thinkers who remained within the Hindu tradition but condemned, for instance, the caste system. Mohandas Gandhi, who was assassinated in 1948, is the most famous of these. Many Westerners have been drawn to the spiritual traditions of Asia, and some have joined them. There are many Western Buddhists, for example, and some religious movements, such as Theosophy, have sought to combine Eastern and Western elements.

In sub-Saharan Africa, Christianity advanced most markedly during and after the colonial period. But small pockets of Christianity existed in earlier times. A Kongo king was converted in the early sixteenth century, and a court Christianity survived for hundreds of years. (The Kongo live in southern Congo [formerly Zaire] and northern Angola.) In the late nineteenth century in Uganda, Muslims and Anglican and Catholic missionaries all argued their cases at the court of the Ganda king, and some court pages and craftspeople adopted one of these three alternatives. In 1886, Mwanga, who had recently taken the throne, cruelly executed some of the Christian converts; these individuals are remembered as the Ganda martyrs. These were examples of court Christianity, but more typically in precolonial Africa, rulers and the elite resisted Christianity, and the first converts were drawn from the poor and marginal people and were limited in numbers. David Livingstone said of his missionary years (before he became a

full-time explorer) that he had fewer converts than fruit trees.

Missionaries naturally hoped that the area where they worked would be colonized by their own nations. They often supported the spread of colonial rule, believing that it would assist their work. Nyasaland (later Malawi) became a British colony largely because of missionary pressure; the mission of Livingstonia commemorated the great explorer, and British public opinion would have been outraged if it had become part of a Portuguese colony.

However, Christian missionaries were often critical of colonial governments, especially, perhaps, if they came from a different ethnic background. Catholic missionaries in British colonies were often French, Italian, or Irish. Moreover, colonial governments did not always support missionaries, particularly where the majority faith was Hinduism or Islam and it was feared that opposition would be provoked. Until 1857, “British” India was governed by the East India Company; its officials were sometimes hostile to Christianity because their business relied on the cooperation of the Hindu elite.

Foreign missionaries often unconsciously identified Christianity with Western culture and condemned many aspects of traditional life that were morally neutral. For example, in Africa, some said that Christians should live in rectangular houses, not the traditional circular ones. Children had to be baptized with foreign names, not indigenous ones, even if the latter had an acceptable meaning (such as the Igbo name Uchechukwuka, which means “the wisdom of God is the highest”). African Christians were sometimes even told that all their ancestors were in hell. Such attitudes and actions on the part of the missionaries provoked a variety of responses. Educated Christians, such as the African theologian John Mbiti from Kenya, reinterpreted their own culture as a local Old Testament and emphasized the elements most compatible with Christianity, such as the almost universal belief in the Supreme God.

In many cases, local Christians broke away from the mission churches and founded new ones of their own. In Africa, such churches are known as Zionist in South Africa or Aladura (the Yoruba word meaning “people of prayer”) in Nigeria. Their members join in search of spiritual aid in

coping with life's difficulties and especially for physical or mental healing. Some of these churches have hundreds of thousands of members in half a dozen countries, and others consist of one small congregation. Women have often been prominent as founders or leading members of these churches.

Such churches typically have little to do with politics; in South Africa during the apartheid era, their leaders tended to support the government. Some African Christian prophets were persecuted by colonial governments. Simon Kimbangu, for example, was a recently baptized Christian in the Belgian Congo who drew great crowds by his healing ministry. He was imprisoned by the authorities in 1921, remaining in jail until his death in 1951. William Wade Harris, a Liberian, converted vast numbers in the Ivory Coast and western Ghana, but in 1914, he was deported back to his homeland. No Christian teacher in West Africa has ever made so many converts. Alice Lenshina was the founder of the Lumpa church, which came into conflict first with colonial authorities and later with the government of newly independent Zambia in 1964.

In the colonial situation, Christianity often expanded as a result of the mission's control of education; the Holy Ghost Fathers, working among the populous Igbo of southeastern Nigeria, had great success in this regard. Western education became popular because, in the colonial situation, it led to material rewards in the form of salaried positions as teachers, clerks, and so on. Not all missionaries concentrated on schools, however. The Evangelicals of the Sudan United Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission, for instance, did not want to attract people to Christianity by the prospect of material gain. Their converts learned to read the Bible but were encouraged to continue in their traditional way of life. Although Christianity's expansion began in the colonial period, it has grown still more rapidly since the coming of independence to many sub-Saharan states.

In New Zealand, Christianity first took root among the Maori people in the 1830s. Many of them, including members of the aristocracy, welcomed both Christianity and literacy. Christian chiefs were among the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), which was signed with the Crown. They saw it as a new covenant, and it remains of crucial importance in the contemporary

life of the nation. Later, a number of prophetic figures arose in the context of wars that led to massive land confiscations. One of them was Te Kooti, who, like the prophet Jonathan Harris (a Christian evangelical), was inspired by visions he had while a political prisoner (in Te Kooti's case, in 1867). He became a great military leader and founded a church that still flourishes, Ringatu. Te Whiti o Rongomai, another prophetic figure, advocated passive resistance as a way of halting land alienation, much like Gandhi in the twentieth century. His pacifism was rooted in the Bible, and when the Christian town of Parihaka was overcome by force in 1881, its people did not resist. Parihaka is an enduring symbol in New Zealand life.

The links between European colonization and Christian missionaries were often a source of tension in Muslim countries. During World War I, for instance, predominantly Muslim Egypt had to support a Christian overlord against Muslim Turkey, which had been closely linked with Egypt for centuries. In colonies such as Algeria, missionaries and settlers created a triumphalist church structure, which largely disappeared after independence. The cathedral of Algiers was turned into a library.

The concept of millenarianism originally referred to the belief that Christ will return and usher in a new age of justice, but it can also be applied more generally to the hope that by supernatural means, the present world, with all its injustices, will be swept away and a new and improved society introduced. The millenarian ideas of the Jehovah's Witnesses spread widely in southern Africa in the colonial period; later, Witnesses were persecuted by several colonial governments as well as independent states, especially Nyasaland (later Malawi), because of their refusal to salute the flag.

In South America, colonialism came to an end much earlier than in Africa, India, or the Pacific, but the Western world continued to wield much power there, in systems that were often called neo-colonial. The Catholic Church in particular was frequently seen to bolster unjust and oppressive governments. Liberation theology, which became influential in the 1960s, was a Catholic movement that originated there and was influenced by Marxism; it stressed the obligation of Christians to work toward a just society. Some advocated the use of violence in pursuit of this end if necessary.

The late twentieth century saw a great transformation in global Christianity—one of the two or three great shifts that have taken place in its entire history. Christianity has more adherents than any other religion; estimated to comprise 31.2 percent of the world's population, they are strongly represented in every continent. The religion is declining in Europe, though it still flourishes in the United States. But the heartlands of Christianity are now to be found in Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia. It has been estimated that at the beginning of the twentieth century, 81 percent of the world's Christians were white, yet by century's end, that number had fallen to 45 percent. This trend is expected to continue.

Elizabeth Isichei

See also Animism; Buddhism; Hinduism; Islam

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Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer (1874–1965)

A British statesman, soldier, journalist, and author, Winston Churchill was the most influential Englishman of the twentieth century. He is best remembered for his leadership as prime minister during World War II.

Churchill was born November 30, 1874, in a closet at Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, the eldest son of Lord Randolph Churchill; his father was the third son of the seventh duke of Marlborough. His mother, Jeanette Jerome Churchill, had gone into premature labor during a party at the palace, thus the rather unusual circumstances of his birth. He was educated at St. George's School, Ascot, and Harrow, then passed into the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, in 1893. He was commissioned as a subaltern in the Fourth Hussars in 1895 but spent very little time with his regiment. Between 1897 and 1900, he served as a correspondent for the *Daily Mail* and *Morning Star*, covering the actions of the Mala-

kand Field Force on the northwest frontier, the Battle of Omdurman in the Sudan, and the South African War. The latter exploit landed him in a Boer prisoner of war (POW) camp, from which he escaped and made his way back to British-held Durban.

Churchill entered politics in 1900 as a Conservative but broke with Joseph Chamberlain's tariff policies in 1904. He was returned in the 1906 election as a Liberal member for northwest Manchester and was appointed secretary of state for the colonies in Herbert Asquith's Liberal administration. He married Clementine Hozier in 1908 and went on to hold a number of positions in government. At the outbreak of World War I, he was first lord of the Admiralty. Blame for the disastrous 1915 Gallipoli campaign fell on his shoulders, and he was forced out of office. He activated his commission and served briefly in the trenches of the western front. He returned to office as minister of munitions under the coalition government of David Lloyd George in 1916; following the war, he became secretary of state for war and briefly ran the Colonial Office. He again changed party affiliation, abandoning the Liberals in 1923, and became chancellor of the exchequer under Stanley Baldwin in 1924. He ultimately broke with the Constitutionalist Party over the government's policy toward Germany and was out of office from 1929 to 1939.

When World War II began, Churchill returned to take command of the Admiralty. With the resignation of Neville Chamberlain on May 10, 1940, he became prime minister. In the dark days following the fall of France, as Britain stood alone against the Nazis and as the Luftwaffe raided British cities each night, Churchill served as living avatar of the British Bulldog—that is, the personification of British resilience. His determined speeches and his refusal to evacuate his government from London in no small part infused the British public with a spirit of defiance. He coordinated a grand strategy with Britain's allies and organized society and industry for total war.

The Labour victory in 1945 swept Churchill from office, and for the next six years, he headed the opposition in Parliament. During this hiatus, he wrote a massive, five-volume history of World War II. In recognition of his achievements as the author of numerous books during his career, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1953.



Winston Churchill, shown here in a 1919 portrait, remained a staunch defender of the British Empire during his long career in government. (Library of Congress)

He returned to the prime minister's office with the Conservative victory in 1951, but his health was failing by that point. He had suffered a stroke in 1949 and had second one in 1953. However, he continued to hold office until ill health forced his resignation in April 1955. He remained in Parliament for another nine years before health concerns forced his final resignation in October 1964. He died on January 4, 1965, and was buried in Bladon Churchyard, Oxford.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; Chamberlain, Joseph; Conservative Party; Liberal Party; South African War; World War II

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Cinema

The cinema was invented nearly simultaneously in the United States and France in the late 1880s. Since its inception, the motion picture industry has drawn on European empires as sources of romance and exoticism. During the colonial era, European governments supported the production of films about their colonies to encourage enthusiasm for empire at home and abroad. Colonial authorities also employed the cinema to influence and intimidate the colonized. Since the dissolution of the European empires, Western filmmakers have used the medium to reconsider the colonial past, and intellectuals in the former colonies have employed it to rewrite the Eurocentric versions of their histories. Despite these efforts, the Western cinema remains infused with a nostalgia for empire.

The first commercial cinema shows appeared in Europe in 1895 and soon found their way into the colonial world, with the first film appearing in India and South Africa before the turn of the twentieth century. Some of the earliest commercial motion pictures looked to imperial settings for spectacle and exotica (such as the Lumiere brothers' 1902 production *The Funny Muslim* and Ernst Lubin's *Rastas in Zululand* of 1910). Early newsreels allowed Western audiences to watch the waning stages of the imperial "scramble" play out in footage (frequently staged) from the Spanish-American War, the Boer (or South African) War, and other colonial conflicts of the late nineteenth century. During the silent era, travelogues produced in the tropical colonies became fixtures of cinema shows. Relying on ethnographic exotica and thrilling images of unfamiliar animals and landscapes, films such as Paul J. Rainey's *African Hunt* (1912) and Osa and Martin Johnson's *Simba, King of the Beasts* (1927) created an influential and enduring image of the imperial world.

European empires also provided a popular backdrop for early fiction films. Indeed, there was a fine line between documentary and drama in the cinema's early days, as reflected in such films as Merrian C. Cooper's thriller *King Kong* (1933), which was essentially a fictionalized version of the

travelogues of the silent era. Some of the first feature-length adventure movies drew their inspiration from the popular imperial novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* was produced for the movies three times by 1940, as were several novels by the Anglo-Indian novelist Rudyard Kipling. Perhaps the most frequently filmed series of novels in history are the Edgar Rice Burroughs Tarzan books, which have inspired dozens of screen versions. During the 1920s and 1930s, U.S. and British filmmakers churned out movies that depicted imperialism as an exciting and noble adventure, including *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1934), *Sanders of the River* (1935), *Gunga Din* (1939), and *The Four Feathers* (1939). Though directors in the United States and London focused primarily on the exploits of the British, Hollywood acknowledged America's growing status as an imperial power in films such as *The Real Glory* (1939), a story of U.S. soldiers battling "terrorists" in the Philippines. The French film industry also played up the exoticism of France *Outre Mer* (overseas), producing a string of imperial fantasies that included over 200 dramas about their North African empire. These films invariably focused on the accomplishments of Europeans in the Tropics and portrayed the colonized in crude and negative stereotypes. Some of these films simply relied on imperial settings to provide an atmosphere of exoticism (as in the 1942 *Casablanca*), whereas others aggressively extolled the virtues of imperialism (as in the 1937 movie *Stanley and Livingstone*).

In the eyes of some colonial officials, the cinema exerted a powerful influence over imperial audiences. Many feared that commercial films would undermine the prestige of the colonizers and encourage the colonized to emulate the violence and crime they witnessed on screen. Such prejudices were used to justify strict censorship in most colonies. However, many of these same officials were convinced that motion pictures could play an important role in transforming colonial societies. The French proconsul Hubert Lyautey was a fervent believer in the ability of the cinema to win over North African audiences to French rule, and his enthusiasm was shared by many of his British counterparts in Africa and elsewhere. In the 1930s, European governments, missionary

societies, and commercial firms produced and distributed the first motion pictures made expressly for colonial audiences. During World War II, the British Colonial Office produced dozens of propaganda films intended to educate and influence Britain's imperial subjects. Though the films were shown throughout Britain's tropical empire, the focus of the effort was in Africa. After the war, French, Belgian, and Portuguese authorities in Africa emulated the British program. Though these film units aspired to reinforce European hegemony, they ultimately introduced the techniques of film production into the colonial world and unwittingly laid the foundations for a post-colonial film industry.

In the West, postwar decolonization did little to stem the tide of films that continued to romanticize and glorify empire. The 1950s and 1960s saw the revival of the imperial fantasies of the 1930s (including more remakes of Rider Haggard novels and another version of the French Foreign Legion adventure *Beau Geste*). Hollywood's enthusiasm for epics during the 1960s encouraged the production of a series of long, grandiose imperial dramas, including *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *55 Days at Peking* (1963), and *Khartoum* (1966). French filmmakers also continued making imperial epics (such as the 1966 Legionnaire adventure *Les Centurions*) after their Algerian empire had disappeared.

However, alongside these old-fashioned epics, a growing number of films reflected an ambivalence toward the former empires. An early example was the 1953 American film *King of the Khyber Rifles*, one of the first postwar films to explore the racism inherent in colonial situations. By the 1970s, a handful of Western filmmakers were reconsidering the jingoism of an earlier generation, producing films that presented imperialism more ambiguously. Examples of this trend include *The Man Who Would Be King* (1975), an American adventure film based on a Rudyard Kipling story that explored the corrupting nature of imperial power, and *Noir et blanc en couleur* (Black and White in Color, 1976), a French film that ridiculed the French and German armies during the African campaigns of World War I. During the 1980s, some directors began to take an even more critical view of empire, as reflected in such epics as Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982) and David Lean's *Passage to India* (1984). The antiapartheid protests

of the 1980s inspired a series of films criticizing colonialism in South Africa, including *Cry Freedom* (1988), *A Dry White Season* (1989), and the second film version of Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* (1995). At the same time, Hollywood began to reexamine European imperialism in the New World in such films as *The Mission* (1986) and *The Black Robe* (1991). The 1990s saw a spate of new Hollywood epics that glamorized the history of rebels within England's empire, including *Braveheart* (1995), *Michael Collins* (1996), and *Patriot* (2000). By the end of the decade, the pendulum had swung so far away from the imperial epics of the 1930s that many critics complained that the British Empire was replacing Nazi Germany as Hollywood's villain of choice. However, despite the changing sensibilities of these films, they remained focused on the roles of Europeans in liberation struggles and were dominated by white and American actors and actresses.

At the same time, French filmmakers began to reassess their colonial past with films exploring the French experience in Vietnam, such as the *317th Platoon* (1965) and *Dien Bien Phu* (1993), and in sub-Saharan Africa, such as *Coup de Torchon* (1982) and *Chocolat* (1989). Nonetheless, these films existed alongside a stream of commercial films—American, British, and French—that continued to rely on imperial settings for exoticism and unthinkingly invoked threadbare stereotypes. Some of the most egregious examples of this trend include *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984) and yet another remake of *King Solomon's Mines* (1988). Less baldly racist were films that continued to look to the former empires for nostalgia and romance, including *Out of Africa* (1985), *The Ghost in the Darkness* (1992), and the 1984 French Legionnaire picture *Fort Saganne*.

Beginning in the 1960s, intellectuals in the former colonies began rewriting the cinematic history of their countries from the point of view of the colonized. Australia, for example, has produced several commercially successful films that have criticized the British influence in the nation's history, such as *Breaker Morant* (1980) and *Gallipoli* (1981). African nations, led by the francophone states of West Africa, have created an indigenous film industry that has allowed African directors to reinterpret their continent's history. One of the most famous anticolonial films produced in Africa during the

1960s was *Battle for Algiers* (1964), a joint Algerian-French film that inverted the *Beau Geste* paradigm by showing the colonial conflict from the Algerian point of view. In a similar vein, the Senegalese director Ousmane Sembene has challenged the French version of his nation's history in his films *Emittai* (1971) and *Camp de Thiarouye* (1987). *Emittai* tells the story of the resistance of Senegalese women to the French during World War II, and *Camp de Thiarouye* re-creates an actual massacre of African troops by their French officers. The Mauritanian director Med Hondo has reached further into the colonial past in his film *Sarrouina* (1987), the story of an African community fighting off French troops during the late nineteenth century. In the Middle East, Arab filmmakers have also reassessed the impact of colonialism in their respective countries. Egyptian directors have led the way with such films as Hussein Didky's *Yaskut al Isti-mar* (Down with Imperialism, 1953), which tells the story of the Egyptian revolution, and Youssef Chahine's *Alexandria Why?* (1979), a drama set against the backdrop of the British occupation of Egypt during World War II (1979). India, which has the largest commercial cinema industry of any non-Western nation, has also produced motion pictures that critique British influence in the nation, most notably Satyajit Ray's *Chess Players* (1977), an exploration of cultural imperialism under the Raj. In the Philippines, Eddie Romero's *Ganito Kami Noon, Papano Kayo Ngayon* (This Is the Way We Were Then: How Are You Now, 1976) presents his nation's struggle against Spain from the point of view of a nationalist rebel. Latin American directors, for their part, have challenged the mythology of the Columbian conquest in such films as Brazil's *Ajuricaba* (1977), which re-creates the story of indigenous people's struggles against the conquistadores; Peru's *Tupac Amaru* (1984), a screen biography of the eighteenth-century rebel; and Mexico's *Cabeza de Vaca* (1989), a reinterpretation of the life of an early Spanish explorer that focuses on the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of its protagonist.

James Burns

See also Art; Decolonization; Literature; Music; World War I; World War II

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Class

Considerable debate has raged around the class dimensions of colonial fervor, and great care must be taken to avoid misconceptions or misleading assumptions about which classes supported imperialism. What does seem clear is that in either advocacy of or opposition to expansion of empire, the lines of support were not drawn along class divisions.

The whole concept of class, of course, came into existence with industrialization and so cannot be examined in relation to colonial expansion before the nineteenth century. V. I. Lenin first argued that imperialism split worker loyalties in the nineteenth century. He contended that working-class consciousness was subverted by a patriotic imperialism; international socialism was fractured into nationalist feelings by the growth of colonialism. One of the main assumptions behind Lenin's theory was that the working class of each European nation supported the expansion of empire, and Lenin viewed patriotism as linked with this support. The labor historian E. J. Hobsbawm accepted most of Lenin's theory, including the assumption of working-class enthusiasm for colonialism, and he further argued that these nationalist feelings about the empire were the main source of social stability in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

But there is little evidence that the European approach to empire in the 1800s was monolithic. In Britain, there was very little to choose between in the views of the two main parties, Conservative and Liberal. Britain was not yet a full democracy for most of the nineteenth century, and both the Conservatives and Liberals reflected the dominant classes in the country. Both vied to become known as the party of empire, but policies were aimed at constituency support at home rather than at aggressively promoting the expansion of territory. Support for active empire building was so weak among the upper and middle classes that ardent imperialists such as Joseph Chamberlain were never able to impose policies on an uncooperative electorate. The Labour Party, the mouthpiece of

the working class, was not a force until the early years of the twentieth century.

When the Labour Party did gain in power and influence after World War I, it, too, was in conflict about the empire. Working folk were naturally opposed to the exploitation of any group, but trade unions argued that empire could provide full employment at home because of the supply of raw goods that would flow to Britain to be converted into finished products. The laboring class was caught between the attraction of wages and employment in Britain and the abhorrence of the oppression of colonial subjects. It must be noted that, in reality, there was very little difference between the policies of the Labour and Conservative Parties. The Labour governments of Ramsay MacDonald and Clement Attlee, the most important in the first half of the twentieth century, had no dismantling policy. When the winding up of the British colonial empire began after World War II and continued for the next thirty years, both parties were involved, with little distinction between them.

On the continent, despite differences in electoral system and degree of democracy in the nineteenth century, both Germany and France reflected the imprint of a strong though small coterie of imperialists who were able to influence but not dominate the ruling elites. In Germany, Otto von Bismarck was reluctant to expand colonial holdings because he felt European rivalries were paramount; he was pushed toward acquiring colonies in Africa by others, but he was more interested in encouraging France's involvement in the scramble for African territory in order to divert French attention from continental matters. The German working class entered very little in Bismarck's imperial policies.

Just as in the policies of its two main rivals, the colonial lobby in France emerged in the 1870s. Although it could occasionally raise significant support, however, a considerable opposition always existed. The procolonial lobby was never powerful enough to dominate governmental policies and was composed of a distinct, although vocal, minority. The main French supporters for the expansion of empire included ambitious military officers, a small scientific lobby, and trading houses with overseas interests that could be characterized as upper- and middle-class elites, yet at the same

time, the opposition was composed of much the same sort of people and institutions. As in Britain and in Germany, the empire enthusiasts and the colonial skeptics were drawn from the same social strata, making attempts to draw imperialist sentiments along broad class lines meaningless.

It is instructive to examine colonial support from an economic perspective as well. By the second half of the nineteenth century, a wide variety of commercial agencies discovered that appeals to imperial patriotism could be profitable in marketing consumer goods to those at home. Thus, advertisers began to appeal to middle-class individuals, who could first afford consumer goods; then, by the end of the century, working-class consumers were also targeted. This use of imperial expansion in Africa for the commodity culture did not result in cross-class support for colonial holdings, but it did have another important colonial connection. Through the relentless presentation of cultural superiority in advertisements, both the ambitious middle class and the downtrodden workers could become imperial "overclasses." By feeling part of a national enterprise that was being presented as culturally and racially superior, the nonelites could feel dominant over peoples abroad, if not domestically. The cultural support for empire that resulted from nongovernmental marketing efforts was not connected to any active policy in consolidating or governing colonial holdings and should be viewed as ideological rather than practical.

Cynthia Curran

See also Capitalism; Chamberlain, Joseph; Conservative Party; Economics; Labor; Land; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich

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Clive, Robert (1725–1774)

Son of a lawyer from the lower gentry of Shropshire, England, Robert Clive joined the East India Company as a clerk assigned to Madras. During the War of the Austrian Succession, Clive obtained a commission as an ensign in the company's army, which was carrying on the European war in India by attacking and besieging French fortified trading posts. Even after a treaty ended the conflict in

Europe, France and Britain continued to spar over their influence on the local rulers, particularly the succession to the viceroy of the Deccan. Commissioned by the company to defend their interests, Clive successfully held Arcot against the French in 1750 and then attacked and captured Trichinopoly, a feat that secured a small fortune for Clive and his soldiers.

In England for health reasons from 1753 to 1755, Clive returned to India as deputy governor of Fort St. David during the Seven Years' War in Europe. There, he found that the ruler of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, reacting to company incursions, had captured Calcutta and confined a number of British captives to the infamous "black hole of Calcutta," an informal prison in which many died. At the head of a combined force of company as well as regular British army forces and assisted by the Royal Navy, Clive retook Calcutta and defeated Surajah Dowlah at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Now the ruler of Bengal himself, Clive entrenched the company against Dutch and Indian rivals while accumulating a fortune. On his return to England in 1760, that fortune helped him win a seat in the House of Commons as an ally of George Grenville. In a third and final voyage to India in 1762, Clive served as commander-in-chief of all British troops and attempted to reform the East India Company policies, such as low salaries, that encouraged corruption and mismanagement. Always plagued by ill health, Clive left India in 1764 to enjoy his vast wealth at home in England, but dogged by political enemies and melancholia, he committed suicide ten years later. A brilliant military commander, Robert Clive laid the foundation for British domination in India and the success of the East India Company.

Margaret Sankey

See also Bengal; British East India Company; British Empire; Calcutta; French Empire; India; War and Warfare

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Coal

Coal was widespread throughout the colonial empires, and its mining became an important part of

some colonies' economies. Coal helped promote domestic development, and it fueled railway transportation; in certain cases, it was even exported. Nigeria, parts of the Belgian Congo, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa all produced coal of sufficiently high quality to be commercially viable, although this was not true of all those territories' deposits. By contrast, coal deposits scattered throughout Southeast Asia were too dispersed and too small to be considered worth exploiting. Similarly, the Dutch did not find coal to be a particularly profitable commodity because of wide variation in the quality of the deposits located in their holdings, as in Sumatra, Indonesia.

India was well endowed with coal, a high proportion of it mined in Bengal. Railways did not use domestic coal as much as they might have because the high cost of rail transport as compared with sea freight meant that imported British coal was preferred, particularly in western India. Wood also continued to be used. The success of Indian iron and steel production depended, to a considerable extent, on the fortuitous presence of iron ore, coal suitable for coking, and limestone in reasonably close proximity.

The same was true in South Africa, where coal fueled railways and later supplied the coke for smelting iron and other minerals. Farther north, the Wankie Colliery on the Southern Rhodesian side of the Victoria Falls fueled the Rhodesian rail network and provided coking coal for copper smelting in both Northern Rhodesia and Katanga.

Metallurgical-quality coal was not found in the Belgian Congo; deposits there were used for railways. Although some higher-quality deposits exist in Nigeria, most of the coal produced there was also used for railways. In sharp contrast, Angola did not have significant coal supplies, forcing the Benguela Railway to depend heavily on eucalyptus plantations for fuel. In many areas, coal gave way to electricity in generating motor power.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Angola; Belgian Congo; Dutch East Indies; India; Industrial Revolution; Jakarta; Mining; Nigeria; Northern Rhodesia; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia; Transportation

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Cocaine

Cocaine, an alkaloid drug that produces euphoria, hallucinations, and temporary increases in physical energy, was synthesized from the coca leaf in 1860 and quickly became a staple of the late-nineteenth-century pharmaceutical industry. It was widely used in "tonics" and in various legitimate therapies until the turn of the twentieth century, when those decrying cocaine's potential dangers began to supplant those touting its legitimate medical applications.

Used by indigenous Andean people for centuries, coca itself is much like coffee in its effects. Yet due to the passage of the Harrison Drug Act of 1914 in the United States (and other legislation in the industrialized West), consumers of cocaine could no longer get the substance in relatively harmless products such as Coca-Cola and had to turn to the black market for cocaine. Cocaine was demonized as the drug of choice for "Negroes," prostitutes, addicts, and other so-called undesirable elements of society.

Cocaine is not a narcotic, but it is grouped with narcotics on the list of controlled substances in the United States today. Although it is true that excessive use of cocaine can lead to addiction, coupled with delusions, general physical deterioration, and weight loss, the demonization of cocaine became the focus of a growing *moral war*—a war based not on the effects of this and other drugs that are now banned but on characteristics of gender, race, and class.

Moralistic antidrug laws in the twentieth century led to a decline in cocaine use, which hit its nadir in the 1930s. However, a resurgence in use in the 1970s led to the latest campaign in the drug war. The anticocaine campaign is truly global in scope, from the cultivation of coca and the production of cocaine in Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru (which account for 99 percent of the world's supply) to use in other parts of the world, notably in the United States (which consumes most of the world's cocaine supply). The international relationships that have resulted from these efforts have sometimes been described as neocolonial.

In 1993, the estimated cost of cocaine use in the United States was about \$30 billion. The U.S. war on drugs is essentially a war on cocaine, and it focuses specifically on crack cocaine. Under U.S. law, the penalties for the use of crack cocaine, a drug

predominant in poor neighborhoods of the inner city, are far harsher than those meted out for the use of powder cocaine, more popular among middle-class suburbanites.

Phil Bellfy

See also Bolivia; Colombia; Medicine; Peru

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Cocoa

Cocoa, a food product derived from the cacao bean, was first utilized by the Native Americans of Mesoamerica in pre-Columbian times. Originally, cacao was a wild tree that grew in the tropical lowlands of what is now southern Mexico and Central America and was gathered by the Mayans and others who lived there. Usually made into a beverage—and mixed with chili peppers—cocoa was reserved for the aristocracy and priesthood. Both the Mayans and the Aztecs imbued cocoa with a spiritual element, and occasionally, they added psilocybin hallucinogenic mushrooms for religious ceremonies. So rare and valued were the beans that the Aztecs used them as a form of currency, a practice adopted by Spaniards in Central America as late as the eighteenth century.

The first European to note the cacao bean was Christopher Columbus on his 1502 voyage to Central America. The first Europeans to drink cocoa were the Jesuits and other missionaries who lived in the region, and they valued it so much that they began to domesticate the trees that produced the cacao bean. Cocoa then traveled to Spain in the sixteenth century, where it was seen as an abstinence drink—an alternative to wine. Meanwhile, mixed with honey and sugar, it became a popular drink among the aristocracy in both Spain and Mexico.

Realizing its popularity—a by-product, in part, of the bean's mildly addictive properties—the Spanish began to commercially produce the bean in large quantities beginning in the seventeenth century, transplanting the tree to Venezuela and the distant Philippines. Although the Spanish tried to maintain a monopoly over the raw product, English and Dutch colonial entrepreneurs were nevertheless able to transplant the tree to Brazil and later Indonesia.

By the eighteenth century, cocoa as a beverage mixed with sugar and vanilla was becoming more and more popular among the middle and lower classes of Europe. In the early nineteenth century, it began to be mixed with milk, becoming popular with women and children. Later in the nineteenth century, the Swiss developed a method of mixing milk directly with the cocoa to create the hard chocolate candy that we know today.

James Ciment

See also Aztecs; Brazil; Central America; Columbian Exchange; Dutch East Indies; Maya; Mexico; Philippines; Spanish Empire

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Coffee

The exact origins of coffee are not known, but wild coffee plants probably grew in Ethiopia. Later, the plant was taken to the Arabian Peninsula. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cultivation had become common in Yemen. The stimulating effects of coffee made it popular, and its use spread among Arabs. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the drink was introduced in European countries, and coffeehouses began appearing in cities such as London.

Coffee's popularity led the Dutch to begin growing it in their colonies, introducing it in Java in 1696. By the eighteenth century, coffee was a major trade item, as the Dutch obtained concessions from the native inhabitants for its compulsory delivery. Production in Java expanded in the nineteenth century, when the Dutch forced villages to set aside a certain amount of land to grow cash crops (such as coffee) that the government would then purchase at low prices. Although the Dutch and some of the indigenous elite did profit greatly from the system, most Javanese did not. In the 1870s, coffee leaf disease led to a dramatic decline in production and the loss of jobs for many Javanese.

The failure of the coffee crop in Java allowed countries in Latin America to increase their share of the world market. In the 1700s, coffee had already appeared in the Caribbean, and in the nineteenth

century, Brazil became a major producer. By the early twentieth century, Brazil produced about 75 percent of the world's coffee. Colombia also became a significant coffee exporter, as it produced a very high-quality product, which led to a high total value for its coffee exports. Coffee was also a major export product for Venezuela, some Central American countries, and parts of southern Mexico. In the early 1900s, some 90 percent of the world's coffee came from Latin America.

Although the Latin American countries that produced coffee were not formal colonies, neo-colonial relationships continued between those countries and Europe. Much of Latin America's coffee went to foreign commission houses abroad. Locally, a few large landholders grew wealthy by controlling the coffee business. But Latin American nations were often at the mercy of world prices. For example, although Colombia enjoyed a period of expansion from 1886 until 1896, its export earnings were greatly reduced when the price paid for its coffee fell by half.

In the twentieth century, a number of colonies in Africa became important coffee producers, including Angola, Kenya, the Ivory Coast, and Uganda, along with independent Ethiopia. By the 1960s, about 20 percent of the world's coffee came from Africa; by the 1980s, perhaps one-third came from the continent. Much of Africa's coffee is of the cheaper *robusta* species used in instant coffee, as opposed to the *arabica* variety. Colonial wars of independence often had damaging effects on coffee production, as happened in Angola, where production fell by two-thirds between the 1970s and the 1990s. In the postindependence period, some African countries have retained a colonial legacy of coffee monoculture, among them Burundi and Rwanda. In other countries, such as Kenya, peasants had been prevented from growing coffee, as only European settlers could legally do so, and so the industry remains dominated by a few large growers even to this day.

In the post-World War II era, some coffee-producing countries have attempted to impose quotas in order to keep prices high. One measure enacted to accomplish that goal, the International Coffee Agreement, lasted from 1962 until 1989, after which prices once again fell.

Ronald E. Young

See also Angola; Brazil; Central America; Colombia; Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; Kenya; Uganda; Venezuela

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Cold War

Some observers trace the origins of the Cold War to the Russian Revolution of 1917. However, the term *Cold War* is more generally understood to refer to the period stretching from the mid-1940s to the collapse of the state-socialist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the subsequent disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. The term was first used in a speech given on April 16, 1947, by Bernard Baruch (a former adviser to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt). At the time of Baruch's speech, the United States was about to promulgate the Truman Doctrine (named after Roosevelt's successor, President Harry Truman), which was aimed at containing Soviet expansion and influence in Europe by an infusion of U.S. military and economic aid (the latter effort was embodied by the Marshall Plan). The conflict in Europe intensified after 1947, and the division of Europe into U.S. and Soviet spheres of influence was institutionalized with the establishment of a U.S.-led military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in between 1949 and 1950 and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact in May 1955. From the late 1940s to the end of the 1980s, the shifting military, political, economic, and ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, together with the imperatives and imaginings that attended this rivalry, profoundly conditioned European and world history, including the process of decolonization.

The U.S. effort to contain the Soviet Union has been characterized as a "long peace." (It is calculated that the United States spent \$13.4 trillion, in 1997 dollars, between 1948 and 1991 to prosecute the Cold War.) However, although open warfare was avoided in Europe, the main arena of the Cold

War, other areas of the world emerged as important and far less peaceful Cold War battlegrounds, including East Asia, sub-Saharan Africa (particularly in the 1970s and 1980s), and Central America (in the 1980s). Northeast and Southeast Asia was the scene of at least four full-scale wars in this period: the Chinese civil war (1945–1949); the Korean War (1950–1953); and the complex colonial and civil wars in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos that are often known as the First Indochina War (1946–1954) and the Second Indochina War (1965–1975). (In Vietnam, the First Indochina War is sometimes called the War of National Liberation, and the Second Indochina War is often known as the American War; in the United States, the latter is known as the Vietnam War.) These conflicts, along with innumerable smaller confrontations, all had local and regional dynamics, but all were bent to the wheel of superpower rivalry in important ways.

Some historians divide the Cold War into at least four phases. According to this periodization, the First Cold War covered the period between 1946 and 1953, whereas the 1953–1969 period was the era of oscillatory antagonism. This era was followed by the period of Détente, which ran from 1969 to 1979. The final phase, the Second Cold War, began in 1979 and ended between 1989 and 1991.

Mark T. Berger

See also Decolonization; Soviet Union; Third World; United States; World War II

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Colombia

The second largest Spanish-speaking country in the world by population—after Mexico—Colombia is situated in northwest South America. Populated by approximately 1 million indigenous people in late pre-Columbian times, its first contact with Europeans came in the early sixteenth century, and it was soon incorporated as the Spanish colony of New Granada. In 1821, it won its independence under the leadership of Simón Bolívar.

The two largest indigenous groups in Colombia in 1500—when the first European, Spanish explorer Rodrigo de Bastidas, encountered the region—were the Chibcha of the central highlands and the Carib of the coast. At first overlooked by Francisco Pizarro in his war against the Inca in neighboring Peru, Colombia began to be conquered by the Spanish in 1525, a process largely completed by 1538 when the territory was declared the colony of New Granada, under the jurisdiction of the viceroy in Lima, Peru.

At first, the colony was controlled by various conquistadores, who made slave laborers of many of the local people who survived the plague of European diseases; these individuals were put to work on coastal plantations and mines in the interior of the country. The Crown control over the colony began with the founding of the *audiencia*, or administrative and judicial tribunal, in Bogotá in 1549. However, the mountainous landscape made communication difficult and impeded the establishment of centralized administration for many years, with various regions of Colombia remaining quasi-independent and culturally distinctive from one another.

From 1717 through 1723, Bogotá became the capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada, which included Ecuador and Venezuela as well as Colombia. In 1740, the viceroyalty of New Granada was made permanent. Gradually during these years, the Crown asserted itself in the territory, taking back control of the *encomiendas*—vast, quasi-feudal estates—from the conquistadores and their descendants who ruled over them. At the same time, significant numbers of African slaves were imported to work the plantations of the coastal regions. By the late eighteenth century, then, the ethnic components of modern-day Colombia were in place—a ruling elite of Spanish and European landowners, or Creoles; a large population of mixed Indian and European peasants; and an impoverished black minority along the coast.

Resistance to Spanish rule began in the late 1700s and early 1800s as the Creole community pushed for a more open economic system, limits on the Crown's power, freedom to trade with other countries, and the abolition of slavery. The triggering event for rebellion against Spanish rule came with the French invasion of Spain in 1808. As Spanish rule in New Granada faltered, conflict

broke out among various forces within the viceroyalty, leading to the reconquest of the territory by Spanish forces from 1814 to 1816. Their brutal tactics led many Colombians to rally behind the forces of Venezuelan liberation leader Bolívar. The Republic of Colombia was established at the Congress of Cúcuta in 1821.

Colombia's postindependence history has been marked by much violence. During the nineteenth century, liberal and conservative forces fought no less than six civil wars. In 1903, Colombia rejected a U.S. offer to build a canal across Panama (which was then under Colombian jurisdiction), leading to a revolt in the province that was backed by U.S. forces. More fighting between liberals and conservatives took place in the 1940s and 1950s, a period Colombians refer to as *La Violencia* that saw the deaths of more than 200,000 people.

Since the 1960s, the country has witnessed a three-way conflict between leftist guerrillas, the Colombia army, and rightist death squads, with many of the latter having close ties to the military. The violence was made worse by the rise of powerful drug cartels in the 1980s and 1990s, which created virtual private armies from money earned in raising and smuggling cocaine into the United States.

James Ciment

See also Bolívar, Simón; Panama; Peru; Pizarro, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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Colonial Administration

Colonial rule was an inequitable political and economic system, sustained by coercion and violence. However, the nature of colonial administration and its ideological underpinning varied over time and across empires.

The sixteenth-century conquistadores of the Spanish Empire in the New World sought to extract maximum wealth in the minimum time before retiring to Spain. The savage exploitation of indigenous Indians was rationalized in terms of civilization through labor and ultimate salvation

through ministrations of the Catholic Church. The Spanish imposed on the New World the semifeudal hierarchies of late-medieval Spain. Under the *encomienda*, the indigenous labor tribute system, indigenous Indians were forced to labor or pay tribute to Spanish landowners and the Crown. The harsh treatment of the Indians, combined with the lethal impact of alien diseases such as smallpox, resulted in a massive decline in the Indian population. Only in nineteenth-century Australia was extermination of the aboriginal population by colonial settler society undertaken on a comparable scale, the remnant indigenous Australians being sent to isolated stations under missionary or government “protectors,” in expectation of their eventual demise.

Under pressure from the Catholic Church, the New Laws of the Indies in 1546 sought to curb the power of the conquistadores by restricting Indian tribute and forbidding forced labor. Yet the socioeconomic structures of colonialism persist in much of Latin America even today. Only Indians who inhabited environments too hostile for European settlement escaped the predatory colonialism of the New World, to be treated as conquered subjects under the administrative authority of settler governments.

Following the Papal Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, defining Spanish and Portuguese spheres in the New World, the Portuguese monarchy divided Brazil into twelve captaincies in 1533. Few captaincies generated the wealth the Crown had anticipated, and therefore, in 1549, the colony was reunited under a captain-general, with prosperity based on slave sugar plantations and exploitation of forest resources. Following the French occupation of Portugal in 1808, the Portuguese monarchy-in-exile relocated to Brazil, a rare instance of direct monarchical colonial governance that ended in a bloodless republican coup on November 15, 1889.

It was the rise of the sugar plantations in the islands of the West Indies, based on African slave labor, that transformed colonialism from a relationship of conquest to that of master and slave. The power of colonial governors paled with the rise of the West Indian plantocracy, the sugar barons whose wealth and political influence brought them into the nobility. Sugar restructured colonial social relations around the tyranny of

production. The Dutch, British, and French seized West Indian sugar islands and fought each other for dominance in the African slave and the Asian spice trades. However, with few exceptions, European colonization in Africa, India, and the Far East was confined to coastal enclaves and trading forts managed by charter companies.

The Cape of Good Hope and Batavia (Java) were not Dutch colonies but property of the powerful Dutch East India Company. Local Indonesian rulers were forced into vassalage to the governor of Batavia, appointed by the company to look after its commercial interests. In India, the English East India Company, founded in 1600, steadily extended its authority by a combination of treaties and conquest. Company rule under Robert Clive in Bengal after 1765 was corrupt and predaceous but grew into an efficient tax-collecting administration. The India Acts of 1773 and 1784 increased parliamentary oversight of the company's activities, but distance and poor communications meant that considerable power was exercised by local officials. British expansion in India arose from piecemeal local initiatives, subsequently sanctioned by Parliament.

Company colonization was based on rudimentary administration. Local rulers in Africa, India, Indonesia, and Southeast Asia were forced to recognize the companies' hegemony. As long as they maintained order and paid tribute and as long as trade prospered, vassal princes were allowed to rule their people as they saw fit. In contrast, the Russian colonization of Siberia was tightly controlled by the czar, with planned serf settlements policed by Cossack soldiers.

In 1799, control of Indonesia passed to the Dutch government. In 1830, Governor-general Johannes van den Bosch introduced the *cultuurstelsel*, obligatory cash crop cultivation and payment in kind, administered through hereditary regents and village chiefs loyal to the colonial masters. Exposure of corruption and oppression under the *cultuurstelsel* state commercial monopoly led to reform in 1870s. Dutch district administrators, or *controleurs*, with wide discretionary powers replaced the regents, and the private plantation economy was introduced. From 1901, Dutch administration was proactive, seeking to bring the Javanese into the colonial economy by social engineering through education and development.

At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain annexed the Cape Colony of South Africa and the cinnamon island of Ceylon from the Dutch. In the Cape, British colonial governors ruled both European settlers and indigenous Africans with autocratic humanitarianism. In Ceylon, as in princely India, governance was indirect, exercised through the landed Sinhalese nobility. India only passed under direct British control in 1858 following the Indian mutiny, when rebels supported by the Mughal emperor tried to overthrow company rule.

The nineteenth-century transformation from informal commercial empire to European colonial control was accomplished by often-violent confrontation, as indigenous states were forced to surrender sovereignty to the new imperial powers. Even when the transfer of power was done by treaty, the threat of coercion was always present. The exploitation of Congo Free State commercial colonialism was only partially moderated under Belgian administrative paternalism. German colonial administration never evolved beyond the era of conquest and military administration before being overtaken by World War I and the loss of its colonies.

With the rise of nineteenth-century racism and cultural imperialism, colonialism became increasingly intrusive in law, education, taxation, and the organization of labor. Yet the colonizers lacked the resources to govern their vast territories simply by force of arms. They required local cooperation from people who did not challenge European hegemony. Distance was maintained by segregation, and opposition undermined policies of divide and rule. In British India, ultimate power rested with the secretary of state for India in London, acting through and on the advice of the governor-general or viceroy in India. The country was divided between British India, directly administered by British officials, and the princely states, which retained a measure of local autonomy. The system was autocratic and centralized under the viceroy, assisted by an advisory executive council, and from him to provincial governors and down through the bureaucracy to the touring district officers—the face of British imperial rule to most Indians. Though empowered with judicial and police powers, their primary task was to supervise taxation collected through indigenous institutions by Indian officials.

British indirect rule, as formulated by Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard in *Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, provided an ideological doctrine of British rule in nonsettler sub-Saharan Africa. Building on Indian precedents, it gave administrative recognition to existing territorial entities and indigenous institutions within a framework of overarching British authority. Colonial officials maintained a careful image of ruling through “native administrations,” which exercised considerable parochial power and budgetary autonomy through retention of a proportion of local tax revenues.

In British settler colonies, such as Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, indirect rule remained the overarching ideology of native administration, but African interests were persistently subordinated to the interests of white settlers, though never to the extent as in French Algeria, colonized from 1830. The 1848 French constitution integrated Algeria as a department of France, entitled to elect deputies to the government in Paris. Arabs were subordinated to the political control and interests of French settlers, with only the southern military zone remaining under the military administrators of the Bureaux Arabes.

In contrast, the French protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia of the 1880s were administered in the names of the sultan and bey, respectively, though power lay with the French resident-general and his officials. South of the Sahara, France conquered a vast empire extending from its old coastal enclaves on the Senegal River across the Sahel beyond Lake Chad and south to Gabon. The two great colonial federations of French West Africa and Equatorial Africa were presided over by governor-generals, based at Dakar and Brazzaville, respectively. These were highly centralized administrations. Only Paris could enact colonial legislation. The governors-general were responsible to the colonial minister in Paris, in turn controlling the budget of subordinate governors of individual colonies. At the district level, the French *commandant du cercle*, or area commander, was dependent on local cadres, often appointed from the indigenous police. Local chiefs were used as agents of administration, but there was little pretext of ruling through indigenous institutions.

A similar system operated in French Indochina, where an autocratic governor-general, responsible to the colonial minister, ruled directly

through French officials down to the village level, with local chiefs co-opted as civil servants. French Indochina was funded by a head tax, supplemented by state monopolies on the sale of salt, alcohol, and opium. As in Algiers, French settler interests dominated the elected advisory *conseil* (council) in Saigon.

Although British indirect rule envisaged the creation of more effective native administrations, the French civilizing mission was the transformation of subject peoples into loyal French men and women. Through education and examinations, it was theoretically possible for an African or a Vietnamese to obtain French citizenship, with all its privileges. Yet in reality, the criteria for citizenship were manipulated to ensure that subject citizens never threatened French political power.

Late Portuguese administration in Africa and the Far East, which underwent reform only in 1907 and 1930, resembled centralized French administration, with power in each of the colonies being vested in a governor-general who appointed Portuguese administrators if funding and personnel were available. The colonized had no civil rights, which were accorded only to settlers and those few subjects raised to the rank of *assimilato* (assimilated person).

The undemocratic, unresponsive, and often exploitative and arbitrary institutions of colonial rule became the cultural legacy of the colonized, with local elites, who often held many of the same condescending attitudes toward the poor and uneducated as their formal colonial masters, taking the latter's places in positions of leadership.

David Dorward

See also British Empire; Constitutionalism; Dutch Empire; French Empire; German Empire; Japanese Empire; Portuguese Empire; Russian Empire; Spanish Empire

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Columbian Exchange

Christopher Columbus's journeys to the New World brought various cultural, ideological, and biological consequences. The contacts between cultures resulted in a new way of life that was different for all parties involved, something that would influence the chain of events for years to come. This contact between Old World and New has been termed by many scholars the Columbian Exchange, and it had both positive and negative aspects for Europe and the Americas.

On the positive side, two polar opposites exchanged essential cultural traits and ideologies. American indigenous foods such as maize, potatoes, and tomatoes became staples in the European diet; seasonings such as paprika and hot peppers revolutionized the taste and texture of European cuisine. The turkey, indigenous to South America, became an icon with Anglo-American celebrations of settlement and thanks. American plants such as tobacco, cocoa, and American cotton transformed European culture in more ways than can be counted. Europeans added to the American indigenous diet through the introduction of sugarcane, rice, wheat, onions, grapes, salad greens, and fruits such as oranges, plantains, bananas, lemons, and figs. Further changes were made when animals—horses, dogs, pigs, cattle, chickens, sheep, and goats, among others—arrived with Columbus on his second voyage to the Americas in 1493.

At the same time, ideas were being exchanged. Although mostly by force, European religious ide-

ologies and beliefs were adopted by the Amerindian population. Many resisted, but papal measures such as the *Requerimiento* edict forced conversions under the threat of imprisonment or death. Other American natives freely embraced Christianity or selectively accepted certain beliefs and joined them with their own. Europeans also brought technology to the indigenous population through the introduction of new tools and processes. In return, Amerindians taught Europeans skills in architecture, agriculture, and food preservation. Furthermore, Europeans realized that their heavy fabrics and clothing were inappropriate for their new environment and selectively embraced Amerindian styles and dress.

Despite the positive “creolization” of cultures that occurred in the New World, there was a dark side to the Columbian Exchange, especially with the introduction of epidemic diseases to the Amerindian population of the Americas. Smallpox, influenza, cholera, typhus, malaria, yellow fever, measles, and pneumonia were not always epidemic in Europe, but their effect on the isolated immune systems of the Amerindian population produced disastrous effects. These diseases spread quickly and led to the disappearance of entire peoples in the Americas. With the Amerindian population greatly reduced or incapable of resisting, Europeans were able to settle newly unpopulated areas with ease.

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See also Americans, Native; Cocoa; Coffee; Cotton; Sugar
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Columbus, Christopher (1451–1506)

The Genoa-born explorer Christopher Columbus is considered the first modern European to encounter the Americas. His discoveries opened the way to a new world that the European powers would exploit for its apparently limitless natural resources and manufacturing and market possibilities. They also set in motion the destruction



Christopher Columbus is greeted by Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand of Spain upon his return from his first voyage to the Americas in 1492. Columbus ultimately failed in his goal to find a western sea route to China and the East Indies. (Library of Congress)

and subjugation of indigenous populations and the displacement and enslavement of millions of Africans in support of various mercantile enterprises. In the realm of science, Columbus “proved” that the world was not flat, and he detailed the principle of compass variation and described the diurnal rotation of the North Star.

Columbus sailed with the Portuguese merchant marine and worked as a chart maker, sugar broker, and trader, encountering seamen who believed in the existence of rich islands far to the west. Hoping to find those mythical islands as well as a western route to the East Indies and China, Columbus began petitioning the Spanish rulers, King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile, for support in 1486. They rejected him at least twice, but in 1492, Isabella decided to back him. On August 3, three small ships sailed off in search of a route to the east that would circumvent the Ottoman Empire and allow Spain access to precious stones and metals, spices, and souls for the

Catholic Church. There was a sense of urgency to the expedition because Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias had already begun sailing around Africa on the same quest.

On October 12, 1492, Columbus planted the Spanish banner on San Salvador. He sailed to Cuba, then landed on Hispaniola, where he found gold and spices and built a stockade using timber and supplies from his flagship, which had run aground. Thirty-nine men were left to establish a colony, and the remaining ships sailed for home on January 16, 1493.

A second fleet reached Dominica on November 3. It continued on to Hispaniola, and on November 27, Columbus found his stockade destroyed and its defenders dead. By January 2, 1494, he had founded a city, La Isabela, and begun to reconnoiter the island. That spring, he explored the Cuban coast and Jamaica; he decided that Hispaniola was the land of Sheba and Cuba was part of China. An effort to conquer Hispaniola devastated the in-

digenous population as well as the island itself. When Columbus left on March 10, 1496, he placed his brothers Bartholomew and Diego in control of La Isabela.

Although the returns from the first two voyages had proven disappointing, Ferdinand and Isabella agreed to finance a third trip. Six ships set off on May 30, 1498, under Columbus's command: three carried supplies for Hispaniola, and three were directed to explore further. Columbus made landfall on Trinidad and on Venezuela's Paria Peninsula and explored the Orinoco River delta, realizing by its freshwater that he had discovered a new continent.

In the meantime, a rebellion against his brothers had taken place, and Spain had sent its chief justice, Francisco de Bobadilla, to Hispaniola to resolve the situation. Arriving on August 23, 1500, Bobadilla found all three brothers responsible for the unrest and had them sent back to Spain to stand trial. Suffering from a variety of illnesses, Columbus wrote to the king and queen asserting the strength of his navigational skills and his belief that he had almost reached the Biblical Paradise and the fields of gold that were sure to be nearby.

When Ferdinand and Isabella met with Columbus late in December, they expressed confidence in his seafaring but deplored his actions as governor. The following October, they agreed to back a fourth voyage, convinced that a declining Columbus was more likely than any replacement to fulfill their dreams of riches and glory. Perhaps they also feared that if they rejected him, Columbus would offer his services to Portugal or Genoa.

On May 9, 1502, Columbus led four ships from Cádiz (the new governor, Nicolas de Ovando, had been granted thirty). Forbidden to return to Hispaniola, he was to continue investigating the lands he had found on the last voyage and search for gold and a passage to India. He landed on Martinique on June 15 and, disobeying orders, attempted to enter Santo Domingo on Hispaniola two weeks later. Rebuffed by Ovando, he explored parts of Jamaica, Cuba, Honduras, and Nicaragua and continued along Costa Rica and Panama, finding gold in Veragua. He tried to set up a trading post in February 1503, but the hostility of the indigenous peoples and the poor condition of his two remaining ships forced him to turn north. The

ships got no farther than Jamaica, where the small band was cast away in June: it would not be rescued for another year.

Columbus returned to Hispaniola on August 13, 1504, and sailed for Spain on November 7, returning to the news that Queen Isabella was dying. He spent the next year following the court and trying to gain an audience with King Ferdinand, hoping to receive the gold from Hispaniola that he had been promised as well as the credit he believed was his due. Unsuccessful in these efforts, he died on May 20, 1506.

Gail Tinsley

See also Americans, Native; British West Indies; Central America; Cuba; Exploration; Ferdinand and Isabella; Hispaniola; Spanish Empire

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Commonwealth

The Commonwealth is a free association of the United Kingdom and about fifty states, all except Mozambique having at some time been part of the British Empire. Its members comprise approximately a quarter of the world's population.

Its origins lie in the nineteenth-century British dilemma of how to give white settler colonies, as opposed to tropical colonies, more autonomy and yet keep them firmly linked to Britain. In the 1840s, Canada became the first colonial holding to be given "responsible government" (which eventually amounted to virtually full internal self-government), and by World War I, the list included Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland.

When Queen Victoria celebrated her Silver Jubilee in 1887, Prime Minister Lord Salisbury took advantage of the occasion to hold the first Colonial Conference. Further conferences followed in 1894, 1897, and 1902, allowing the colonies to discuss matters in which Britain still predominated, such as defense and telegraph cables. Participants in the 1902 meeting decided that the gatherings (now called the Imperial Conferences) should be held every four years, and the white

settler colonies were to be called dominions. A new Dominions Office was set up, separate from the Colonial Office.

With their massive contribution to World War I and their different geographic requirements, the dominions felt an increasing need to have some autonomy in foreign affairs. The 1926 Imperial Conference defined *dominion status* and *dominions* as “autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or foreign affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.” This statement was incorporated in the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which in theory gave the dominions the right to separate diplomatic representation. In fact, however, many of the dominions continued to look to Britain to take a lead in defense and foreign relations until after World War II.

World War II saw the dominions (with the exception of Ireland) come to Britain’s aid much as they had in 1914, but it also accelerated the decolonization of colonies with non-European majorities. India’s and Pakistan’s 1947 independence and entry into the Commonwealth (the word *British* having been dropped by then) marked the beginning of a transformation from a commonwealth of settler colonies to a more kaleidoscopic association of nations. These nations were, nevertheless, linked by British legacies in areas as diverse as parliamentary forms, professional practices, sport, and legal practice.

When India became a republic in 1949, allegiance to the Crown was replaced by recognition of the British monarch merely as head of the Commonwealth. These days, the various heads of government within the Commonwealth meet every two years, and similar meetings are held by the ministers of finance, health, education, and so forth. A secretariat, with a secretary-general, was established in London in 1965. Where the original Colonial Conferences were inspired by the idea of coordinating “Britons overseas” and strategic concerns, the modern Commonwealth is self-consciously multiracial and does its most valuable work in facilitating aid, advice, and exchanges in arenas as varied as education, agriculture, and law.

Karl A. Hack

See also Australia; British Empire; Canada; India; Newfoundland; New Zealand; Pakistan; South Africa; Sports; Victoria, Queen; World War I; World War II

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Communications

The building of empires was almost synonymous with the development of technologies to improve the efficiency and speed with which the central regions could communicate with the periphery. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for example, Europe dominated the rest of the world in part because of the dramatic improvements in shipbuilding techniques. The same can be said of the English in the nineteenth century, when the invention of the steamship, the railroad, and the telegraph allowed them to dominate their European counterparts on the seas and within the colonies.

But the notion that communications were important to empire building did not start in the fifteenth century, nor was it confined to Europe. Roman and Chinese rulers, for example, understood the fundamental importance of having effective communication routes in maintaining the wealth and cohesion of their far-flung empires. To this day, evidence remains of the roads, bridges, and buildings left behind by both empires. In fact, the excellence of their communications systems helps to explain how two of the world’s largest empires lasted for several centuries. The Chinese also opened and maintained the famous Silk Route that brought silks and other goods from Asia to the Romans and, once that empire had collapsed, to the various European nations. In fact, the Europeans began to ply the seas in earnest in the fifteenth century partly because the reliability of the Silk Route came into question when the Chinese could no longer guarantee the safety of traders who used it.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the fourteenth century C.E., the Incas managed to forge a

huge empire in less than a century. They did this in part by building an impressive network of highways, formed of paved roads and bridges, that permitted their armed forces to move rapidly throughout the empire. But these roads were also used by the *chasquis*, highly trained runners who memorized a variety of messages and relayed them by means of cleverly spaced way stations. This system was engineered so that news could travel about 200 kilometers in a single day. Thanks to this remarkable communications infrastructure, the Inca rulers were able to impose and maintain a coherent and rational political, economic, and social system that would not be matched until the advent of modern mass communications in the second half of the nineteenth century. The downside of this highly organized social structure, however, was that it fomented a great deal of resentment and resistance among many of the subjugated nations that formed the empire, thereby destabilizing the Incas just as the Spanish conquistadores arrived in the area in the 1520s and 1530s. Paradoxically, what should have been a source of strength was transformed into a source of weakness in a crucial period.

Like their predecessors, the leaders of the European empires were aware of the need to maintain efficient communications between the home country and its colonies. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the travel and communication routes were used mainly to transport goods and people between the colonies and the home country, but they were also used to transmit a variety of personal and official messages.

Until the nineteenth century, mariners were forced to rely on favorable winds and currents to improve the time it took to make trips across the oceans. The few technical improvements made until the end of the eighteenth century basically ensured that ships sank less frequently in storms but shaved only a few days or weeks off trips that could last for several months. The invention and improvement of the steam engine in the second half of the eighteenth century changed all that. When engineers managed to place these engines on ocean liners in the early nineteenth century, trips that used to take several months could now be accomplished in several weeks. Even steamships were dramatically improved over time: in 1857, it took forty-two days to go from southern

England to Cape Town in South Africa, but by the end of the century (in 1893), the trip only took nineteen days.

The second major communications innovation in the nineteenth century was the railway. Of all the European colonies, India was probably one of the most favored in this regard. Although several railway projects were planned in the 1830s and 1840s, none of them ever became reality. The first freight train in India began operations in December 1851. The first passenger train made its maiden voyage in April 1853 between Bombay and Thane; the trip took one hour to complete and covered 35 kilometers. By 1860, about 1,600 kilometers of track had been laid in India; by 1870, the number jumped to over 8,000 kilometers. Although these numbers pale by comparison with those in Great Britain (2,400 kilometers of track in 1840, 14,600 in 1860, and 25,000 in 1880), India's total track length in 1870 still exceeded that of the other colonies and even compared favorably to certain European countries (such as Belgium and Russia).

On the African continent, however, the situation never developed as robustly. Although British and French imperial officials had several ambitious plans in mind, none of them were ever completed. Cecil Rhodes of Great Britain, for instance, proposed a railroad that would connect the Cape in South Africa with Cairo in Egypt. The French, for their part, thought of building a trans-Saharan railroad connecting their North African colonies with French West Africa. One of the more important rail projects that *was* developed during Africa's colonial period, the Congo-Ocean Railway, was completed at a terrible price. Begun in 1921, this railroad connected Pointe-Noire on the Atlantic coast to Brazzaville in the interior and was about 450 kilometers long. Tragically, this ambitious project caused a very high death toll among the Africans who worked on it, more or less willingly, until its completion in 1934. In fact, scholars now estimate that anywhere between 15,000 and 20,000 Africans were killed in thirteen years. Ultimately, when the African nations became independent, most of the railways built by the Europeans covered only a fraction of the continent.

But perhaps the greatest communications revolution of the nineteenth century was the telegraph.

The first telegraphic line in Europe was inaugurated in 1845. (It had been tested for the first time by Samuel Morse in the United States in 1837; the first commercial line was inaugurated, also in the United States, in 1844.) The ability to communicate virtually instantly across the entire world was, to put it mildly, quite revolutionary. It made the administration of the colonies that much easier for the home countries, since they no longer had to rely exclusively on ships for their communications. This factor certainly explains why the first experimental transatlantic telegraphic transmission was tested between England and Newfoundland in 1858 and why the first regular service was begun soon after, in 1866.

In general, all of these technologies improved communications between the home countries and the major colonial urban centers, but they did very little to improve communications within the colonies themselves. Since the railroads built in the colonies were designed to take primary goods to colonial port cities as rapidly as possible, they often bypassed small communities; as a result, many of these lost an important communications tool. Several small communities did, however, benefit from the appearance of passenger trains, for they usually made more frequent stops and could be used to transport letters and other printed materials. The same can be said of the telegraph. It was a highly efficient tool to transfer information between large colonial cities to the home country but was not quite as efficient within the colonies themselves, since the distribution mechanisms from the few major centers to the rest of the country were not as efficient as they might have been. By controlling the flow of communications in this manner, the home countries hoped to keep the colonies dependent on them for their survival.

As hinted earlier in relation to the Inca Empire, improved communications did not always guarantee the cohesion of empires. On the contrary, as became amply evident in the twentieth century, they even hastened their downfall by making it easier for nationalists or revolutionaries to broadcast their ideas and to organize resistance to the colonial power. A prime example of this use of modern technology was Mohandas Gandhi's tactic throughout the 1930s of gathering large but peaceful crowds to protest against and destabilize the British admin-

istration. The success of his actions was due in part to the presence of modern forms of transportation in India, most notably railways. Conversely, overdependence on technologically developed modes of transportation could also precipitate the end of colonial hegemony. Such was the case in the French Indochina War, when France's ability to move goods and people over land between Hanoi and points south was routinely compromised by the destruction of paved roads and railroads. During a number of battles, the Viet Minh's ability to use people and animals to transport goods and carry messages often created tremendous difficulties for the French army. This was nowhere more evident than during the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, when the Viet Minh managed to carry large pieces of equipment through the jungle even as the French were no longer able to ship in matériel or soldiers because the landing strip had been completely destroyed. In a sense, then, the communications revolution of the nineteenth century held within it the seed of the destruction of the great European empires.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Media; Technology; Transportation

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Communism

Communism—or, more specifically, the Marxist variation of communism—went through several distinct stages in its approach to Western imperialism and the rise of European global empires. Karl Marx himself, though he wrote little on the topic, argued that colonialism might, in fact, be a useful and necessary stage in the development of world communism. By colonizing "primitive" and "feudal" societies, Western powers accelerated their history to the capitalist stage of economic de-

velopment, a necessary stage for the ultimate triumph of communism.

Vladimir Lenin, the first significant Marxist thinker to look at the question of imperialism in a systematic way, wrote that imperialism was “the highest stage of capitalism.” By this, he meant that it was the most recent manifestation of capitalism’s various incarnations and thus the most prone to its inherent contradictions. In practice, specifically in its Russian manifestation, “real-world” communism—as opposed to the theoretical forms in Marx and Lenin’s writings—had a contradictory approach to colonialism.

Real-World Communism

On the one hand, the early Bolshevik governments acted to disengage the new Soviet state from the imperialist adventures of the old Russian Empire in places such as Port Arthur (now Lüshun), China. In addition, Lenin’s government exposed the secret World War I treaties signed by France and Britain (with Russia as an observer), whereby the old Middle Eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire would be distributed among the three European powers, despite promises to the Arabs of postwar independence.

Yet when it came to dismantling those non-Russian territories acquired by Moscow since the early modern era—notably in Central Asia and the Caucasus—the Bolsheviks were adamant: those lands had to remain as part of the new Soviet Union. It would, they argued, be better for the protection of the Soviet Union and good for the people of these lands, as communism was a superior form of social and economic organization.

Outside the old Russian Empire, Soviet communism went through a major change in attitude—from aloof to enthusiastic—over the course of the twentieth century, with the 1950s as the benchmark period. As noted earlier, from the 1920s to the 1940s, Soviet Communists voluntarily abandoned previous Russian colonies, such as Port Arthur in China. Yet neither the Comintern, the Moscow-controlled international organization of national Communist parties, nor Communist countries such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) provided any boost for decolonization per se, owing to three reasons.

First was the Leninist principle of proletarianism, which only approved of anticolonial efforts

that were led by working-class parties. As most interwar anticolonial movements were nationalist-oriented, among them the Indian nationalist effort led by Mohandas Gandhi’s Indian National Congress, orthodox Leninists found it unacceptable to embrace a decolonization that might only end up with the establishment of new bourgeois regimes.

Second was the role of fascism, the most virulent enemy of communism during the middle years of the twentieth century. When Nazi Germany and Japan publicly—and rather hypocritically, given their own expansionist agendas—pledged their support to nationalist movements against British and French colonialists in North Africa and Southeast Asia, Moscow became worried by the connection between anticolonialism and right-wing extremism. In short, fascism’s public embrace of anticolonialism tarnished the cause in the eyes of many Bolsheviks.

Third was, quite simply, the limited capacity of Communist institutions in the years leading up to World War II to actually aid anticolonial struggles in any meaningful way. That is, the Comintern might offer rhetorical support, particularly to anticolonial struggles led by Communists, but it could do little in the way of providing financial or military support. And Moscow’s main foreign aid effort in the 1930s was directed not at a colony of the West but at a former imperialist power, Spain.

With the Soviet Union’s newfound post-World War II strength and its superpower ambitions, Communist assistance toward anticolonial struggles expanded and accelerated, particularly in the 1950s, as nationalist uprisings spread throughout the Third World. Although much of the actual fighting and many of the political struggles were conducted by local Communists, Moscow offered some aid in the birth of a number of Communist-influenced or Communist-dominated Third World regimes that emerged in territories formerly ruled by European (or Japanese) colonialists between the 1940s and the 1970s; the list included North Korea, the short-lived Democratic Republic of Congo, and Mozambique. Moreover, the Soviet Union supported left-wing socialist regimes in places such as South Yemen, Benin, and Tanzania and counted a number of supposedly “neutral” countries among its supporters, including Gamel Nasser’s Egypt and Sukarno’s Indonesia.

Five reasons contributed to the symbiotic advancement of communism and decolonization. First was the transformation in Moscow's attitude toward revolution, from a belief that only working-class revolutions were authentically Communist and deserving of support to an attitude that any left-wing, anticolonial struggle was both in the ideological interests of communism and in the strategic interests of the Soviet Union and its Cold War struggle with the United States. The formal transitional signal was observed in 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalinism and called for lessened control over Communist parties.

Hence, as political scientist John Kautsky suggests, the Soviet interest in strategic expansion overrode its belief in ideological expansion. Under this so-called realist argument, newly liberated colonies represented power vacuums that could be filled by pro-Moscow regimes. In other words, any new Third World regime that said it was neutral or was openly leaning toward the Soviet Union in the Cold War struggle was worthy of support.

Communist China

The success of the Chinese Communist revolution in 1949 was an additional inspiration. Beijing—like Moscow before it—did not at first support every nationalist, anticolonial movement, seeing many as being led by bourgeois forces. But after the falling out between China and the Soviet Union in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Beijing was forced to take a more pragmatic attitude; thus, Mao Zedong proposed his “three systems theory,” pledging support to any left-leaning Third World regime that stood against the “new imperialism” of the United States. Indeed, in the 1960s, China declared itself the leader of the Third World, and in its struggle against neocolonialism Beijing even supported the struggle of the Vietnamese—traditionally a rival of China in Southeast Asia—in its nationalist-Communist struggle against both France and the United States. At the same time, China offered material support—in a limited way, given its own economic backwardness—to a few left-leaning nationalist regimes, particularly in Africa. It was Chinese capital and expertise that helped build the railway linking Zambia and Tanzania in the 1960s.

Finally and perhaps most important, communism's influence in the Third World was enhanced

by the simple fact that, in many anticolonial struggles (such as those in Angola, Mozambique, and Vietnam) it was local Communists who featured prominently in the fighting. As they had led the struggle, so they had earned the respect of local peoples and hence power in the early independent regimes.

Case Study: Southeast Asia

The highpoint of communism's influence in the decolonization process was most visible in Southeast Asia, with North Vietnam as a critical case. Vietnamese anticolonialism was once nearly synonymous with nationalism; even its Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, was an open nationalist in his early years, with the alias Nguyen Ai Quoc (Nguyen the Patriot). Moreover, the revolutionary stance of the Viet Minh—the anti-French force in Vietnam—was less vivid than its nationalism during the first Vietnamese war (1946 to 1954) against the French colonial government.

Before the relationship between the Viet Minh and the USSR solidified in the 1950s, Ho was still able to hope that he would win support in his nationalist struggle from the United States. But once Washington showed itself to be a supporter of the French and, after that, a supporter of the hated, anti-Communist regime in South Vietnam, Ho and the Viet Minh realized that Washington and, by implication, capitalism was enemy. In a sense, it was American hostility—more than Russian or Chinese support—that help weld communism and nationalism together in the Hanoi regime.

During the so-called second Vietnamese war (1964–1975) against the United States, the Viet Minh felt they had no choice but to side unconditionally with the USSR and China, which helped to inspire fellow anticolonial movements in the rest of world to “turn Red.” However, the eventual Communist-led unification of Vietnam witnessed not only the triumph of Communist-led anticolonialism but also the expansion of the Communist sphere.

Simon Xu Hui Shen

See also Angola; China; Chinese Communist Party; Cold War; Dutch East Indies; Ho Chi Minh; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Mao Zedong; Mozambique; Soviet Union; Third World; United States; Viet Minh; Vietnam

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Conference of Berlin (1884–1885)

The Conference of Berlin—called by its host, the German prince Otto von Bismarck—convened in Berlin from November 15, 1884, through February 27, 1885. At the European negotiating table, where the African continental prize pieces would be awarded, were delegates from more than a dozen parties, including Germany (the conference host), Britain, France, Portugal—each a major contestant—Russia, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Norway, and Holland. Present as well were two more-than-interested onlookers—the United States and Leopold II’s International Association of the Congo. Each representative had particular designs—with respect to both territory and trade—on and for the map of Africa that was to be outlined at the conference. The thirty-six articles of the resulting General Act of the Conference of Berlin, signed on February 26, 1885, were divided, albeit unequally, into six chapters. Chapter 1 was concerned with “freedom of trade in the Basin of the Congo”; chapter 2, the shortest (article 9), dealt expeditiously with the slave trade; chapter 3 related to the question of neutrality in the region; chapters 4 and 5, by far the longest (articles 13–33), adjudicated questions of navigation rights for the Congo and Niger Rivers; and finally, chapter 6 laid out the conditions to be observed by the signatories for the “new occupations on the coasts of the African continent.”

Freedom of trade and navigation thus took primacy of place in the document drafted in Berlin to divide and distribute to European predators Africa’s continental resources, along the lines of the “three Cs” that the early British explorer David Livingstone had identified for European imperial aspirations and ambitions: Christianity, civilization, and commerce. Trade and territory would be well instantiated at the continental corners by business concerns and their designates: the work of the Suez Canal Company at the northeastern tip of the continent, begun by Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps but ultimately financed through the shares bought by British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli, had been completed in 1869. On the western coast, Sir George Goldie (1946–1925), a British colonial administrator in West Africa, would soon take advantage of the treaty’s terms, and his Royal Niger Company was chartered by Britain in 1886. Just a few years later, in 1889, mining magnate Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902) made sure that his British South Africa Company would be granted its own charter. But it was the Belgium king Leopold II’s concessions in the Congo Free State that challenged—and abused—the treaty’s international terms on trade and territory and provoked both commercial objections and humanitarian encomiums in the early twentieth century.

The Berlin Conference brought rival European diplomats to the table to make orderly treaty determinations, but it was occasioned by—and laid the grounds for—what has become known as the rather more disorderly “scramble for Africa.” More than a century later, the lines drawn across Africa at the Berlin Conference remain much the same, defining the territorial boundaries of postcolonial African states, and a new scramble for the resources of a decolonized Africa has been undertaken by international monetary and aid agencies alike.

Barbara Harlow

See also Belgian Congo; Congo Free State; Leopold II; Livingstone, David

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Congo Free State

European penetration into central Africa via the Congo River from the sea was initially blocked by

cataracts and dense forest. The vast river basin remained unexplored by Europeans until Henry Morton Stanley's epic journey from East Africa to the mouth of the Congo between 1874 and 1877. When Britain ignored Stanley's overtures to colonizing the Congo Basin, he accepted a commission from Leopold II, king of the Belgians, to secure treaties and establish outposts on behalf of the International Association of the Congo. The association, ostensibly an international humanitarian and scientific organization, was a guise for Leopold's colonial ambitions. At the Congress of Berlin in 1885, Leopold assiduously played off European rivals, securing the Congo Basin as a sovereign entity—the Congo Free State—under his absolute authority. It was not a Belgian colony and even had its own flag, featuring a gold star on a blue field.

Congo Free State administration consisted of military adventurers drawn from numerous nations. The governor-general in the Congo was responsible to the king, who exercised autocratic powers in the Congo without reference to the Belgian Parliament. However, the king and governor-general had little effective control over the more isolated provincial commissioners, who were lords of their domains with command of local detachments of the colonial army, the Force Publique.

It proved to be a costly undertaking. Leopold II invested much of his personal fortune constructing a railway linking the river system with the sea and on military subjugation of the interior. Deprived of customs duties and direct taxation by the terms of the Berlin Agreement and unable to attract Belgian investment, Leopold sold huge tracts of land to concessionaire companies in which the king secretly owned shares. These companies, often financed by British or U.S. investors, exercised administrative authority and enjoyed lucrative monopolies on mining leases and trade in rubber and ivory.

The automobile craze created a world demand for rubber, and concessionaire companies used violence to force Africans to collect wild rubber. Women and children were held in chains as hostages until they could be redeemed in rubber. Workers who failed to reach their quotas often suffered the loss of a hand as punishment and were forced to terrorize others. In Britain, the Congo Reform Association, led by E. D. Morel, publicized missionary accounts and photographs

of the atrocities, invoking international condemnation of what became known as the Red Rubber Scandal. Leopold II was eventually forced to transfer control of the Congo to the Belgian government in 1908 but not before reaping huge financial rewards.

David Dorward

See also Belgian Congo; Belgium; Congress of Berlin; Leopold II; Morel, E. D.

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Congo, Democratic Republic of

See Belgian Congo; Congo Free State

Congress of Berlin (1878)

The Congress of Berlin was a conference attended by Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, and Turkey in June and July 1878, under the presidency of the German chancellor, Prince Otto von Bismarck. The congress reorganized the political order in southeastern Europe, defined the global rivalry for almost thirty years, and opened the era of modern imperialism. It also underlined the progressive disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

The congress revised the results of the Russian victory in the war with Turkey in 1877 and 1878 to achieve a balance between the interests of the Great Powers in the Balkans and the Near East. It approved the complete independence of former tributary principalities of the Ottoman Empire—Montenegro, Serbia, and Romania—and enlarged the territory of each. The territory of the new Bulgarian state was divided into three parts—an au-

tonomous principality of Bulgaria, tributary to the sultan; a semiautonomous province of Eastern Roumelia; and Macedonia, which remained an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Russia obtained southern Bessarabia from Romania, a part of Turkish Armenia, and Batum.

Additionally, Austria-Hungary was given a mandate to occupy and administer the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the *sanjak* (district) of Novi Bazar between Montenegro and Serbia. Under a special, secret convention with the Ottoman Empire, Britain officially recognized the Asiatic possessions of the sultan and received Cyprus from Turkey for use as a naval base. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Novi Bazar, and Cyprus nominally remained Turkish provinces. The Porte, or government of the sultan, also promised reforms for Macedonia and the Asiatic provinces.

Beyond its immediate results, the Congress of Berlin also revealed some significant trends within a broader international context. The partial dismemberment of the Porte's possessions in Europe meant that the Ottoman Empire had finally ceased to be an effective great power. At the same time, the European concert orchestrated in Berlin removed many of the political fruits of Russian victory and set the limits of Russia's imperial expansion in the Black Sea region, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. The clear demonstration of Russia's weakness led to the reorientation of Serbia and Romania, away from Russian protection to Austrian auspices. Vienna, in turn, had significantly progressed with its expansion in the Balkans. Additionally, the deal over Cyprus marked the beginning of direct British imperial involvement in the Middle East.

In the course of the diplomatic maneuvers in Berlin, the semicolonial partition of Turkey was accomplished by means of various projects and schemes. The British suggested to the Austrians that their two countries could establish protectorates over Asiatic Turkey and the Balkans, respectively. The French, who had succeeded in preventing multilateral discussions on Egypt, Syria, and the holy places in Palestine (which they saw as their exclusive spheres of interest), were encouraged to occupy Tunisia by Germany and Britain. The same proposal to acquire Tunisia was made to Italy by Germany and Austria-Hungary. But the Italians had broader imperial ambitions,

so there were suggestions that they also expand into Albania.

The congress also demonstrated the rise of Germany among the Great Powers, and it intensified contradictions between England and Russia, Russia and Austria-Hungary, and France and Italy in the Balkans and Mediterranean. Nevertheless, the Congress of Berlin settled the immediate issues of concern and paved the way for European imperial expansion in Africa, Central Asia, and the Far East.

Peter Rainow

See also Albania; Armenia; Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bismarck, Otto von; Egypt; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; Serbia; Syria; Tunisia

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Conquistadores

The conquistadores originated as independent medieval agents of Spanish territorial expansion and state formation in the Iberian Peninsula. The Kingdom of Castile, the core of the emergent Spanish state in the late medieval period, pursued the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula by encouraging military orders of knights to engage in a southward process of expansion (known as the Reconquista) against the Moors. The knights were rewarded with large estates, expropriated from their previous owners, and tributary rights to the labor of the conquered peasants (this latter arrangement was known as *encomienda*). At the same time, these conquistadores were expected to see to the Christian conversion and general well-being of their peasants. With the end of the Reconquista (following the fall of Granada in 1492) and the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the New World in the same year, the mechanisms that had been developed for the Iberian reconquest were reoriented toward territorial expansion and the control of subject populations in the Americas.

Building on the practices of the Reconquista before 1492, the conquistadores were chartered by the Spanish Crown (which, after the marriage of

Ferdinand and Isabella in 1479, was centered on the dynastic union of Castile and Aragon) to advance its interests. In exchange for its endorsement, the Crown received a percentage (the royal fifth) of all booty and land acquired by the conquistadores who organized and operated the expeditions. If they were successful, conquistadores would receive plunder, land, *encomiendas* (large feudal estates), and even titles, facilitating a rise in social status. The incredible success of some conquistadores—such as Hernán Cortés, who led the conquest of the Aztecs between 1519 and 1521, and Francisco Pizarro, who conquered the Inca Empire in 1532—ensured that there was a steady supply of aspiring conquistadores and their financiers. Warfare and resistance continued throughout the entire Spanish era, especially on the margins of empire. However, the process of conquest was at its height during the half century or so after 1492, and during that time, about 2,000 conquistadores exploited tensions within and between the indigenous polities of the Americas to capture almost 2 million square kilometers of territory. This process also delivered as many as 50 million new subjects to the Spanish monarchy, before the excesses of conquest and the ravages of disease reduced the indigenous population to about 8 million by the end of the sixteenth century.

Mark T. Berger

See also Aztecs; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Incas; Pizarro, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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Conrad, Joseph (1857–1924)

Joseph Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski was born in Poland and became a naturalized British citizen in 1886. Conrad's career as a seaman gave him the chance to travel to places such as the West Indies, Africa, Asia, and Southeast Asia. As he noted in the preface to *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, "There is not a place of splendor or a dark corner of the earth that does not deserve if only a passing glance of wonder and pity." In his fiction, Conrad used these places as fluid stages on which to show the outward, rippling effects that individual and group action may have on wider community. In novels



Polish-born British writer Joseph Conrad was a harsh critic of colonialism. His classic novel *Heart of Darkness* explored the brutality of European rule in the Congo. (Library of Congress)

such as *Lord Jim* and *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad's use of the intermediate narrator and multiple perspectives served to enrich the novel as a genre. *Nostromo*, set in South America, may be Conrad's most accomplished work.

In the realm of the modern novel, Conrad was perhaps the most outspoken critic of European imperialism and expansionism. However, he has come under severe attack by postcolonial writers and critics. The Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, for example, has called Conrad a "bloody racist," referring especially to his *Heart of Darkness*. (The West Indian novelist Wilson Harris, though sympathetic to Achebe's views, has taken precisely the opposite view.) In fact, no other modern novel has stirred so much debate as *Heart of Darkness*; few others can claim to have laid such a firm grasp on the postmodern popular imagination. The character Kurtz, a sort of anti-Christ figure and the chief representative of European colonial enterprise, has entered the work and the speech of writers and audience alike. The movie *Apocalypse Now* reenvi-

sioned the novel somewhat, setting the story in the context of the U.S.-Vietnam conflict.

Daizal R. Samad

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism;

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Conservative Party (United Kingdom)

From the 1820s, the term *Conservatives* was applied to members of the British Houses of Parliament who favored keeping reform incremental in order to preserve existing customs and institutions, notably the monarchy, the church, and the aristocracy.

An extension of the vote in 1867 prompted the establishment of a nationwide organization: the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations. This organization received a central party office in 1870. From 1886 to 1922, the party was widely known as the Conservative and Unionist Party. The Unionists were Liberals who crossed over to the Conservative side after their own leader, William Gladstone, supported giving home rule to Ireland. Home rule was, in turn, seen by Conservatives as detrimental not only to imperial unity but also to the union of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, whereby all shared one Parliament. Despite Conservative reluctance and in the face of local insurgency, a December 1921 treaty gave most of Ireland self-government.

Well before the home rule controversy, the Conservatives had emerged as the most vocal supporters of empire, thanks partly to Benjamin Disraeli (prime minister in 1868 and from 1874 to 1880). He added to the proimperial rhetoric of 1872 by buying shares in the Suez Canal in 1875 and having Queen Victoria styled empress of India in

1877. Later on, Joseph Chamberlain (colonial secretary from 1895 to 1903) proposed to strengthen imperial unity by tariff reform, granting lower preferential rates to imperial countries. His ideas caused internal tensions, and the 1906 elections swept the Conservatives from office. It took the onset of a world depression and the decline of global trade after 1929 to allow imperial preference to be introduced by a national government in 1932.

The National Governments of 1931 to 1940 came to be Conservative-dominated, with all but a hard-core few reconciling to the steady devolution of power in the most politically conscious colonies, such as India. After World War II, from 1951 to 1964, Conservative governments oversaw accelerating decolonization, aiming to preserve domestic economic strength and global influence by producing cooperative successor states, even at the cost of "premature" independence.

Returning to power from June 1970 to February 1974, Edward Heath did nothing to reverse the Labour Party's 1967–1968 decision to withdraw from "East of Suez," and he led Britain into the European Economic Community (EEC) in January 1973. Again out of power from 1974 to May 1979, the Conservative Party returned to power with the governments of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and negotiated an end to rule by white British settlers in Southern Rhodesia, which became Zimbabwe in 1980. Despite fighting to retain the Falklands Islands in 1982, the Thatcher government in 1984 negotiated the formula by which Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997.

Karl A. Hack

See also British Empire; Chamberlain, Joseph; Disraeli, Benjamin; Gladstone, William Ewart; Home Rule; Hong Kong; Ireland; Southern Rhodesia; Suez Canal; Victoria, Queen

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Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism refers to the British approach to decolonization—an approach that emphasized the colonies' gradual progression toward self-government but was designed to maximize the influence of the former colonial power in postindependence states. The European colonial powers had diverse imperial philosophies, which determined their patterns of colonization and decolonization. British colonial strategies (except in Ireland) focused on devolution of power and indirect rule, and they were designed to cause minimal disruption to traditional local politics while allowing Britain to control trade, external relations, and defense. Even in those colonies that had a governor, an executive council of officials was established to advise the governor, and later, legislative councils would often be formed to prepare legislation. This approach differed from other European colonial strategies, especially those of the French, which aimed to achieve the full assimilation of colonies into the French nation.

The British approach to colonization, which some authors argue was one that acknowledged that colonies would eventually gain self-government, was an attempt to reconcile the military, social, and economic realities of colonization with contradictory beliefs in liberty, laissez-faire government, and parliamentary democracy. It was also shaped by the political writings and legislation of the British statesman Edmund Burke, who argued that the most effective form of colonial government was one in which laws were adapted to “the genius, the temper and the manners of the [indigenous] people.” Although capable of fierce repression, particularly in Ireland, India, and Kenya, successive British governments in many cases responded to colonial unrest with reforms. The British policy of encouraging nationalist movements to take a constitutional path to self-government also developed out of the nineteenth-century experience with settler colonies in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. Forms of political representation were developed in these colonies because settlers believed they retained their English citizenship rights in the colonies. Gradually, these representative bodies were granted legislative rights, leading to self-government of internal and, later, external affairs.

British rhetoric constantly proclaimed that Britain's great colonial mission was to gradually bestow enlightened English traditions of parliamentary democracy and responsible government on “backward” colonial peoples. In reality, Britain had no intention of relinquishing its influence around the globe. Instead, responding with pragmatism and flexibility, it opted to follow Edmund Burke's formula and “reform in order to preserve” its power. Its policy of constitutionalism was based on the recognition that military repression and annexation were no longer effective methods of maintaining an empire, particularly after the end of World War II. Instead, by agreeing to a gradual process of constitutional reform, Britain hoped to control the pace and form of decolonization and to retain close economic, political, and strategic ties with newly emerging states.

As the forces of nationalism grew in its colonies—often as a result of colonial policies designed to create centralized, unified administrative and economic territories—British officials sought to shape local politics to favor the supremacy of moderate nationalists or to form alliances with traditional, socially conservative elites. They would then grant gradual constitutional change in the hope that British influence over the colony would continue after self-government. Their most successful implementation of this constitutional approach occurred in the colony of Ceylon (later Sri Lanka), where, because of its strategic importance during World War II, the British agreed to grant dominion status in return for arrangements that guaranteed Anglo-Ceylonese defense and external affairs cooperation. Despite their concerns about the ethnic animosities between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamil and Muslim communities, the British were able to work with the socially conservative Sinhalese elite to retain their influence over the newly independent Ceylon. So, too, in Malaya were the British able to ensure ongoing Malaysian involvement in Commonwealth trade and defense by granting independence in 1957. Prior to World War II, Malaya was a series of dependencies with different political and administrative traditions. After 1945, the British established the Malayan Union in an attempt to create an effective central administration in alliance with socially conservative traditional rulers. In 1954, the British govern-



British conservative philosopher Edmund Burke argued that the most effective colonial governments would be organized to meet the needs of the indigenous peoples over which they ruled. (Library of Congress)

ment accepted the recommendation of the Malayan Elections Committee that the majority of positions in the Legislative Council of the Federation should be elected. The Alliance Party won all but one of the elected seats, and a constitutional conference was held in London in January and February 1956, which negotiated the terms of Malayan independence.

There were many cases where the British policy of gradual constitutional reform did not result in British control over the shape of the newly independent state and the maintenance of its ties with Britain. In India, for example, a lengthy process of constitutional reform came unstuck after World War II as a result of campaigning by India's largest party, the Indian Congress, to end British rule in India and the worsening of relations between the Indian Congress and Muslim League parties. Ultimately, Pakistan was partitioned from the rest of India, independence was granted in August 1946, and both states became republics in 1950. Similarly, in the West African colony of the Gold Coast, the process of constitutionalism did not deliver an obedient dominion under conservative local rulers. Na-

tionalist agitation and the formation of Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party forced the British to concede more rapid reform under a new constitution in 1950, which introduced universal suffrage, a larger elected assembly, and devolution of internal affairs to this assembly. The British hoped that this concession would favor the moderate coalition of chiefs and urban leaders, but instead, Nkrumah's party won a landslide victory in 1951; Nkrumah himself was released from jail to become the chief minister of the assembly. In 1954, Nkrumah achieved full self-government of internal affairs, and by 1957, the Gold Coast had become the independent Republic of Ghana.

The British did not adhere to this policy of decolonization by peaceful constitutional change uniformly across their empire. In Central and East Africa in the 1950s, Britain resisted nationalist calls for independence with greater resolve and brutality. In Kenya, for example, African nationalism was dismissed by the British as radical and disruptive. They tried to suppress African nationalist agitators and worked toward developing a scheme for a multiracial constitution that would preserve the leadership of the large white community in Kenya. Demands by the largest Kenyan tribe, the Kikuyu, for changes in land settlement and larger representation in the Kenya legislative assembly were rejected by the British, resulting in the development of a violent opposition movement, the Mau Mau, which was active from 1952 to 1956 and was ruthlessly suppressed by British and local white forces. By failing to make constitutional concessions, the British had provoked the growth of extremist nationalist groups. It was not until the 1960s that a series of constitutional conferences of all Kenyan groups were held in London, and independence was achieved in 1963. Kenya became a republic the following year. In Ireland, British (and Northern Irish) opposition to Irish home rule in the late nineteenth century, together with the ruthless repression of the failed Easter Rising of 1916, ensured the supremacy of physical-force nationalists over constitutional nationalists and led to the Irish war of independence from 1919 to 1921. By 1949, Ireland had become a republic.

British support for decolonization by gradual constitutional reform was designed to maintain British influence over its former colonies. In many

cases, however, the pace of change in these countries and the determination of their nationalist leaders ensured that the British policy did not always deliver control over the shape of these new states and their foreign, trade, and defense policies.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Colonial Administration; Communism; Democracy; Law; League of Nations; Social Sciences; United Nations

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Capt. James Cook, arguably the most renowned European explorer of the eighteenth century, made several expeditions to the Pacific in the 1760s and 1770s. (Library of Congress)

Cook, James (1728–1779)

The renowned navigator Capt. James Cook was born on October 27, 1728. After an apprenticeship sailing on the North Sea, Cook volunteered for the Royal Navy in 1755 and served with distinction in the Atlantic. In 1763, he became surveyor of Newfoundland, a position he held until April 1768, when he was appointed to command the *Endeavour* on an expedition to observe the rare astronomical phenomenon of the transit of Venus across the face of the Sun in Tahiti and to search for evidence of Terra Australis Incognita, the fabled southern continent. After rounding Cape Horn, Cook spent four months in Tahiti, beginning in April 1769, before sailing south, where he sighted New Zealand in October. After a circumnavigation of New Zealand, Cook headed for the east coast of Australia in April 1770, which he charted as the *Endeavour* made its way north to Jakarta. The *Endeavour* eventually reached Britain in July 1771.

Exactly one year later, Cook again set out to search for Terra Australis Incognita; this time, he commanded the *Resolution*, and Tobias Furneaux commanded the *Adventure*. Cook crisscrossed the Pacific, pushing deep toward Antarctica and refining his survey of New Zealand in

addition to producing detailed maps of the central Pacific. On his return to Britain, he published *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, a detailed summation of the second voyage that established him as a careful naturalist and important ethnographic observer. Cook's third and final voyage was a search for another geographic phantom, the Northwest Passage that supposedly linked the Atlantic and the Pacific. Cook left Plymouth in July 1776 with two ships under his command, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*. After sailing via the Cape of Good Hope, he again visited New Zealand before heading to the Pacific coast of North America via Tahiti and Hawaii. In December 1778, Cook returned to Hawaii, but he was killed at Kealakekua Bay on February 14, 1779; the voyage was finally completed under the command of John Gore. The British public celebrated Cook as a national hero, but his real significance lies in his navigational and cartographic achievements in the Pacific. In extending and refining European knowledge of

the region, he laid the foundations for a new age of imperialism there.

Tony Ballentyne

See also British Empire; Exploration; Hawaii; New Zealand; Newfoundland

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Copper

Copper was mined in many parts of Europe’s colonial empires long before those empires existed and was primarily used for jewelry, decoration, and domestic items. It was a significant trading commodity throughout Africa in the form of wire or bars, and cruciform ingots from the Katanga region of central Africa found their way as far afield as China during Europe’s medieval period. In the early modern empires, the metal also had monetary uses, but it was in the later nineteenth century that the growing demands of industrial economies created increased interest in nonferrous metals, particularly copper.

The copper deposits in the Katanga region of the Congo Free State and adjacent areas of Northern Rhodesia began to attract attention from Cecil Rhodes and King Leopold II in the 1890s, although the ultimately vain hope of finding gold there was initially more interesting. In 1912, the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga began full-scale, open-cast working of the highly concentrated oxide ores. The ores became a major source of Belgian financial returns from the Congo and stimulated infrastructure, particularly railway development, in the region. Katanga’s copper mines—that is, its smelting operations—also created a significant market for coal from Southern Rhodesia’s Wankie Colliery.

Northern Rhodesia also had extensive copper reserves, but these were found at much greater depth than Katanga’s and were sulfides, from which it was more difficult to separate the metal. Only in the interwar period were techniques for

treating sulfides developed, largely in connection with Chilean copper. This advance facilitated the opening up of the copper belt in the 1930s, which quickly became a major contributor to the colony’s economy, an economy that was increasingly dependent on copper exports. As an export commodity capable of generating foreign currency, copper was of great significance to Northern Rhodesia’s contribution to the Federation of Rhodesia.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Congo Free State; Leopold II; Mining; Northern Rhodesia; Rhodes, Cecil John

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Corn Laws (1804–1846)

Enforced between 1804 and 1846, Britain’s Corn Laws were designed to assure the well-being of domestic agriculture through the promotion of exports and the restriction of imports to and from continental Europe and the colonies. These protective tariffs became politically and economically unviable in the face of social and economic tensions by the 1840s, however, as increased mechanization led to production surpluses, reduced profits, and inflated prices. Although the repeal of the laws would help facilitate the rise of the English middle class, the Victorian embrace of free trade and colonial expansion would foster economic stimulation and imperial consolidation—creating stability through continuing growth.

The Corn Laws were introduced in 1804, when Parliament, dominated by aristocratic landowners, sought to protect agricultural profits by imposing a duty on imported grain. The Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815) and the mechanization of agriculture stimulated increased British wheat production beyond domestic demands, but artificial price increases led to growing social and economic pressures. In 1815, reacting to an uncharacteristic crop failure yet fearful that continental grain might undercut domestic prices in the wake of war, Parliament introduced additional protective measures by permitting duty-free wheat imports

only in the event that the domestic price reached 80 shillings per quarter (eight bushels). Passed in an atmosphere of social tension and civil unrest, the measure was despised by workers who feared rising bread prices and resented by manufacturers who feared demands for higher wages.

Circumstances began to change by the late 1830s, however, facilitated by the political enfranchisement of the new industrial towns through the Reform Act of 1832. As persistent crop failures caused shortages and higher bread prices, the mechanization of British industry facilitated dangerously rapid economic growth, leading to surplus production, low profitability, and depression from 1837 to 1842. Responding to the crisis with a plan to stimulate the economy through free trade, the Anti-Corn Law League began to mobilize the industrial middle classes against the aristocratic landlords. Founded in 1839, the Manchester-based organization maintained that, by continuing to protect wealthy landholders at the expense of the urban poor, increased production costs resulting from inflated grain prices would cause continued economic stagnation. In 1846, the league's leader, political economist and statesman Richard Cobden (1804–1865), convinced Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel (1788–1850) to abolish the Corn Laws. Although the twentieth century would witness renewed regulatory measures, the economic growth stimulated by free trade would facilitate increased interconnectedness throughout the British Empire and the later Commonwealth.

John Lalla and Margaret Sankey

See also British Empire; Class

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Cortés, Hernán (1485–1547)

Hernán Cortés was born into the lesser nobility in Medellín in the Province of Extremadura, Castile.



In this idealized nineteenth-century illustration, Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés kneels before Aztec emperor Montezuma in 1519. Cortés would go on to kill Montezuma and occupy his capital of Tenochtitlán the following year. (Library of Congress)

He arrived in Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic) in 1504 or 1505 and participated in the conquest of Cuba in 1511. When Diego Velásquez, who led the conquest, was subsequently appointed governor of Cuba, Cortés became his secretary. Velásquez aspired to become governor of the Yucatán and petitioned Charles I of Spain (eventually Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor) to grant him that office. In 1518, Velásquez appointed Cortés to head the third expedition to the Yucatán; however, he then changed his mind and attempted, unsuccessfully, to prevent Cortés from departing. Cortés eventually set out, on February 18, 1519, and went ashore on the mainland, to the west of the present-day Yucatán, on April 22, 1519, where he confirmed information he had received earlier about the extent and wealth of the Aztec Empire. He founded the town of Vera Cruz and had himself appointed mayor and captain-general in order to provide a legal justification for his plan to compel the Aztec emperor, Montezuma, to

submit to his authority and to that of the Spanish Crown.

On August 16, 1519, Cortés and his followers began their march toward the Aztec capital (Tenochtitlán), where they established themselves and had gained influence over Montezuma by late 1519. In early 1520, Velásquez, who had been formally appointed governor of Yucatán by the king, dispatched a band of soldiers to confront Cortés. This force was defeated by Cortés in a battle near Vera Cruz on May 27, 1520. When Cortés returned to Tenochtitlán from the coast, the Aztecs were in open rebellion against the conquistadores he had left behind. On June 30, 1520, Montezuma and many of his supporters were killed, and Cortés and his men beat a retreat from Tenochtitlán, suffering heavy casualties. By mid-1521, Cortés had reasserted his control over Tenochtitlán. Following unsuccessful attempts in 1522 and 1523 by Cortés's opponents to have him arrested, a formal decree arrived from the king in September 1523, appointing Cortés governor and captain-general of New Spain. However, the struggle for power continued, and Cortés's governorship was suspended in 1526. In 1528, Cortés sought resolution of the conflict by traveling to Spain. On his arrival, the king confirmed Cortés's claim to all his estates and gave him the title of marqués del Valle de Oaxaca, but he was not reappointed governor of New Spain. Cortés then returned to New Spain but occupied no official post. In 1540, he went back to Spain, where he remained until his death in 1547.

Mark T. Berger

See also Aztecs; Conquistadores; Cuba; Hispaniola; Mexico; Montezuma; New Spain; Spanish Empire

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Cossacks

The Cossacks (from a word meaning “vagrant” or “freebooter”), semi-independent groups of armed horsemen, formed in the early fifteenth century in Russia's frontier regions. Peasants fleeing enserfment settled along rivers in the southern Russian steppe, where they organized into military units (hosts) for self-preservation. Under Czar Mikhail

Romanov, the Cossacks swore loyalty to Russia's rulers in return for a high degree of autonomy and other privileges. On the frontier, the Cossacks served as both an occupying force and as colonizers. The relationship between the Cossacks and the government was not always a happy one, and there were several Cossack-led rebellions against the government. As the frontiers were pacified, the Cossacks lost much of their military significance, although they continued to serve in the military, where they formed the bulk of the irregular forces. As the Russian imperial period drew to an end, Cossacks were used to put down revolutionary disturbances.

By World War I, however, modern weapons placed the Cossack cavalry at a disadvantage. During the 1917 revolutions, Cossacks participated in the abortive Kornilov coup against the provisional government. In the subsequent civil war, the Cossacks generally sided with the White (or counterrevolutionary) forces against the Bolsheviks. With the Bolshevik victory, the Cossack hosts were disbanded. Their pride in their heritage persisted, however, and Cossacks violently resisted collectivization in the 1930s. In World War II, some Cossacks fought for Germany, where they were not considered as “underclass” as the Russians. Others served in the Red Army or fought as partisans. After the war, Cossacks led lives little different from those of their fellow Soviet collective farmers and workers, although they retained a fierce pride in their history. In the post-Soviet period, there has been an upsurge of interest in the Cossack heritage, especially along Russia's borders where neo-Cossack groups form a nucleus for ultranationalists.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Bolsheviks; Russian Empire; World War I; World War II

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Cotton

The history of cotton dates back as early as 3000 B.C.E., when it was grown and used in the Indus

Valley of India. It was also spun and woven in ancient Egypt and China, and during the European Middle Ages the Arabs spread the plant from India to Spain. It was called *qutun*, the origin of the word *cotton*. During the eleventh century, traders carried the thin, almost transparent, muslin cloths of the East to Europe. The appearance of these cloths brought anguish to the wool and flax growers, who attempted to keep them out. The name *muslin* originated from Mosul, Iraq, which was once a large manufacturing city. In the Americas, early explorers found cotton growing in the West Indies, and the Aztecs were skilled in spinning, weaving, and dyeing the material. Ancient mummies in Peru were wrapped in local cotton.

The cotton plant, of the genus *Gossypium*, had a dual influence in colonialism. The tropical or subtropical plant, producing soft, white, downy fibers and oil-rich seeds, was used to supplement England's growing textile industry. The rich manufacturing areas of Lancashire and Manchester needed more raw material than the country was capable of producing. In the attempt to supply the growing demands of mill owners in England, slaves were imported, making cotton a factor in the Industrial Revolution and the spread of slavery—two important developments in the rise of the British Empire.

As early as 1607, planters in the American South raised cotton. The amount of labor and land required for growing it gave rise to plantations, sharecropping, and tenant farming. The secondary component of cotton production—slavery—saw the number of slaves rise from about 400,000 in 1793 to nearly 4 million by 1860. By spreading slavery in the American South, cotton has often been seen as one factor that brought on the American Civil War.

Colonial powers attempted to establish the cotton plant throughout the world, and frequently, colonial economies were dependant on cotton production. Some sixty nations now grow the plant, with the United States being by far the most successful not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the cotton produced. Exports consist of the strong, brownish Egyptian cotton used for thread and the rough Chinese fibers that are mixed with wool for rugs and blankets.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also China; Egypt; Industrial Revolution; Slavery and Slave Trade

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Credit Mobilier

Credit Mobilier was a popular nineteenth-century economic arrangement used in France and the United States to finance large-scale public works projects through a privately run but publicly subscribed company acting as an investment bank. In France, the Credit Mobilier was founded in 1852 by Isaac and Emile Pereier, who chartered the company as a limited liability partnership originally capitalized at 600,000 francs thorough an issue of stock. Because the Pereiers restricted the buyers to those who could purchase 500 shares at a time, the Credit Mobilier's shareholders were drawn from the wealthiest of France's investors. Able to issue bonds to raise funds, the company quickly became the financing agent behind Second Empire companies such as the Paris Gas Company and the Paris Omnibus and overseas projects such as the Maritime Company of Clippers and rail projects in French colonial Africa. Although profits were high (41 percent in 1855), they fell to only 5 percent in 1867, and the company was forced to liquidate to pay its debts in 1869. In a landmark ruling, the French High Court of Appeals ordered the Pereiers be held liable for their stockholders' losses, although little of the money was ever recovered.

In the United States, another Credit Mobilier began as the Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency, before being purchased by wealthy stockholders in the Union Pacific Railroad Company. Union Pacific, which held government contracts to build the transcontinental railroad, paid Credit Mobilier more than \$94 million for construction and services worth only \$44 million. This large-scale chicanery was made possible by the bribing of congressmen with discount stock and because there was little regulation of the banking and rail indus-

tries. Although the organizers of the scheme profited enormously, smaller investors were left holding the bag for Union Pacific's cost overruns, and they demanded an investigation. The resulting scandal tarnished the presidency of Ulysses S. Grant and tarred future president James Garfield and vice-president Schuyler Colfax, among many other prominent politicians. The incident remains a symbol of the corruption that existed in America's Gilded Age.

Margaret Sankey

See also Economics; French Empire

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Crime

Although there was much variation in the practices and operations of colonial powers and in the purposes for which colonies were established and maintained, colonizing nations did share certain underlying agendas. For example, colonial powers shared concerns about sustaining extractive economies and producing raw materials for metropolitan industry and consumption; about developing and extending colonial markets for metropolitan production; about provisioning and supporting military bases; and about providing way stations on the routes to far-flung colonies or markets.

In order to control their subject populations, to ensure public order, and to maintain adequate supplies of labor for settler agriculture, mines, and industries, colonial states depended on complex systems of relationships both with individuals (chiefs, group leaders, local power brokers) and with influential political and religious groups. The legal relationships established through the imposition of the colonial condition expressed hierarchical classifications of social and economic status, making rigid and concrete existing classifications and creating new ones. These legal relationships also conceptualized and manifested differing but nonetheless specific notions of dominance and social control. Through legislation, judicial actions, and coercive policing, ambiguous and expedient definitions of criminality, of criminal behavior, and of

crime itself were utilized as integral components of the structuring of the colonial state. Implicit in all colonial relationships was a hegemony of coercion and violence that ultimately depended on the power and effectiveness of the military forces but was expressed on a more immediate and day-to-day basis through the workings of the colonial administration and through the operations of the police force as it interpreted and enforced colonial laws. Crucial to the notion of the colonial state was the acquisition of a legal monopoly on violence and force, through the suppression of other potential players in the colony or territory. Although military force was used to subdue and control overtly political threats (from previous or would-be holders of political power), much activity directed at the state, such as banditry, was dealt with not by the military but by the police (although sometimes acting in conjunction with military forces) and was defined as criminal rather than political activity.

What was defined as a crime (or as a criminal act) was a shifting and often-ambiguous entity, both in terms of legislative or administrative articulation from above and in terms of the multiple meanings that rulers and ruled could read even in such a supposedly clear-cut act as murder: an act of killing by one indigenous person against another, for example, might be read by the colonized community as justified because it revenged an act of adultery or a slight on the person's honor but read as murder by the colonizers; an act of killing by an indigene against a colonist could be read as murder by the colonizers but as a noble act of rebellion by the colonized; and an act of killing by a colonist against indigenous people might be read as justifiable defense by the rulers and as murder by the colonized. Such differing narratives flow through colonial history, refracting realities and mirroring the ambiguities inherent in the colonial experience of dominance/insecurity, oppression/fear.

Indeed, the very structures of colonialism provided fertile breeding grounds for ambiguous interfaces between the political and the criminal in the administration of public order. As a means of controlling labor, for instance, many colonies introduced laws designed specifically to register and keep track of labor forces. Men (and in some cases, women) were required to carry (at all times) a pass book or other identity document

that detailed their personal and employment history and enabled employers, police, and bureaucrats to check the bona fides of the person concerned. Clearly, such laws also facilitated social and political control of populations and of individuals and groups that might be inclined toward subversive activity. Simultaneously, such pass laws (as they were named in South Africa) or other similar pieces of legislation were often perceived by the colonized as representing the cutting edge of their oppression, as being both the symbol and the artifact of their colonization, and thus as having political meaning. This political meaning was also derived from the criminalization of acts such as leaving employment without the employer's permission (desertion), no matter how valid the reason was in the eyes of the worker concerned (a death in his family, village business, a simple rejection of coerced labor).

Colonial legal systems favored colonists in many subtle ways. An indigenous laborer who had a fine imposed for an offense would rarely be able to raise the funds and so would be imprisoned or flogged. In addition, colonial courts were often notorious for the leniency with which they dealt with European offenders as opposed to indigenous offenders.

So, too, from the Caribbean to British India, from China to Brazil, by the application of the criminal law and the discourse that produced it, a group of rioters could be redefined from a crowd expressing political or economic grievances to an uncontrollable and essentially criminal mob; a mob could be reappropriated as part of a nationalist political narrative; and several individuals could be transformed into a crowd acting in concert and with common purpose. The depiction depended on the interpretations applied by different protagonists and observers and on the hegemony of dominant narratives (which changed over time, dependent in their turn on changing political and social environments).

Fundamental to the colonial agenda—and the product of a profound notion of racially based superiority—was the concept of the “civilizing mission,” whether this was used simply as a justification and rationalization of labor and social practices that would no longer have been tolerated in the metropole or whether it was actually believed and articulated, through, for ex-

ample, the idea of instilling a work ethic in what were perceived to be shiftless and feckless indigenous populations, lacking a sense of responsibility and even a sense of the passing of time. Implicit in colonial attitudes of superiority were conservative ideas about moral order, its construction and preservation, and the dangers of consequent criminal behavior if the moral order was transgressed. Closely linked with these were deep-rooted colonialist insecurities and pollution anxieties, grounded in fears of “unhealthy” tropical and subtropical environments (“the white man's grave”), in the perceived lack of care for cleanliness on the part of indigenous populations, and in the perceived incomprehensible violence of those populations and, in particular, the potential for specific forms of violence such as assault and rape against colonizers. As a consequence, the phenomenon of the moral panic was a not infrequent visitor to colonial parts. Much of the indigenous practice in the moral and legal sphere was seen as inferior and in need of uplifting. Paradoxically, though, many colonial bureaucrats and administrators recognized there was a significant role for customary law and the continuation of indigenous court practice alongside and within the imposed colonial justice systems. Indeed, customary law, with its inherent fluidity and situational interpretations, was extensively used as a means of legitimizing colonial rule.

Crime in colonial systems carried socially constructed meanings, peculiar to the particular relationships of dominance and control that colonization implies. Those meanings differed from colony to colony and from colonial power to colonial power even as they preserved essential common characteristics of social control and authority.

Joan Wardrop

See also Colonial Administration; Law; Penal Colonies; Piracy; Police and Policing; Torture

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Crimean War

The only major multipower conflict between the great imperialist states of Europe between 1815 and 1914, the Crimean War serves as an outstanding example of how imperial rivalries could escalate petty squabbles into a major war.

In 1852, the recently proclaimed emperor Napoleon III of France negotiated an agreement with the Ottoman Turkish sultan Abdul Mejid I, allowing French Catholics certain pilgrimage rights in Palestine. Czar Nicholas I was outraged by what he saw as interference in a Russian sphere of influence; the 1774 Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji recognized Russia as a legitimate defender of Christian rights within the Ottoman domain. The sultan, emboldened by French and British hints that they would come to Turkey's aid, refused to revoke the French concession. Nicholas in turn occupied the disputed Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which controlled access to the vital Danube River. Again emboldened by French and British support, Turkey declared war on Russia in October 1853.

Russia struck the first telling blow, destroying a Turkish fleet at Sinope in November. British newspapers carried brutal "eyewitness" accounts (keen eyesight indeed to pick out details in the Black Sea from a vantage point in London) of Russian atrocities at sea and thundering anti-Russian editorials that inflamed public opinion. Both Britain and France declared war on Russia in March 1854. The tiny northern Italian state of Piedmont-Sardinia, eager to curry favor with the liberal Western powers, joined them in January 1855.

Once war was declared, the Turks and their allies lacked any real objectives. The Royal Navy fought some engagements in the Baltic, but this was rather far from Turkey. In the Black Sea, nothing happened for several months as Britain and France mustered their forces, and more important, tried to develop a plan of action. Ultimately, the decision was made to attack the main Russian Black Sea naval base at Sevastopol. Landings in the Crimea commenced in September 1854. The bloody Battles of Balaklava and Inkerman forced the Russians into a defensive posture in Sevastopol. After an embarrassingly long siege, the city fell in September 1855.

Nicholas I died on February 18, 1855. His successor, Alexander II, inherited the increasingly unpopular, expensive war and a host of internal problems. The fall of Sevastopol and diplomatic pressure from the Austrian empire convinced him it was time to negotiate a settlement. Austria had been coerced into a more active role in the crisis through some diplomatic blackmail on the part of the French and the British; both suggested they would be more inclined to support Piedmont-Sardinia's interests against Austria in Venetia and Lombardy if the Hapsburg court did not cooperate. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris, signed on March 30, 1856. The only substantial provision of the document forbade a Russian naval presence in the Black Sea, a provision that could not be enforced because the victors were not prepared to maintain a substantial naval force there in perpetuity.

Melvin C. Smith

See also Napoleon III; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire; War and Warfare

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Croatia

Croatia, currently an independent Balkan state but for most of the twentieth century a component republic of the Federal State of Yugoslavia, is a crescent-shaped nation in the southwestern Balkans, situated along the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. From the early sixteenth century through the end of the seventeenth, the Kingdom of Croatia was the subject of disputes between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires.

The Croats, a tribe of Slavic people, originally settled in Dalmatia (modern-day Croatia) in the seventh century C.E. Converting to Christianity shortly thereafter, the Roman Catholic Croats have maintained a nationalist and religious distinctiveness from their more powerful Orthodox Christian neighbors and fellow Slavs, the Serbs to the east, for much of their history.

In the late eleventh century, the Kingdom of Croatia was absorbed into the Hungarian state, but it retained a great deal of autonomy, including its own assembly (known as the Sabor). In 1526, the Hungarians and Croats were defeated by the expanding Ottoman Empire at the Battle of Mohács, whereon most of Croatia fell under the suzerainty of the sultan until 1699. The rest of Croatia was turned into a military frontier region by the Austrians. From 1699 on, all of Croatia fell under the rule of Vienna.

Incorporated by Napoleon into his empire in the early nineteenth century, Croatia was returned to Austria following the Congress of Vienna in 1815. With the establishment of the dual monarchy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Croatia was once again divided between Vienna and the autonomous Hungarian monarchy.

With Austria's defeat in World War I, Croatia, against its own wishes, was incorporated into the newly created south Slav multinational Republic of Yugoslavia. But its Roman Catholic population chafed under the rule of the Orthodox Serbs, and during World War II, the Croats collaborated with the Nazis against the largely Serbian partisans under Josip Broz, also known as Marshal Tito, even though Tito himself was half Croatian.

Following World War II, Croatia once again became one of six republics in the socialist state of Yugoslavia. Following the death of Tito in 1980 and rising tensions among the component republics, Croatia broke away from Yugoslavia in 1991, an act that precipitated an uprising among the Serbs of Croatia, an invasion by Serbian forces, and a devastating civil war that lasted through much of the early 1990s.

James Ciment

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bonaparte, Napoleon; Ottoman Empire; Tito, Marshal; World War I; World War II; Yugoslavia

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Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658)

Puritan army general, statesman, and Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell was born in Huntingdon, England. Elected to the Long Parliament



Leader of the Puritan revolution and Lord Protector of England, Oliver Cromwell led a punitive expedition against Irish Catholics in 1649–1650, helping to subjugate that island to British rule. (Library of Congress)

in 1640, he became deeply critical not only of royal government but also of the high command in the army. In the Civil War in England, he backed Gen. Thomas Fairfax's New Model Army, and as a brilliant cavalry general, he won notable victories against King Charles I, capturing the king at Nasby in June 1645. After he had swept aside the Presbyterian opposition in Parliament that favored negotiation and compromise with the king, the rump Parliament that was left under Cromwell began the trial of King Charles I on January 1, 1649; the king was executed on January 30.

Cromwell faced a formidable threat from Ireland and sent 20,000 troops, a huge artillery train, and a large navy to begin an Irish campaign that lasted from August 1649 to May 1650. Posing as God's liberator from Irish barbarism, royal misrule, and Catholic hypocrisy, Cromwell

together with his forces inflicted massacres in the sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, vengeful retaliation for the earlier 1641 Catholic massacres of Protestants in Ulster. Dominant in England from 1649 until his death, Cromwell suppressed Catholic and royalist resistance; executed, transported, and imprisoned large numbers of Catholic clergy from Ireland; and oversaw the wholesale confiscation of Catholic-held lands. The controversial Cromwellian land settlement of Ireland involved the displacement of Catholics to poor lands west of the River Shannon and the redistribution of 1 million acres of profitable land to over 1,000 English adventurers.

Cromwell was generally successful in foreign wars; for example, his fleet destroyed the Barbary corsairs at Algiers and Tunis. His 1654–1655 “Western Design” represented the first deployment of the armed forces in the interests of transoceanic colonization, as opposed to his Irish land settlement, but it ultimately accomplished little other than adding the island of Jamaica to Britain’s territory. Even that colonial acquisition did not serve as a base for operations against the Spanish on the American mainland, as he had hoped it would. His trade policy in the first Navigation Act of 1651 restricted trade in sugar by excluding foreign merchants from all West Indies commerce. This and subsequent acts were aimed at the Dutch, who were declared economic enemies by the Cromwellian state, and were also intended to increase state dominance over the English plantations. But in Barbados, colonists rejected Cromwell’s mercantile principles in favor of their former free trade; indeed, many remained royalist sympathizers and wanted independence from the English Commonwealth and the dictates of Cromwellian imperialism.

Ironically in light of his intolerance to Catholics, Cromwell was responsible for the readmission of Jews into England; they had been banned since the days of Edward I in the thirteenth century. He died on September 3, 1658, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; British West Indies; Christianity; Ireland

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Crusades

The Crusades were a series of religiously motivated military campaigns in Europe and the Middle East that were called for in 1095 by Pope Urban II at the Council of Claremont. The overarching goals of the successive waves of Crusades between 1095 and 1291 were, first, to protect fellow Christians in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem and, second, to support the Christian Byzantine Empire against the Muslims. The Crusades acted as a powerful force for peace within Europe while advocating war and territorial conquest abroad.

During the First Crusade, from 1095 to 1101, European armies, assembled in Constantinople, turned southward, capturing the fortified city of Antioch in 1098 and Jerusalem on July 15, 1099. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, ruled by various European nobles, encompassed the coastal area that included Antioch, Edessa, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. In 1144, Muslims recaptured Edessa, Pope Eugenius III called for the Second Crusade (which ended in defeat), and the Muslim leader Saladin conquered Egypt and Aleppo, thereby effectively surrounding the crusader states. After a victory at the Battle of Hattin, Saladin recaptured Jerusalem on October 2, 1187. Pope Gregory VIII called for the Third Crusade under the leadership of Frederick Barbarossa, who drowned before reaching the Holy Land. In 1191, Richard I (Richard the Lionhearted) captured Cyprus before joining Philip II (Augustus of France) in seizing and capturing Acre. Unable to reach Jerusalem, Richard negotiated a five-year truce with Saladin that gave pilgrims the right of safe passage to the holy places in Jerusalem. In 1198, Pope Innocent III called for the Fourth Crusade, this time targeting Egypt, but financial difficulties involving the Venetians diverted the armies to Constantinople, where they sacked the Byzantine city. In 1212, the Children’s Crusade ended with thousands of children either dead through shipwrecks and disease or sold into slavery by unscrupulous merchants and sea captains. Three years later, the pope called for the Fifth Crusade, which ended without any significant gains. In 1229, Frederick II of Germany set out on the

Sixth Crusade, avoiding military conflict by negotiating the return of Jerusalem to the Christians for a period of ten years. After the Turks sacked Jerusalem, Louis IX of France led the Seventh Crusade into Egypt, but like the first Egyptian adventure, this effort failed. The rise of the Mamluks signaled the end of the crusader states, with the last European stronghold falling in 1291. Thereafter, European involvement in Cyprus and Greece continued, but the eastern Mediterranean world fell under the control of Muslim rulers

Cynthia Northrup

See also Byzantine Empire; Christianity; Islam; Palestine; Religion; War and Warfare

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Cuba

Cuba's location at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea only enhanced its appeal to different colonial and national powers who sought to control or influence it. Spain was the first, claiming the island during Christopher Columbus's first voyage to the New World. As the Spanish occupied Cuba and established seven settlements between 1512 and 1515, the patterns that came to dominate the exploration and settlement of the mainland, including the decimation of the Amerindians, were born. The discovery of gold in Mexico and Peru meant that Spain's focus shifted to the mainland, yet Cuba's location helped it to remain a strategically important holding, particularly as the final stop for Spanish treasure ships returning to Europe. Spain briefly lost Havana to British naval forces in 1762 during the Seven Years' War, but it regained the city in exchange for Florida. As the wave of independence swept through the Latin American colonies in the early 1800s, Cuba remained the Spaniards' "Ever Faithful Isle," but by the end of the century, Spain had lost the island.

With the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Cuba had succeeded in ridding itself of Spanish control, but increasingly, it found itself drawn into the sphere of the United States. The relationship between the two countries was not a new one, however, as some U.S. and Cuban leaders had long toyed with the idea of Cuba's annexation

or admission to the Union. From 1899 to 1902, Cuba remained under U.S. military occupation and rule. During that time, extensive U.S. speculation in Cuban real estate, mines, railroads, and other investments, together with the Platt Amendment to the 1901 Cuban constitution, only strengthened economic and political ties. Among the amendment's provisions was the clause that allowed the United States to intervene in order to maintain a stable government in Cuba and to ensure the island's independence. Until the measure was abrogated in 1934, the United States invoked the Platt Amendment several times, intervening militarily from 1906 to 1909, in 1912, and again from 1917 to 1922. However, the United States remained vitally interested in the Cuban political climate. For example, Washington worked behind the scenes through Ambassador Sumner Welles in 1933 to help oust the president, Gen. Gerardo Machado, and encourage Fulgencio Batista to form a new government. During much of the 1950s, the United States maintained good relations with the Batista government, but as the country became increasingly embroiled in a civil war led in the east by Fidel Castro, Washington imposed an arms embargo. Early on January 1, 1959, Batista fled the country, and soon after, Castro entered Havana and declared himself prime minister.

Although Fidel Castro officially did not declare his status as a Marxist-Leninist until November 1961, his disdain for the United States was a central feature of his character from early on, as many biographers have noted. The Castro government's confiscation of U.S.-owned land, businesses, and other properties prompted President Dwight Eisenhower to impose a trade embargo against Cuba. By January 1961, diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba had been severed. The Soviet Union quickly stepped in, and in 1962, it began installing missiles on the island, partly in response to a U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. The placement of the missiles led to a crisis that nearly set off nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. From the 1960s to the 1980s, economic, military, and political ties between Cuba and the Soviet Union strengthened. The collapse of the Soviet bloc and the Soviet Union itself in the late 1980s and early 1990s left Cuba to search for allies elsewhere.

Charlotte A. Cosner



Heir to a long tradition of Cuban revolutionaries, Fidel Castro led a successful revolt against U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista. Like other Third World revolutionaries, Castro considered the United States the neocolonial heir of European empire. (Library of Congress)

See also Batista, Fulgencio; Castro, Fidel; Columbus, Christopher; Eisenhower, Dwight; Havana; Martí, José; Mexico; Peru; Soviet Union; Spanish Empire; Ten Years' War; United States

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Cyprus

The strategic position of Cyprus, located in the eastern Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Turkey and Syria and at the crossroads between Egypt and Greece, resulted in a number of civilizations colonizing the island throughout history. From the seventeenth century to the thirteenth century

B.C.E., several ethnic groups migrated to the island, eventually forming a unique civilization that was disrupted by the arrival of the Sea Peoples, a mysterious people believed to be from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. After the disaster passed, Macedonian Greeks migrated as settlers to the isle, bringing with them their language and customs. From the thirteenth century B.C.E. to the present, the influence of this group of immigrants dominates the culture. Over the next several millennia, successive civilizations sought to control this key location, including the Phoenicians in the Early Iron Age, the Assyrians in 709 B.C., the Egyptians in 569 B.C., and the Persians in 545 B.C.E. By the fifth century B.C.E., the Greeks assisted the Cypriots in resisting the oppression of the Persians, but these efforts failed until Alexander the Great defeated them in 333 B.C.E. The Macedonian king granted the inhabitants their independence,

but on his death, the Ptolemies reasserted control over the land for the next 300 years. By 30 B.C.E., the island had passed from Cleopatra to the Roman Empire. In 649 C.E., the Arabs invaded, destroying much of the island's history and reinforcing their rule through colonization. In 964, Cyprus reverted back to the Byzantine Empire. Thereafter, the island was ruled by Richard the Lionhearted, beginning in 1191, the Knights Templar, and then a French dynasty.

By 1571, the Turks conquered Cyprus and maintained control until 1878, when the British established military rule. Under British rule, the Greek Cypriots fought for union with Greece, only

to have their efforts frustrated by the British Foreign Office. With the end of colonialism after World War II, another attempt at unification occurred but failed. After a period of independence from 1959 to 1974, the island was partitioned. The existence of two dominant ethnic groups—the Greeks and the Turks—closely allied to their homelands has resulted in continued strife both on the island and throughout the region and world.

Cynthia Northrup

See also British Empire; Ottoman Empire

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D

Da Gama, Vasco (1469–1524)

Vasco da Gama was a Portuguese navigator who led the first European expedition to reach India by sea. His initial voyage to India—a Portuguese attempt at confirming the possibility of reaching India by sailing south, along the coast of Africa—changed the course of European history. Da Gama's voyage was a follow-up to an earlier expedition led by Bartolomeu Dias, who in 1488 had rounded the southern tip of Africa (known as the Cape of Good Hope). Due to a lack of provisions, Dias's expedition had been forced to return to Portugal. Da Gama's voyage was, therefore, an attempt to discover what lay beyond the southern tip of Africa.

Da Gama left Portugal on July 8, 1497, with four ships and a crew of between 148 and 168 men. They sailed south and, on November 5, rounded the Cape of Good Hope. They continued sailing along the east coast of Africa before reaching India on May 20, 1498, arriving at Calicut, which was the most important trade center in southern India at the time. Muslim traders controlled the commerce in Calicut and were very hostile to the Portuguese. In India, the act of offering gifts was very common and considered an sign of respect and subordination to local leaders. The monarch of Calicut was not impressed by the Portuguese, since da Gama did not bring him any impressive gifts, such as gold.

Bartolomeu Dias had not sailed with da Gama, but he had helped in organizing this expedition

and had supplied da Gama's ships with goods that were in high demand on the coast of West Africa. However, on arriving in India, da Gama was advised by local people that these same goods were not considered suitable gifts for the local high authorities. Thus, he did not present any of those items to the monarch of Calicut. This lack of protocol led the monarch to side with the Muslim traders and to spurn the Portuguese. Obviously, this was not a good start to the relationship between the Portuguese and the monarch. In the tense atmosphere, da Gama decided to leave Calicut to further explore the coast of India and that of East Africa. He left the city at the end of August and reached Portugal in September 1499.

Although he returned from India without a trading agreement, with no major cargo, and with only around fifty crew members alive, he was received as a hero by the Portuguese. Da Gama had finally vindicated Portugal in its pursuit of a southern African sea passage to the East.

As a result of his exploits, da Gama was made an admiral, and in 1502, he led another Portuguese expedition to India. This time, he was able to establish alliances with some local leaders and to establish a stronger Portuguese role in that region. Da Gama returned to Portugal in early October with a rich cargo of spices. Having become a rich man, he did not sail to the East again for another twenty years. In 1524, granted the important title of viceroy of India, he sailed to Indian waters



Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama. Da Gama's successful 1498 voyage to India opened up an eastern sea route from Europe to Asia. (Library of Congress)

for the third and last time. Da Gama died about three months after his arrival.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Portuguese presence in India flourished. By 1510, the city of Goa was conquered, and it became the center of the Portuguese Empire in India. In 1961, Goa as well as Damão and Diu (the other two Portuguese colonial possessions in India) won their independence after a short and successful incursion by the Indian army against a badly outnumbered and ill-equipped Portuguese garrison, thus ending the first European colonial presence in India.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Exploration; India; Portuguese Empire

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Dakar

A French colonial city at the westernmost bulge of Africa, Dakar was established by French troops in

1868 at the site of a small village opposite the island of Gorée. Although the island had been associated with the West African slave trade to the Americas, it was not one of the major continental points of embarkation. And the impetus for the development of a new metropolis on the mainland was, in fact, the creation of a port for the export of peanuts to satisfy growing European demands for vegetable oils. In less than a decade, the basic infrastructure for a modern port was in place, and by 1885, the railroad north to St.-Louis—the first rail line in West Africa—had been completed; in turn, the trade in peanuts encouraged further growth of the city, and its inhabitants, both African and European, were considered French citizens.

As a relatively new town, Dakar was originally designed on a European model with attractive plazas and (by African standards) imposing buildings, although like most such cities in West Africa, it was not exceptionally well planned. Europeans never constituted more than about 10 percent of the total population, the rest being Africans and French-speaking Creoles. The city not only served as a commercial center but also, following the 1895 creation of the Federation of French West Africa, as the administrative capital of the entire region. And as citizens of one of the four communes (the others being Gorée, Rufisque, and St.-Louis), Dakar's inhabitants were subject to French law and French courts (although Muslims were allowed access to Islamic courts); they also were able to elect representatives to local governing bodies and one delegate to the French National Assembly. In 1914, one resident of Dakar, Blaise Diagne, who had served as a French civil servant in several colonies, became the first African elected to the assembly.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the city grew dramatically, reaching a population of about 20,000 at the end of World War I and nearly seven times that just after World War II. Although there never were legal provisions for racial segregation of the town, in practice there were separate sections for Europeans (the Plateau) and Africans (the Medina), with the latter set up to accommodate the influx of immigrants from the countryside. Despite the importance of the city as a rail center and a port, it was not until the independence of Senegal that Dakar increasingly became an industrial city. From 1903, Gorée was the location of the William Ponty School, which pro-

vided teacher training for all of France's West African colonies, and an African medical school opened in Dakar as early as 1918. But the full University of Dakar was not created until 1954. In these and other ways, Dakar was quite typical of colonial cities not only in Africa but elsewhere within the European empires as well.

Melvin E. Page

See also French West Africa; Ponty, William; Senegal; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Dalhousie, James, Tenth Earl of Dalhousie (1812–1860)

James Dalhousie, governor-general of India from 1847 to 1856, was a leading figure of the pre-Mutiny era of the British Raj. Born in Scotland, he entered Parliament in 1837 as a disciple of Sir Robert Peel. He gained administrative experience and expertise on railroads at the Board of Trade, becoming president in 1845. In 1847, the Whig government recognized Dalhousie's promise by naming him governor-general, the youngest ever appointed.

The years of Dalhousie's term were among the most turbulent and significant in the history of modern India. Although the country seemed peaceful, long-simmering tensions soon led to conflict, resulting in the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. Dalhousie also addressed hostilities with Burma, presiding over the annexation of Rangoon and the rest of Pegu Province in 1852. Although Dalhousie managed these wars successfully, his preferred policy was the peaceful consolidation of British India. He concluded important alliances with Indian rulers and rationalized the doctrine of "lapse," through which states belonging to Indian princes who did not have heirs would become British possessions. In his most controversial move, Dalhousie approved the annexation of Oudh because of its ruler's incompetence. Many of Britain's Indian troops came from Oudh, and they were angered by the treatment of their homeland. Dalhousie's efforts to consolidate and regularize British holdings contributed to resentments that would erupt in the Mutiny of 1857.

Dalhousie's purpose was not simply to acquire territory for Britain but also to provide India with modern, efficient government in a coherent, centralized state. Drawing on his Board of Trade background, he focused on developing a communication and transportation network linking the dispersed Indian states. He directed the planning of India's railway system and instituted both electric telegraph lines and a centralized postal system. His attention to public works stimulated ongoing British investment in India's economic development.

As a Peelite reformer, Dalhousie also favored social changes in India. He firmly resisted female infanticide and human sacrifice and encouraged the remarriage of widows. He emphasized the importance of education, supporting the use of the vernacular in schools and the education of girls while also creating new opportunities for Indians to learn Western ideas and techniques. In all his endeavors, Dalhousie dedicated himself to what he called the "moral and material progress" of India.

Exhausted by the intense challenges of his term, Dalhousie left India in 1856. Although the timing of the Mutiny's outbreak in 1857 can be partly attributed to Dalhousie's annexations and reforms, his promotion of Indian modernization established a solid foundation on which his successors built to strengthen India's ties to Britain.

Susan H. Farnsworth

See also British Empire; Burma; India

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Danish Empire

At the height of Danish power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Danish kingdom possessed a large but scattered colonial empire. To the north, it included Norway, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and settlements on the southern tip of Greenland that were established in the 1730s. Until 1658, the southernmost province of Sweden, Scania, was also a part of Denmark. In the Southern Hemisphere, the Danes held fortress towns on the Gold Coast of Africa, in present-day Ghana and Burkina Faso, in India, in Tranquebar and Bengal,

and in the West Indies (the islands of St. Croix, St. Johns, and St. Thomas).

These possessions held different legal statuses within the kingdom and were treated as administratively distinct. The northern provinces had fallen under Danish control as a result of the Union of Kalmar Treaty in 1380 and were defined (along with the German-speaking provinces of Schleswig and Holstein south of the Jutland peninsula) as legally inseparable provinces of the kingdom. The southern settlements, which were established during seventeenth-century explorations under Christian IV, were essentially treated as purely economic ventures, where the major trade was in slaves from the Gold Coast to the sugar plantations in the West Indies.

Following the Danish alliance with France and defeat in the Napoleonic Wars, Denmark declined radically as an economic and political power. Norway was given to Sweden in the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, and Schleswig and Holstein were lost in wars with the German Confederation in 1864 (although part of Holstein was returned following the defeat of Germany in World War I). Economic pressures led Denmark to sell its African and Indian territories to Great Britain in the 1840s and the West Indies to the United States in 1917, as the abolition of slavery in 1848 had diminished the economic value of these possessions. Furthermore, the Icelanders successfully petitioned the Danish government for independence during the nineteenth century, leading to an agreement that gave the island its freedom in 1944.

Today, of these former possessions, Denmark retains only Greenland and the Faroe Islands. In both provinces, home rule has been established (in 1944 in the Faroes and 1979 in Greenland). Significant political parties in both regions advocate independence, and the Danish government has engaged in talks with the Faroese Islanders on the question; however, the ability of these islands to support themselves economically without the Danish state remains an open question. In recent years, there has been more political willingness in Denmark to come to terms with the country's colonial past, and apologies and financial compensation have been issued by the government to the Inuit (Eskimo) natives of Greenland for past mistreatment.

Karen Oslund

See also Swedish Empire; Virgin Islands

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Dawes Plan

As the policy of gathering Indians and placing them on reservations became a dominating concern of U.S. policy, another group of nationalistic Americans felt that the Indians had to lose their unique way of life and become Indian Americans. This component of what can be seen as internal colonization culminated in the Dawes Act of 1887. This act reduced Indian lands from 138 million acres to a mere 48 million. It further provided the necessary surplus land needed for internal expansion. The act was also justified as a way to force individualism among the Indians and extended them the rights of U.S. citizenship. The final result of the Dawes Act was an attempt to ultimately destroy any semblance of Indian culture.

The Indians, who had little input in the passage of the Dawes Act, attempted to resist and reacted in various ways to preserve their culture. These attempts were both violent and nonviolent in nature. With the surplus land opened to white settlers, the Apache tribes conducted small raiding parties, and they perfected a hit-and-run guerrilla warfare that horrified the settlers. The army of the 1870s and 1880s, unable to control these attacks, relied on Indian fighters such as Gen. George Crook and Gen. Nelson Miles, with their Indian scouts, to deal with the raiding Indian parties. The Apaches had their own celebrities, among them the headstrong Geronimo. After years of violent struggle, the Indians were induced to surrender, and the government rounded up nearly 500 Apaches and sent them as prisoners to Florida. The Indian scouts that had aided Crook and Miles were sent there as well. The harsh conditions that resulted in a large number of death, both from illness and from suicide, raised a public outcry, and eventually, the Indians were moved to Oklahoma and later to New Mexico. Geronimo died in 1909 and was buried in Oklahoma. Large-scale raiding of white settlements waned.

The nonviolent form of resistance was an equally effective outlet for Indian resistance. The Plains Indians introduced religion as a nonviolent

reaction to the attempts at exterminating the Indian culture. This religion—known as the Ghost Dance—combined elements of Christianity and traditional Indian religion. The Paiute shaman Wovoka claimed that he had a vision in which the Great Spirit spoke to him. This Great Spirit urged the unity of all Indians in an ultimate destruction of the whites. Further, the vision revealed that Indian warriors previously killed in battle would come back to life, and the buffalo would once again roam the land. This message of hope was appealing to Indians all over the Plains states, such as Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, and the Oklahoma territory. Even the diversity of the tribes involved only gave different interpretations of both the dance and the religion. Although the religion was nonviolent in nature, some of the more militant tribes taught that the wearing of white ghost shirts made Indians invulnerable to the bullets of the soldiers. This form of nonviolence was seen as a wild craziness; it frightened the whites and convinced President William Henry Harrison to dispatch a multitude of federal troops to handle any overzealous use of the religion. As the celebrated Sitting Bull attempted to meet with Wovoka, he was caught up in the massacre at Wounded Knee. Combined with the demise of the violent faction of resistance, this event ultimately ended the Indian way of life.

The Dawes Act was successful in accomplishing its stated goals. It opened up lands for white settlers, eliminated the Indian way of life, and reduced any future threat that the Indians might pose to the internal colonization and expansion project of the United States.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Americans, Native

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De Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970)

Charles de Gaulle was born in 1890 in Lille, France. He began his career as an officer in the French army, holding commands during World War I and in Poland. During World War II, in May 1940, he was named brigadier general but left for London a month later because he did not accept the armis-

tice between France and Germany. On June 18, de Gaulle asked the French, via the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), to continue to fight against the Germans. In his call to arms, he reminded his compatriots that they were not alone, since they had a vast empire to support them in their struggle against the enemy. De Gaulle's relationship with France's colonies thus began in the very first days of his political career and became even more intense when several of them pledged their allegiance to the Allies and the Free French.

During the war, de Gaulle frequently stated his intention to renovate the French Empire. In December 1943, for example, a document released by the Free French pledged that, once the war was over, they would reform the administrative arrangement in Indochina to give each of its countries a greater degree of political, financial, and economic autonomy. Important segments of de Gaulle's entourage, however, were not so generous, as indicated by the recommendations issued at the end of the Brazzaville Conference on the future of France's colonies. This document stated that France's colonies, especially in Africa, could not aspire to any kind of autonomy in the short or long term, even though they could and should be represented more fully within France's democratic and administrative institutions. Even these moderate recommendations were further watered down in the constitution of the Fourth Republic, passed in 1946.

After retiring from political life in January 1946, de Gaulle founded a political party that received much of its support from the right end of the French political spectrum; most of its adherents advocated a vigorous response against the various nationalist movements that appeared in the 1940s and 1950s. De Gaulle nevertheless remained silent on most political issues, including the colonial question, until 1958, when the situation in Algeria had deteriorated so thoroughly that the French government no longer fully controlled the affairs of the nation. As a result, the National Assembly invited de Gaulle to head a transitional government for a six-month period. He proceeded with a major reform of France's political system, which led, in December 1958, to the Fifth Republic; de Gaulle became its first president.

In his early speeches on the Algerian conflict, de Gaulle chose to reassure those who wanted

France to defeat completely the nationalists and maintain a strong presence in Algeria. But de Gaulle always remained lucid about the situation and understood that France would have to pull out of the region in the near future or face a deadly stalemate. In June 1960, therefore, he invited several Algerian nationalists to participate in exploratory talks in France. Although these discussions were far from conclusive, they laid the foundations for further negotiations between the two parties. When the French strongly backed their president's initiatives in a referendum in January 1961, several of de Gaulle's erstwhile supporters launched an insurrection in Algeria to try to kill the peace process. This unsuccessful action only strengthened de Gaulle's resolve to get out of Algeria. In March 1962, the governments of France and Algeria signed the Evian Agreements, putting an end to the conflict.

In spite of this major achievement and although virtually all of France's former colonies gained independence by the end of the 1960s, de Gaulle maintained very close ties with most of them and even developed intense relationships with some of their new leaders. His attitude has frequently been characterized as paternalistic, and some say these paternalistic relations were pursued more or less unchanged by subsequent French governments. De Gaulle stepped down as president in September 1969 and died the following year in Colombey-les-Deux-Église, France.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Algeria; French Empire; World War II

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Decolonization

By definition, the process of decolonization was simply the removal of colonial rulers from those territories that had been subject to colonial governance by peoples other than the indigenous inhabitants. But the term is popularly used to refer to the end, in fits and starts, of colonial empires in Africa, Asia, and the Americas following World War II.

The experiences of that conflict—including the rapid rise and demise of the Japanese Empire and

the threat that it had posed to the older European empires—were instrumental in convincing many people that the promise of self-determination articulated by Woodrow Wilson after World War I was ready to be realized. In part, this was due to the demonstrated weakness of the colonial powers in the face of Japanese, Italian, and German aggression, but it was attributed to the willingness of the colonial nations not only to accept but also frequently to demand that their colonial subjects come to the defense of the colonial powers themselves. Military service by Africans, Asians, and Caribbean peoples in defense of the empires and nations that governed them—not unknown since at least the time of the Seven Years' War in the eighteenth century—had, by the middle twentieth century, persuaded many colonial subjects of the need to be politically free of external rule.

With the expression of these ideas in the Quit India Movement of Mohandas Gandhi and the declarations of pan-Africanism as a demand for political freedom that emerged from the 1945 Pan-Africanist Congress in Manchester, it became clear that a decolonization process had begun. Similar ideas were expressed in the United States and its colony, leading to the independence of the Republic of the Philippines in 1946, just a year before British India gave way to the new nations of India and Pakistan. Nonetheless, some continued to defend the colonial order throughout this period; their arguments followed two basic lines of reasoning. One of these was essentially the simple assertion of power, affirming that as representatives of political and economic power, the European colonialists deserved to continue to be masters of their colonies. Many more colonialists, however, based their arguments against rapid decolonization on the necessity for promoting good government and the education of their colonial subjects until they reached "a stage of literacy and political experience" (as the Watson Commission put it in 1948 regarding the Gold Coast) necessary to allow them to manage their own affairs successfully.

A third strand in the opposition to decolonization, however, depended on a totally different assessment of the African and Asian subjects of colonialism. This position is well illustrated in an account, recalled years later by a young American adviser to Haile Selassie, of comments by Phillip Mitchell (who was governor of Kenya until the

mid-1950s) when he was serving as an adviser to the British military in Ethiopia in 1944. After London had decided—against Mitchell’s advice—on a policy of providing British advisers to Emperor Haile Selassie rather than having a direct British military presence in an Ethiopia freed from Italian occupation, Mitchell explained the position to his colleagues. He asked if any would volunteer to serve the emperor, while at the same time making it clear he was opposed to the policy by urging that none of them actually “go chocolate.” His clear disdain for the peoples of Africa and Asia was certainly not uncommon. And this may, alas, help explain why the emerging nationalists increasingly were unwilling, as historian Rupert Emerson (1960) put it, to “accept good government as a substitute for self-government.”

Increasingly, the process of decolonization was fed by many such attitudes that identified colonialism with both overt and covert oppression of indigenous peoples. The idea that colonialism actually *encouraged*, if not by design then by its mere practice, feelings of inferiority among colonial subjects was a growing basis of more militant decolonization efforts. In the extreme, this led to the philosophy of therapeutic violence, like that advanced by Frantz Fanon, which perceived a violent process of decolonization as necessary to achieve the psychic health as well as the political independence of colonial territories. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, such ideas have come to dominate the ideologies of those who feel themselves oppressed, regardless of whether they remain colonized peoples.

Melvin E. Page

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Cold War; Fanon, Frantz; Gandhi, Mohandas; India; Japanese Empire; Pan-Africanism; Philippines; United States; War and Warfare; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I; World War II

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Delafosse, Maurice (1870–1926)

Linguist and ethnographer Maurice Delafosse, a native of the Cher region of France, began his career as a student of Arabic at France’s School of Oriental Languages in 1890. There, he became interested in African dialects, and through consultations with prisoners brought to France, he wrote and published a manual on the languages of Dahomey (1894).

Delafosse entered the colonial service that year and was stationed in Baoulé in the Ivory Coast. In 1896, he was named consul to Liberia, remaining in Monrovia for two years. In 1898, he returned to Baoulé and worked with the Ashanti. Two years later, he returned to France to teach Sudanese languages at his former school. Delafosse was then named as a member of the international commission charged with mapping the boundaries between French and English colonies, particularly along the Volta River: his adventures are chronicled in *Les Frontières de la Côte d’Ivoire, de la Côte d’Or et du Soudan* (The Frontiers of the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast and the Sudan) (1908). He took command of the administration of the area surrounding Koroko, Ivory Coast, in 1904 and of the region around Bamako, Sudan, in 1908. Delafosse was brought home a year later, for he had overstepped his bounds in trying to act as an adviser rather than an administrator and in advocating a lessening of French control. He went back to the School of Oriental Languages, and he also taught at the colonial school.

Assigned to Dakar shortly after World War I broke out, Delafosse served as French West Africa’s director of public affairs and then as its secretary-general, and he became its governor in 1918. Retiring at the end of 1919, he returned to France, resuming his duties at the language school and taking on the editorship of the journal *Dépêche Coloniale*. He also wrote for the *Revue d’Ethnographie* (Ethnographic Review), which he directed, *Anthropologie* (Anthropology), and other journals; in addition, he advised the colonial service and spoke against slavery at the Congress of Geneva in 1924.

Gail Tinsley

See also French Language; French West Africa

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Democracy

Democracy is a Western political system that contradicted the realities of European colonialism. The modern Western notion of democracy, which was originally inherited from the ancient Greeks and possibly the Phoenicians, was based on European Enlightenment beliefs in the rights of the individual and the French revolutionary ideals of liberty, fraternity, and equality. From the seventeenth century onward, a struggle to create democratic representative institutions that would provide responsible and accountable government was waged in various European countries. Truly representative democratic institutions and universal suffrage, which allowed women and the working classes to vote, were only achieved in European countries in the early decades of the twentieth century. This struggle for representative government occurred at the same time as European powers' efforts to colonize the world.

The brutal social, economic, political, and cultural realities of colonialism directly contradicted Western notions of democracy, liberty, and freedom. In an attempt to reconcile these disparate beliefs and practices, the notions of race and racial hierarchies were developed. Built around social Darwinism, these ideas placed European ethnic groups or “races” at the top of the racial hierarchy. They described themselves as progressive, civilized people, who had a duty to save so-called backward, primitive peoples from the depths of “savagery.” The British in particular justified their occupation of other lands, resources, and peoples by declaring that they had a mission to bring “enlightened” democratic principles and processes to their colonies. French colonial philosophy, which was based on assimilating colonies into the French nation, also claimed that all their colonial peoples would ultimately enjoy the benefits of liberty, fraternity, and equality.

As a greater number of colonized peoples gained access to Western education, they explored Western notions of democracy and freedom and were quick to seize on the hypocrisy of the Euro-

pean colonial powers. Some nationalist movements and individual nationalists became dedicated to achieving democratic self-government, using alien Western parliamentary and judicial institutions. For example, in India, Jawaharlal Nehru supported and worked for the adoption and further development of Western representative institutions. Other Indian nationalists, such as Mohandas Gandhi, believed that the colonial state, with its alien public institutions and focus on capitalism, would need to be dismantled in favor of the development of a truly Indian state system.

In the subsequent decolonization process, when the pressure of nationalist movements and other global factors forced colonial powers to grant former colonies self-government, the British in particular sought to leave behind fledgling democracies. Although their emphasis on taking a gradual constitutional path toward self-government was motivated by a desire to continue exerting an indirect but powerful influence over newly independent states, they began setting up quasi- and later fully representative democratic institutions in their colonies. The general British pattern was to establish an executive council of officials to advise the governor of the colony and then to form a legislative council to assist with preparing legislation. Gradually, more of these positions became elected. Another British pattern of gradual decolonization was to allow local affairs to be controlled by representative institutions while the British retained control of national affairs. The French, because of their commitment to their colonies assimilating into and later forming close association with the French nation, did not allow the development of separate democratic institutions in their colonies. Instead, the older colonies, including Algeria, were incorporated in metropolitan France, taking part in French elections by 1946. The Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish colonial powers took an authoritarian approach to colonialism and allowed very little democratic development in their colonies until just before independence. Although the Belgian colonizers left their colony, the Belgian Congo, with the institutions of representative democracy, their rapid acceleration of democratic development from 1957 to 1960 ensured that these institutions rapidly crumbled after independence.

Colonial rhetoric claims that the colonial powers, particularly Britain, left their former colonies

a positive democratic legacy. Although many started independent statehood with all the trappings of democracy (parliamentary representation, an independent judiciary, and a system of political checks and balances), some of these nations did not retain Western-style democracy for long. In other cases, different forms of democracy evolved, as in the case of several Asian countries, which political scientist Takashi Inoguchi argues developed Asian-style democracy. This form of democracy, through which several Asian governments achieved legitimacy and good governance, was characterized by a focus on shared economic growth enabled by minimal government interference and a system of one-party or coalition rule. The legacy many former colonies were left from their colonial masters was not parliamentary democracy, despite the development of all the external indicators and institutions. Instead, in many cases, they were bequeathed a rigid state system that had been designed to extract the economic wealth from the colony and sectarian strife caused by the importation of different ethnic groups to serve the colonial machine in diverse ways.

Catherine E. Manathunga

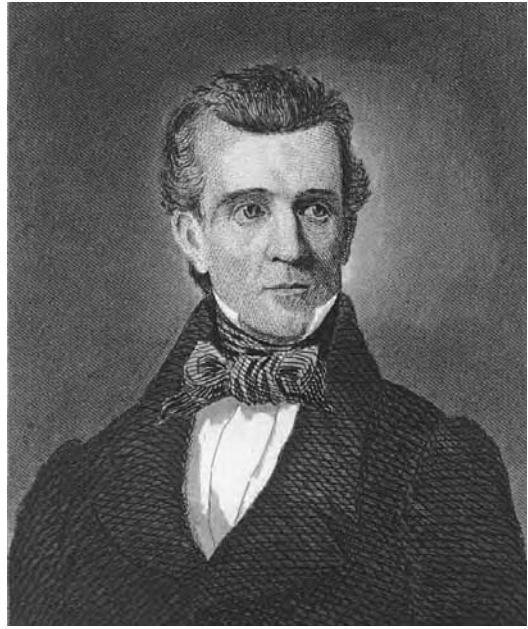
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Democratic Party (U.S.)

One of two major political parties in the United States, the Democratic Party has a long history of involvement in U.S. expansionism in North America in the nineteenth century, resistance to U.S. colonial acquisition overseas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and opposition to continuing European colonization of Asia and Africa in the post–World War II era.



The twelfth president of the United States, Democrat James Polk was an ardent expansionist. During his administration, from 1845 to 1849, the United States annexed the independent Republic of Texas, seized much of the Southwest from Mexico, and negotiated with the British for the Oregon Territory in the Pacific Northwest. (Library of Congress)

Founded by Thomas Jefferson and other anti-Federalists in the 1790s as the Democratic-Republican Party, the Democratic Party initially stood for a limitation on central government power and a belief that small landholding farmers represented the best basis for a functioning republic. But within three years of winning the presidency in 1800, Jefferson used the federal government to purchase the Louisiana Territory from France, thereby expanding U.S. territory by some 825,000 square miles, roughly doubling the size of the country.

During the antebellum period, the Democrats stood strongly for expansion in North America. Under Democratic president James Polk, the country settled a dispute with Britain over the Oregon Territory and fought and won a war with Mexico, which further expanded the United States to the Pacific Ocean. Along with territorial expansionism, the Democratic Party also stood for the expansion of slavery into the western territories.

During the late nineteenth century, the Democratic Party became increasingly dominated by the

interests of southerners, small farmers, and urban workers, whereas the Republicans became associated with business, the North, and the middle class. At the same time, Republicans became increasingly interested in expanding U.S. business interests. It was the Republican administration of William McKinley that saw the annexation of Hawaii and the war with Spain in 1898 that brought Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines under U.S. control.

Indeed, senatorial opposition to the annexation of the latter territory was spearheaded by Democrats, though for a variety of reasons. Some opposed the move on principle, arguing both that the United States, begun in a revolution against imperial authority, should not take colonies of its own and that imperialism and big government and a big military went hand in hand. For others, it was a matter of race. With no precedent of taking territory without incorporating it into the Union as a state, many southerners feared the annexation of the nonwhite island archipelago. Still others from the South feared that the Philippine-produced products, such as sugar, would compete with southern ones.

Still, it was liberal Democrats who would expand the party's horizons during much of the twentieth century, as they controlled the White House when the United States became involved in four major wars: World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. At the same time, it was Democratic presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt who promoted U.S. participation in international organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Both Republican and Democratic administrations backed U.S. intervention in the Americas, sending troops into Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, though it was Franklin Roosevelt who proposed the more cooperative, less interventionist Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America in the 1930s.

During the Cold War, the Democrats—often under attack by conservative Republicans—frequently tried to prove their anti-Communist credentials by promoting containment of the Soviet Union. America's loss in Vietnam in the 1970s led the Democrats to eschew anti-Communist crusades in the 1980s, but under the Democratic administration of President Bill Clinton, the United

States became involved in the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Democrats have stood behind Republican president George W. Bush in the international war against terrorism.

James Ciment

See also Guam; Hawaii; Jefferson, Thomas; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Republican Party; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States; Wilson, Woodrow

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Diamonds

Until the eighteenth century, Hyderabad in India produced most of world's diamonds. In the mid-1700s, the Minas Gerais region of Brazil began to produce large numbers of stones. Portuguese efforts to restrict production and to control smuggling in hopes of maintaining higher prices were not entirely successful, but along with gold, the carbon-based gems continued to make a major contribution to Brazil's economy.

In 1867, Boers from the Orange Free State and Africans (or Griquas) began to find diamonds on the banks of the Vaal River in South Africa. Not surprisingly, Britain's Cape Colony subsequently annexed the territory concerned. The longer-term future of the mines was secured when Cecil Rhodes's company, De Beers Consolidated, secured control of the diamond pipes—the origin of the alluvial diamonds previously worked—at Kimberley. This was the basis on which the company built its control of the South African industry, control that it ultimately extended to other diamond producers in Africa and, indeed, through De Beers's Central Selling Organization, to the marketing of virtually all the world's diamonds. Fairly draconian measures (including closed compounds and full-body searches) were introduced to prevent African mineworkers from smuggling diamonds out of the mines.

King Leopold's Congo Free State, as it was known, also benefited from extensive diamond deposits in the Kasai region. The Compagnie Forestière et Minière was formed in 1906 to exploit the

deposits of a colony that became the world's third most important producer. At about the same time, diamonds were found and began to be worked in Angola. In 1908, Zacharias Lewala, who had worked at Kimberley, recognized a stone as a rough diamond, and this helped launch German South West Africa's diamond-mining industry. Several West African colonies, both French and British, also saw the economically significant development of diamond mining. In other colonies, such as Indonesia, diamond deposits were too small to be commercially viable.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Angola; Boer War; Boers; Brazil; Cape Colony; Congo Free State; Leopold II; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa; South West Africa

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Disraeli, Benjamin (1804–1881)

One of the best-known and most fascinating and controversial of Queen Victoria's prime ministers, Benjamin Disraeli is indelibly associated with the heyday of the British Empire. As a young man, his imagination and his literary sensibilities were aroused by his travels in India and the Middle East, and he spoke of Britain's imperial prospects in grand and romantic terms throughout his long career. Once he joined the Conservative leadership in 1849, he frequently presented a policy of imperial consolidation as the principle that distinguished his party from its Liberal rivals. His most notable effort to invoke an imperial vision for political purpose was his Crystal Palace speech of 1872, in which he dedicated the Conservatives to the maintenance of British national institutions and the preservation of empire. Although never much interested in or informed about day-to-day issues of colonial administration, Disraeli consistently emphasized the importance of empire to Britain, foreshadowing the imperial activism of his great ministry between 1874 and 1880.

Under Disraeli, Britain annexed the Fiji Islands, extended its territorial commitments in West and South Africa as well as on the Malay Peninsula, and fought wars against the Afghans and the Zulus. Although many of these developments had been initiated by preceding governments, Disraeli



Conservative British prime minister during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, Benjamin Disraeli acquired control of the Suez Canal and made Queen Victoria Empress of India during his various administrations. (Library of Congress)

justified them to the British public with distinctive rhetorical flair, underscoring the glories of empire. In 1875, he boldly facilitated the purchase of Suez Canal Company shares, forestalling French intervention and giving Britain significant influence over the future of Egypt and the canal. The next year, Disraeli, urged by the queen, vigorously defended the Royal Titles Bill, which, by naming Victoria empress of India, clearly warned the Russians of British intentions in the subcontinent. In his best-known linkage of foreign and imperial policy, Disraeli, on returning from the Congress of Berlin in 1878, proclaimed a peace with honor that calmed Turkish relations with Europe and that strengthened Britain's eastern empire through the accession of Cyprus.

Although Disraeli's assertive and celebratory approach to empire satisfied the queen empress and certain sectors of the British public, it also generated much opposition. His arch rival, William Gladstone, spearheaded the Liberal return to office in 1880 by a concerted attack against what he saw as Disraeli's dangerous expansion of Britain's global responsibilities. Disraeli died shortly after leaving office, but the events of succeeding decades, typically characterized as the new imperialism, seemed to confirm his belief that Britain's status as a world power rested significantly on the resources and peoples of its empire.

Susan H. Farnsworth

See also British Empire; Conservative Party; Egypt; Fiji; Gladstone, William Ewart; Liberal Party; Suez Canal; Victoria, Queen

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Drake, Sir Francis (c. 1540–1596)

The English “seadog” and explorer Francis Drake was born near Tavistock, Devon. Under John Hawkins, he went on a disastrous slave-trading expedition to the West Indies in 1567, sailing home in the *Judith* and deserting Hawkins. Later, he made several piratical attempts to recoup his losses against the Spanish, earning him much popularity as he sought to destroy the Spanish monopoly of Peruvian silver and Mexican gold mines. In his next voyages, Drake explored the route of the Spanish treasure ships, returning home in 1573 laden with plunder and to a hero's welcome despite Queen Elizabeth's recent peace treaty with Spain. Philip II of Spain demanded a return of the treasure and Drake's execution, so for the next two years, Drake kept a low profile.

His most famous voyage, circumnavigating the globe, took place from 1577 to 1580. Drake aimed at carrying war against Spain into the Pacific and to the west coast of the Spanish American colonies, for which he had Elizabeth's tacit permission. Many of his men, believing they were on a voyage of discovery or in search of trade, mutinied, but Drake had the ringleaders executed. On August 21, 1578, he sailed the flagship by itself through the Magellan Straits and then turned the

Golden Hind northward, plundering the Spanish colonies along the South American coasts until he reached latitude 38° at California, which he named New Albion and claimed in the name of the queen. He returned to Plymouth in September 1580 with enough treasure to pay a 1,400 percent dividend on the outlay of the expedition.

Drake was knighted and in 1584 put in official command as the queen's admiral in an expedition to the Spanish West Indies, with Martin Frobisher as his deputy. They sailed from Plymouth in September 1585 and lost 300 men from fever in the Atlantic crossing. They sacked Santo Domingo and Cartagena, taking £30,000 in ransoms and double that in pillage, and then sacked St. Augustine, taking all the guns and money they found there. Drake then went inland to Virginia to rescue Ralph Lane and his colonists, giving them a passage home and incidentally taking tobacco and potatoes with him to Plymouth in July 1586. The expedition did not pay for itself, but its propaganda value was great, exposing how poorly Philip II's American empire was defended. His exploits also served to delay the departure of the Spanish Armada against the English.

Drake's 1589 Lisbon expedition to put Don Antonio on the Portuguese throne was undersupplied and proved a failure, and Drake spent the next six years in his native Devon. In August 1595, the queen authorized what proved to be Drake's last expedition, a joint-stock operation with Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies; the fleet included twenty-seven ships, six provided by the queen. Their attack on Puerto Rico failed, Hawkins died, and an expedition to Panama ended in disaster. Drake died of dysentery at Porto Bello on January 28, 1596, and was buried at sea.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; British West Indies; California; Elizabeth I; Exploration; Frobisher, Sir Martin; Philip II; Piracy; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Durban

Durban (eThekweni in the Zulu language) is the principal city of the former province of Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) in South Africa. A precolonial in-



Rickshaw workers pose in traditional headgear in Durban, South Africa, in the early twentieth century. British-ruled Durban was the principal port of entry for the wealthy mining districts of the Transvaal. (Library of Congress)

digenous settlement was superseded by the first European settlement in 1824, when approximately forty colonists set up a trading post at what was then called Port Natal. Following negotiations with Shaka, leader of the Zulu people of the region, they received rights to more than 3,000 square miles of land in the areas contiguous to the great bay, which had been the initial attraction for settlement. The first town on the site was formally brought into being by a gathering of residents in June 1835, who named the settlement D'Urban after the then-governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Where the British settlers had come by sea, prospective Boer settlers (Voor-trekkers, moving north from the Cape) arrived from inland, having brought their ox wagons across the physical barrier of the Drakensberg Mountains from the dry, flat lands of the interior to the lush and fecund east coastal regions.

Shaka's successor, Dingane, was not as sanguine about the presence of the settlers and the signs of permanence that had become evident by

the late 1830s. He mounted a short-lived attack on the settlement in 1838, but within a year, several areas around the bay were being laid out with street plans, and quantities of land were being sold to settlers. Although relations between the British and the Boer settlers were generally good, the decision in the early 1840s by the authorities in London to annex Natal resulted in armed conflict between the two groups on the ground. Nonetheless, Natal became a dependency of the Cape Colony in 1845.

Durban manifests several core features of the quintessential colonial city. Its harbor, constructed gradually throughout the colonial and postcolonial periods and continually rebuilt and reshaped, was the busiest in South Africa and probably in the whole of Africa. After sugar production was established on vast monocultural plantations throughout Natal (by the 1880s) and after the railway line to the industrial and mining center of Johannesburg was completed in 1895, Durban functioned as one of the principal jewels

of the necklace of British colonial port cities (such as Dar es Salaam, Karachi, Bombay [Mumbai], Singapore, and Fremantle). The city was the hub of an extensive hinterland. It was the point of import for the manufactured products of the metropole in England and for the primary produce of much of the rest of the empire; at the same time, it was the point of export for Natal sugar and for the production of the industries and mines of the Transvaal.

According to a saying often heard in modern Durban, it is “the most Indian city in Africa, and the most African city in South Africa.” The very substantial Indian population—Hindu, Muslim, and Christian—is descended, for the most part, from people taken to Durban in the late nineteenth century as indentured labor (principally for the sugar industry); some so-called passenger Indians (following clerical and professional vocations) also came as free immigrants. The multiculturalism of the twenty-first-century city—manifested in its streetscapes, its foods and footways, its music and art, its languages and religions—is an unintended consequence of the colonial policy of plantation agriculture and large-scale population movements.

One of the more significant expressions of colonial policies and practices in and around Durban was the early (c. 1846) development of a policy of rigidly segregated residential areas for different “population groups” and the isolation of the African population in designated and often remote townships (which became the model for later national segregation policies). Another administrative measure that was to have great impact on the neocolonial segregation and apartheid eras was, however, put into place only after the formal renunciation of British control: the practice that became known as the Durban System. This system involved funding the needs of African townships (and the Native Affairs Department that administered them) through the revenues derived from a monopoly on beer manufacture and sale to Africans, a practice that was adopted nationwide during the apartheid period.

In the British era, Durban represented a quintessential colonial port city, and in the neocolonial period that followed, it became the testing ground for policies and practices that would help to preserve the social and political power structures

whose lineaments had been so well established in the earlier period.

Joan Wardrop

See also Boers; British Empire; Cape Colony; Natal; Shaka; South Africa; Zulus

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Dutch East India Company (VOC)

The Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, VOC) was the largest and most impressive of the early modern European trading companies operating in Asia. It was formed in 1602 when the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the country's parliament, finally encouraged competing Dutch spice-trading firms to incorporate into a single trading company with the States-General's authority abroad to conduct trade, erect fortifications, elect governors, keep a standing army, and make treaties in its name.

From the company's inception, VOC leaders such as Jan Pieterszoon Coen strived determinedly, even ruthlessly, to achieve a monopoly in the Asian spice trade. To dictate the price of cloves, nutmeg, and pepper, the Dutch controlled key sources of spice production, such as Ambon in 1605 and Ternate in 1680, and defeated rival port-states such as Melaka in 1641, Makassar in 1667, and Banten in 1682 to ensure that the Asia trade would only flow through Batavia (present-day Jakarta). As the world's first joint-stock company (not to mention the world's largest employer at the time), it flourished due, in part, to several innovations: the VOC's large and permanent capital stock; its perpetual reserve of ships, personnel, forts, and the like, which were not liquidated after each individual voyage; and shareholders who could buy and sell VOC shares on the stock exchange and were held liable only to the extent of their investment. Seventeen men served as its board of directors in the Netherlands, representing six local Dutch chambers, with the VOC's charter periodically renewed by the States-General. But since it could take almost two years before a directive made its way from the Netherlands to VOC headquarters at Batavia on Java and back to Ams-

terdam with a response, the reality was that the VOC was governed on-site in Asia by a governor-general, with his Council of the Indies, and by lesser VOC officials in a network of forts and factories in Africa, the Middle East, India, Sri Lanka, throughout Southeast Asia, and up into Taiwan and Japan.

Statistically, the VOC eclipsed all its rivals in the Asia trade. In its two-century life span from 1602 to 1799, the VOC sent almost a million people to work in the Asia trade (the rest of Europe combined only sent 882,412 people from 1500 to 1795) on 4,785 ships (England was a distant second with 2,690 ships) and returned with more than 2.5 million tons of Asian trade goods (five times the tonnage of its closest competitor). The VOC enjoyed huge profits through most of the 1600s, but at the moment the VOC's stranglehold on spices was absolute, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, spices became less profitable and European demand shifted to textiles, coffee, and tea, over which the VOC did not and could not have a monopoly. To compensate for the losses, an increasing percentage of VOC revenues after 1690 came from tolls, taxes, and tributes collected through an expanding colonial administration that ruled over ever-increasing territorial holdings in Africa and Asia. Overhead costs more than kept pace with company growth throughout the eighteenth century until—crippled in Asia by debts of almost 100 million guilders and reeling in Europe from the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War and Napoleon's control over the Netherlands—the VOC was dissolved on December 31, 1799.

Eric A. Jones

See also Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; Jakarta

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Dutch East Indies

In the fifteenth century, the Indonesian archipelago (now known as Indonesia) stood at the center of a great international trading network connecting India and the Middle East to China through Southeast Asia; Europe received small but valuable quantities of the Asian goods as well. Each year,

foreign merchants by the thousands would sail the monsoon winds to and from maritime Southeast Asia, selling their cargoes of rice, salt, aromatic woods, precious stones and metals, furs and silks and other textiles, porcelain, and pepper and fine spices to other traders gathered there, buying their goods in return. Powerful early modern Malay trading states with urban populations of 100,000 to 200,000, such as Melaka on the Malay Peninsula and Makassar in south Sulawesi, attracted Arab, Indian, Chinese, and Southeast Asian merchants by providing essentially free ports, warehouse facilities, and an adequate legal system and by policing the waterways for pirates.

In such an international commercial climate, the arrival of Europeans in the Indonesia archipelago in the early 1500s should not be seen as the beginning of new era of Southeast Asian history but simply as the continuation of much earlier trading patterns and systems. Trading states in the archipelago and throughout Southeast Asia profited from the worldwide commercial boom from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. But they became increasingly absolutist and monopolistic in the seventeenth century in order to contest the Dutch East India Company (VOC), which was unwilling to tolerate free trade. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the gradual weakening of the trading states of the Indonesian archipelago, as Makassar fell to the Dutch in 1667, Banten was brought under Dutch vassalage in 1684, and Mataram was partitioned in 1743. Still, only parts of Java and scattered enclaves in the Outer Islands were actually administered by the Dutch in the early modern period. And only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did Dutch colonial authority span the entire Indonesian archipelago and reach into the daily lives of its disparate nations and peoples—only then can we speak of the “Dutch period” of Indonesian history.

The Dutch squeezed the East Indies harder to compensate for lagging state revenues in the Netherlands, first using indigenous elites to force Javanese peasants to deliver coffee, indigo, sugar, tea, and tobacco to the Dutch from 1830 to 1870; then opening the archipelago to large-scale private capital investment after 1870; and finally promising (although never delivering) widespread reform from 1900 onward. The Dutch had created the idea

of a Dutch East Indies—a single, archipelago-wide entity—and people across the island chain began to unite for the first time as Indonesians, galvanized by this new national identity and a common disenchantment with the Dutch colonial presence. Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia in World War II expelled the Dutch and gave Indonesians the firm footing to resist Dutch attempts at reconquest from 1945 to 1949, when the Dutch finally recognized Indonesia's independence.

Eric A. Jones

See also Dutch East India Company; Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; Pirates

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Dutch Empire

Dutch merchants had dominated the European waterways since the fifteenth century, beating out their competition by providing low-cost transportation throughout Europe for bulk goods such as Baltic grain and North Sea herring. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the economic superpower in Europe, and the Dutch shipping industry, buoyed by superior Dutch financial institutions and vast capital resources, was well positioned to enter the New World and the Asia trade.

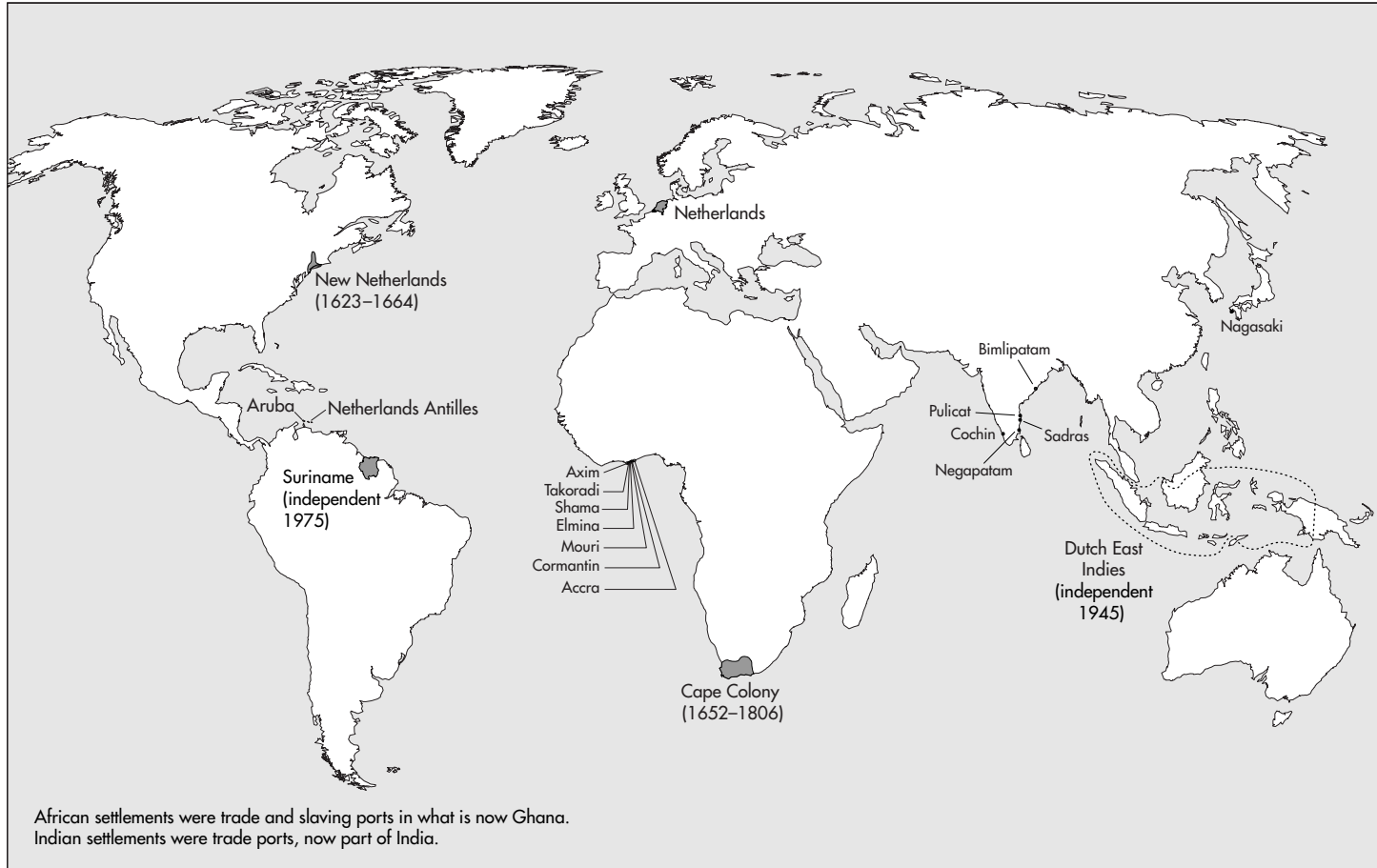
Around 1500, the Portuguese maritime spice trade joined the Asian maritime and overland caravan routes in supplying Europe with pepper and fine spices, but the Portuguese were unable to fix prices or monopolize supply in South and Southeast Asia, making the spice trade profitable and irresistible to their European competitors. In 1595, the first Dutch ship left for Asia, and in 1602, the Dutch government convinced the competing firms to incorporate into a single trading company, the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The VOC established its headquarters in 1618 at Batavia (present-day Jakarta) and aggressively pursued a spice monopoly (on cloves, nutmeg, mace, and, to a certain extent, pepper), which it more or less held after 1680. A sizable military force and a string of forts stretching from South Africa to Japan allowed the Dutch to internalize transshipping pro-

tection costs and turn huge profits by fixing prices in Europe at high but not exorbitant levels.

The Dutch concerned themselves with trade more than territorial administration and did not have a significant religious or cultural presence in Asia in the VOC period. Virtually no European women accompanied the men to the area between 1602 and 1869, so VOC men married or cohabited with Asian women. But the men died quickly from tropical disease, and their children were raised as Asians. Suffering staggering mortality rates, the Dutch never represented more than a small percentage of the population in their own VOC settlements, which resembled contemporary Asian port-states. Even so, the Dutch were far and away the most significant European presence in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Asia, sending some 978,000 people there (Portugal was in second place with only 382,069) and returning with more shipping tonnage than Portugal, England, France, Denmark, Oostend, and Sweden combined. Toward the end of the seventeenth century and until the demise of the VOC in 1799, the focus of the Asia trade shifted from spices to textiles and coffee and tea, over which it exercised no monopoly. The eighteenth century was a period of profitless growth for the VOC, which increasingly relied on tolls, taxes, and tributes from its expanding territorial administration, especially on Java and Sri Lanka, to supplement its declining trade revenues.

Antwerp was an important sixteenth-century transit center for sugar and tropical goods from the New World, and its conquest by the Spanish in 1585 brought many Flemish merchants and cartographers to the Netherlands, providing important commercial contacts, venture capital, and cartographic information for the voyages to the Americas. At the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch ships began appearing in the Americas, pirating Spanish silver and Iberian trade and exploring new routes to Asia, resulting, for example, in the discovery of the Hudson River and Cape Horn. From 1609 to 1621, the Dutch called a truce in their war of independence from the Spanish, and large numbers of Dutch merchants appeared in the New World, mining salt pans and carrying most of the Brazilian sugar that was refined in the Netherlands. Renewal of war with the Spanish and Portuguese, temporarily united under one

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monarchy, led to the formation of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in 1621, after which the Dutch entered the West African slave trade and began capturing Brazilian sugar plantations and strategic Caribbean islands in the 1630s. The WIC endured chronic capital shortages and continual clashes with the Spanish and the Portuguese, and it failed in its colonization attempts (such as the New Netherlands settlement that was later taken over by the British as New York) and was never as profitable as its sister organization, the VOC. In the eighteenth century, a second WIC relied heavily on profits from the slave trade but saw its returns continue to tumble until it ceased operating in 1791 and was taken over by the Dutch state. Slavery was finally abolished in Dutch Suriname in 1863, which led to the importation of large numbers of workers from Indonesia, India, and China to work the plantations alongside the black former slaves.

In the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, Dutch overseas possessions repeatedly changed hands between the Dutch, the French, and the British between 1795 and 1815; in the exchange, the Dutch lost the Cape Colonies (South Africa) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) to the British. With the demise of the Dutch West India and Dutch East India Companies, the Dutch state assumed responsibility for administering its colonies. Unlike in previous centuries, the nineteenth-century Netherlands was no longer a commercial superpower, and it began to lean more heavily on its colonies for state revenues. From 1830 to 1870, the Dutch used the indigenous elite to force Javanese peasants to dedicate up to one-fifth of their land to cash crops (coffee, sugar, indigo, tobacco, and tea), which were given over to the Dutch for export in what became known as the cultivation system. The system was a fiscal savior for the Dutch state, becoming “the cork on which the Netherlands floats,” but famine on Java, systemic abuse, and pressure from Dutch industrialists caused the Dutch to abandon the system and instead open up the Dutch East Indies to private capital investment, during a period from 1870 to 1900 known as the liberal period.

The liberal period and industrial capitalism proved even more onerous for the Indonesians than the cultivation system, and the turn of the twentieth century brought a new, strongly paternalistic vision for the Dutch East Indies called the ethical period. Feeling the weight of the so-called

white man’s burden, the government of the Dutch East Indies promised and generally failed to deliver health, development and infrastructure, and education reforms to the Indonesians. Sharing a common disenchantment, Indonesia’s disparate islands and peoples gained a new political awareness and a modern sense of national unity in the first decades of the twentieth century as nationalist, Islamic, socialist, and communist parties sprung up; the Dutch state eventually turned to repressive measures, including jailing many Indonesian nationalists during the 1930s. The position of the Dutch in Asia changed overnight when Japan invaded Indonesia, defeating and interring the Dutch in 1942.

After the Japanese surrender in World War II, Dutch military forces faced an armed and hostile Indonesia, which had declared its own independence in August 1945. The Dutch waged several unsuccessful wars with Indonesian nationalists. Costing the Dutch state roughly the same amount that they were receiving in postwar reconstruction aid, the first and second Netherlands-Indonesia wars provoked intense scrutiny from the international community. The Dutch finally surrendered Indonesia in December 1949 and relinquished Irian Jaya in 1962. Dutch oil and mining firms began large-scale operations in the Netherlands Antilles (as the Dutch West Indies became known) and Suriname after World War I but played a much subordinate role to the Dutch East Indies. In the wake of the dramatic decolonization following World War II, the Netherlands Antilles became an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which they remain. Suriname opted for independence in 1975.

Eric A. Jones

See also Cape Colony; Cape Town; Dutch East India Company; Dutch East Indies; Dutch West India Company; Dutch West Indies; Jakarta; New Amsterdam

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Dutch West India Company

In the 1590s, Dutch merchants began sending regular fleets to fetch New World salt, preserving not only their herring but also their preeminence in

the European fishing industry and in world trade. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, competing Dutch firms established factors in West Africa and in North America, trading for African gold and ivory and American furs. Modeled on the successful Dutch East India Company, the various Dutch trading firms came together in 1621 to form the Dutch West India Company (WIC) and began aggressively contesting the Spanish and the Portuguese positions in the Americas and focusing on sugar-rich Brazil, which the Dutch held from 1630 to 1654.

Always lacking in numbers and usually lacking in success, Dutch settlers under the WIC began arriving in the New Netherlands (present-day New York) in 1624, only to have their settlement traded to the English by the Dutch in 1667 in return for Suriname. Many of the islands of the present-day Netherlands Antilles came under Dutch control in the 1630s, checking the Spanish in the Caribbean and serving as centers of the slave trade in which the WIC became engaged in 1626. The bellicose stance by the Dutch toward the Iberians and their failed colonies proved too costly for the WIC, and its profits fell sharply after 1640; it was finally replaced by a second WIC in 1674. The second WIC focused on West Africa and especially the slave trade, transporting around 5 percent of the African slaves to the New World. In 1713, the second WIC lost the *asiento*, or royal contract, meaning that it no longer monopolized the slave supply to the Spanish; it also meant staggering financial losses for the company, which folded in 1791. Thereafter, the Dutch Republic assumed responsibility for the Dutch West Indies.

Eric A. Jones

See also Dutch Empire; Dutch West Indies; New Amsterdam; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Dutch West Indies

The Dutch West Indies include the Netherlands Antilles (Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Sint Maarten, Saba, and Sint Eustatius) in the Caribbean and used to include Suriname in South America. (Suriname won its independence from the Netherlands in 1975.) Under the auspices of the Dutch West

India Company (WIC), Dutch merchants began establishing themselves in the 1630s on strategic islands in the Caribbean, especially on Curaçao as a smuggling and transit center and on the South American coast to gain access to Venezuelan salt pans and Portuguese-Brazilian sugar. Suriname was added to the Dutch fold in 1667 with their infamous exchange of their colony of New Netherlands (later New York) to the English in return for Suriname.

As sugar production increased in South America and throughout the Caribbean, so did the demand for African slaves. In 1675, the Dutch made Curaçao a free port, and the WIC sold up to 4,000 slaves per year there on the open market; from 1626 to 1791, the Dutch were responsible for exporting 550,000 African slaves, around 5 percent of the slave trade. Low European immigration and large slave and free-colored populations served as the foundation for the varied and racially mixed population of the Antilles. From the 1670s onward, the Dutch West Indies, which became the Netherlands Antilles in 1845, declined along with the WIC and its successors. In Suriname, the abolition of slavery in 1863 brought large numbers of contract laborers from India and Java to work the plantations. Economic prospects for the Netherlands Antilles picked up when oil refineries were opened up in Curaçao and Aruba shortly after World War I.

After World War II, discussion took place about the status of the Netherlands Antilles within the Dutch Empire, and in 1954, the Netherlands Antilles became an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1975, Suriname voted for and was granted independence from the Netherlands. Not happy with Curaçao's economic supremacy within the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba left the federation in 1986, gaining an equal and apart status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. There are currently active independence movements in the Netherlands Antilles, tempered by the grim prospect of total economic independence from the Netherlands.

Eric A. Jones

See also Dutch West India Company; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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E

East Timor

The world's youngest country, officially created in May 2002, East Timor has been the site in recent years of one of the last residual conflicts of the European colonial era. A part of the Portuguese Empire from the early 1600s, it nearly won its independence in 1975, only to be invaded by neighboring Indonesia, which brutally repressed a liberation movement there for nearly twenty-five years.

As its name implies, East Timor is just one-half of the island of Timor, a roughly 12,000-square-mile mountainous landmass 600 miles east of Java and 300 miles north of Australia. The island was originally inhabited by Malay people. The Portuguese first came to the island in the early 1500s to trade for sandalwood, and they began occupying the eastern half a century later. Around the same time, the Dutch established trading posts on the western half of the island. Following a period of sporadic armed conflict, the island was split between the two imperial powers in 1749, although it was not until treaties were signed in 1860 and 1914 that the boundary was officially settled.

In 1942, the island was invaded by the Japanese. Bitter fighting with Australian troops stationed on the island resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of Timorese. Following the Japanese defeat in 1945, the Dutch attempted to repossess the Dutch East Indies, of which western Timor was a part. Following four years of guerrilla conflict, Indonesia won its independence.

Meanwhile, Portugal—controlled by a Fascist dictatorship—clung to its colonial empire in Africa and Asia, including East Timor. In 1974 and 1975, the dictatorship fell in the peaceful “carnation revolution,” and Portugal immediately announced its intention to dissolve almost all of its overseas empire. A brief civil war in East Timor in 1975 led to a declaration of independence in November of that year by the leftist guerrilla group Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (or FRETILIN, its Portuguese abbreviation).

In early December, however, East Timor was invaded by the Indonesian military under the dictatorship of Suharto. The suppression of FRETILIN and East Timorese nationalism was brutal. Forced starvation, concentration camps, and military attacks resulted in the death of roughly one-third of the territory's 600,000 people during the nearly twenty-five-year Indonesian occupation.

Following the collapse of the Suharto dictatorship in 1998, Indonesia announced it would consider independence for the territory, and a referendum on independence versus autonomy within Indonesia was put to the East Timorese population under United Nations guidance. The August 1999 vote showed overwhelming (78 percent) support for independence. Nevertheless, armed militia groups—supported by the Indonesian military—refused to accept the results of the referendum; in the wake of violence that followed, thousands of

East Timorese were slaughtered and tens of thousands fled to western Timor. Over the next few months, an Australian-led peacekeeping force occupied the territory, and the UN once again began preparing East Timor for independence. It came in May 2002.

James Ciment

See also Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; Portuguese Empire; World War II

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Eastern Question

Does the Ottoman Empire have a future? This was the “Eastern Question,” an important issue in nineteenth-century diplomatic affairs. As no single answer evolved, great powers sometimes went to war—or became allies—in efforts to present their opinions on the matter.

The Eastern Question first emerged in the 1700s, when European states such as Austria or Russia grabbed Ottoman possessions in the Balkans. By 1798, even core areas of the empire were targeted, as evidenced by Napoleon Bonaparte’s invasion of Egypt. This event—and the fact that only British intervention put an end to the French occupation—brought the Eastern Question to the fore.

Egypt again played a part in 1831, when its rebel viceroy, Muhammad Ali, launched his army into Syria and nearly seized Constantinople. The intervention of Russia caused the Egyptian forces to halt their advance. Although traditional foes, Russia and the Ottomans then concluded an alliance, Unkiar Skelessi (July 8, 1833), which seemed to give the former a protectorate over the latter. The same year, Lord Palmerston, England’s foreign secretary, helped form a lasting policy in support of Ottoman independence. The primary motivation was not to protect British interests in the Middle East but rather to maintain the European balance of power.

Unkiar Skelessi, annulled in 1839, started Russia and England on a collision course, each state taking a definite stance on the Eastern Question.

The Crimean War (1854–1855) was one result, the Second Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) another. The issue was still under debate in 1914, when Ottoman leaders took their country into World War I, on the side of the Central Powers. Defeat brought a final answer to the Eastern Question, as the Ottoman Empire was dismembered by the victorious Allies.

John P. Dunn

See also Ali, Muhammed; Austro-Hungarian Empire; British Empire; Crimean War; Egypt; French Empire; German Empire; Ottoman Empire; Palmerston, Lord; Russian Empire; Turkey; War and Warfare; World War I

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Éboué, Félix (1884–1944)

A French colonial administrator, Félix Éboué was born in French Guyana and educated in France at the École Coloniale (Colonial School). After graduation, he was sent (in 1908) to the Ubangi-Shari colony, the present Central African Republic. He moved up in rank slowly, familiarizing himself with local languages and customs. In 1930, he was transferred to Martinique as acting governor, and in 1936, he was made governor of Guadeloupe. Political intrigues engineered by white colleagues, envious of the success of this black governor, had him transferred to Chad, a poor, landlocked colony in northwest Africa. Ironically, this presumed demotion set the stage for Éboué to take his place in history.

Éboué believed that the French presence should be beneficial to the indigenous population. He governed humanely, consulting indigenous chiefs and respecting local customs and beliefs, unless they clashed with French policies. He improved health services and transportation, fostering economic development by encouraging the modernization of agriculture.

In 1940, when France collapsed under the Nazi invasion and the newly formed Vichy government signed an armistice with Germany, Éboué was the first head of an African colony to declare allegiance to Gen. Charles de Gaulle’s government in exile, setting the example for other French African colonies. The immediacy of his response to de Gaulle’s appeal and the strategic location of Chad made his decision of capital importance to the Al-

lied air war effort in North Africa. An appreciative de Gaulle named him governor-general of the entire French Equatorial Africa Federation and asked him to organize the 1944 Brazzaville Conference on redefining the relationship between France and its African colonies so as to give the latter greater autonomy. When Éboué died, a French postage stamp was issued in his honor. In 1949, his remains were moved to the Panthéon in Paris; he is the only black buried there.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also French Empire; World War II

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Economics

Although far from the sole reason for the evolution of modern empires, economic factors typically loomed large. Early proponents of overseas expansion saw the acquisition of colonies as a means of furthering the home country's economic growth and development. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the theory of mercantilism, which most European monarchs adhered to, stressed the importance of a favorable balance of trade and the accumulation of specie. The Spanish Empire epitomized successful mercantilist practices, thanks to its control of Aztec and Incan mineral wealth. Spanish colonial power reached its height in the seventeenth century, but mercantilism proved a mixed blessing for Spain because the torrent of precious metal from the New World set off inflationary shocks that debilitated the Spanish economy.

As England approached the dawn of its colonial period in the late sixteenth century, the colonial propagandist Richard Hakluyt added to mercantilist theory when he argued that a New World empire would spur economic growth by providing a new home to the ranks of England's burgeoning number of poor, who, in turn, would purchase goods manufactured in the home country. Although millions of English and other Europeans did eventually call North America home, the colonies were hardly the financial windfall that Hakluyt envisioned. The colonies traded with both home country and foe, and after a century of imperial warfare, Hakluyt's descendants lost most of

the North American colonies. In Asia, meanwhile, tiny Holland built an empire that, though lacking the precious metals of the Spanish Empire, provided more sustainable wealth. Dutch control of the spice trade and the commanding position of its merchant fleet transformed Holland into one of continental Europe's wealthiest states.

With the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the so-called new imperialism of the nineteenth century, when the industrialized nations spread colonial control over vast parts of Africa and Asia, economic explanations of colonialism generally followed the paths created by the British economist J. A. Hobson and the Marxist revolutionary and first leader of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Lenin. Hobson explained colonial expansion as a result of the industrialized nation's search for overseas outlets to solve basic problems of overproduction, underconsumption, and excess capital accumulation. In the case of the British Empire, which expanded rapidly after 1815, the Hobson-Lenin thesis has some validity. As England moved from a rural-agrarian to urban-industrial nation, its manufactured exports to the colonies skyrocketed. Japan's period of rapid modernization that followed the 1868 Meiji Restoration also saw the parallel development of an overseas empire. Starting with the Chinese island of Formosa in 1895, the Japanese Empire grew to include south Manchuria in 1905, Korea in 1910, and the remainder of Manchuria in 1931. For Japan, Formosa and Korea meant a steady supply of rice, and after Japan joined the ranks of creditor nations following World War I, Manchuria meant a home for surplus capital. In Germany's case, frequent economic booms and busts from the 1870s to the 1890s led many business and government leaders to conclude that only the acquisition of colonial markets would ward off the specter of domestic chaos.

Colonies, however, did not always play the role that Hobson and Lenin argued. The Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter compellingly argued that colonial empires do not, in most cases, serve the needs of an industrialized nation with surplus capital problems. Indeed, in England's case, although capital exports grew apace with colonial expansion, the English tended to tuck away money in developing economies outside the empire. Japan likewise relied heavily on noncolonial sources for both

raw materials and investment outlets. For the United States, the oft-forgotten colonial power, the Philippines never matched China—or America's far greater informal empire in Latin America—as a source of raw materials, markets, and investment outlets.

Finally, no discussion of the economics of colonialism is complete without some mention of how colonialism affected the economic development of the colonized. Marxist historians stress that because the colonial relationship existed to serve the home country, colonies received little or no economic benefit from their relationship with the metropolis. In many instances, this is certainly true. In the case of French West Africa, for instance, French colonialism contributed little to sustained economic growth, and even the impressive post-World War II funding that Paris channeled into West Africa was intended primarily to spur commodity exports. Likewise in the Congo, Belgian authorities developed commodity exports almost solely for the benefit of king and country.

Although the Marxist interpretation is correct in many cases, colonialism's impact on economic development is not always so one-sided. Many non-Marxist historians demonstrate that, though not always easy or even immediately beneficial, the colonial relationship did indeed spur economic development in various colonies. Three centuries of Spanish rule in large parts of Latin America, for example, contributed to both agrarian and industrial capitalist development. In India's case, ample evidence exists to support the contention that British control led to deindustrialization of the subcontinent, but a sizable and respected body of opinion supports the opposite conclusion. In both Taiwan and Korea, abundant evidence suggests that, although undeniably destructive to the local culture and society, Japanese colonization did set the stage for economic modernization. In Taiwan, Japan created an agricultural system that provided the underpinnings for postcolonial industrialization. Similarly, in Korea, Japanese administrators reorganized the tax and fiscal structure and built modern communication and transportation facilities.

Sidney L. Pash

See also Belgian Congo; Belgium; British Empire; Dutch Empire; French West Africa; Hobson, John; India; Industrial Revolution; Japanese Empire; Korea; Lenin,

Vladimir Ilich; Manchuria; Meiji Emperor; Mining; Philippines; Schumpeter, Joseph; Spanish Empire; Taiwan; United States

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Eden, Anthony, First Earl of Avon (1897–1977)

Awarded a Military Cross in World War I, the Eton- and Oxford-educated Anthony Eden went on to become a Conservative member of Parliament from 1923. He rose to the position of minister without portfolio for League of Nations affairs in June 1935, being sent to Rome to buy Benito Mussolini off with a colonial deal. Britain suggested it would try to secure for Mussolini much of league member Abyssinia (and throw in a bit of British Somaliland, too), in the hope of keeping his support. Mussolini spurned the bait, and Eden got to replace Sir Samuel Hoare as foreign secretary when Hoare was blamed for a similar plan later that year. Eden then resigned, in 1938, to protest the appeasement of Hitler, whose ambitions seemed more dangerous.

Eden was again foreign secretary during World War II (1940–1945) and when Winston Churchill returned as prime minister from 1951 to 1955. In this capacity, he attended the Geneva Conference on Indochina of May to June 1954. By then, he believed the least damaging outcome of the Indochina war would be the neutralization of most of the area. He successfully supported calls for Vietnam to be partitioned into a Communist north and a non-Communist south, for Cambodia and Laos to be put beyond great-power competition, and for international supervisory commissions to be appointed to oversee these three areas.

It seemed to Eden his diplomacy had averted disaster, if not U.S. intervention and full-scale war.

As prime minister (1955–1957), however, Eden was to be less successful. On the one hand, decolonization continued its previous course, steady but slow, with arrangements being made that would see the Gold Coast and Malaya reach independence in 1957, following Sudan in 1956.

In mid-1956, however, Gamel Abdul Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Simultaneously, Nasser was broadcasting anti-British propaganda to the Arab world, leading Eden to see him as a general threat to British influence in the Middle East. Eden determined Nasser could not be appeased, and Britain and France secretly arranged for Israel to attack toward the canal, allowing an Anglo-French force to intervene to separate the sides. Israeli intervention in late October 1956 duly brought about a successful Anglo-French seizure of the canal—but only at the cost of UN condemnation and the blocking of the canal itself.

Eden halted the operation before the end of November but not before it had undermined the prestige it had been supposed to sustain. He limped on as a politically damaged and physically ailing prime minister until his resignation in January 1957.

Karl A. Hack

See also Cambodia; Decolonization; Gold Coast; League of Nations; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Sinai War; Suez Canal; Vietnam

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population, who could be called on to fill lower-level clerical positions in government or business. Despite these realizations, however, the colonizers also recognized that education was inherently dangerous, since educated people had a tendency to reject the notions of inferiority and inequality on which imperialism was based. Worse yet, educated people also developed higher expectations from the colonial endeavor, ranging from the right to participate in all levels of colonial administration to increased financial opportunities. When these expectations were not met, educated elites were prone to protest, demand reforms, join nationalist movements, and eventually call for an end to colonial rule.

Despite these dangers, colonizers accepted the need for some form of education in their colonies. The real questions were who was going to provide the education, who was going to get it, what it would consist of, and what it was meant to achieve. Although the colonial powers varied widely in terms of their motivations for acquiring overseas possessions and the nature of their colonial administrations, their answers to these questions remained remarkably consistent. Since they hoped to run their empires as cheaply as possible, all of the colonial powers opened only limited numbers of government-run schools, preferring instead to rely on missionaries for the bulk of education and the so-called civilizing efforts. This led to the creation of parallel and occasionally conflicting educational systems because missionaries did not always share official views about the role of education, the curriculum content, or the language of instruction.

Government schools, usually located near administrative centers, were designed to churn out only as many graduates as were needed to help with the process of colonial administration and economic development. For this reason, colonial officials rarely attempted to provide academic education to girls, believing that their roles would and should be limited to those of future wives and mothers. As for boys, however, in addition to teaching academics and job-related skills, government schools were also designed to teach obedience, loyalty, and patriotism. Only the French bothered to go further. Building on ideals advanced during the Revolution, the French openly embraced the concept of assimilation; hence, their

Education

The task of educating the indigenous peoples of colonial empires was a double-edged sword for all concerned. Since they had justified the acquisition of colonies on grounds that they were going to uplift or “civilize” the indigenous peoples, all of the colonial powers realized the need to make good on at least some of their promises. Moreover, given the size of the territorial empires in question, the colonizers also realized that they could not hope to govern or fully exploit their vast holdings without help from Western-educated members of the local

schools were designed to remake colonial subjects into Frenchmen by teaching them French language, history, and culture. By the dawn of the twentieth century, however, the French government abandoned the concept of assimilation in favor of the looser policy of association, and it adjusted its official colonial schools accordingly. In the process, these institutions came to look like their British and German counterparts. At the base of all three colonial school systems, the curriculum was deliberately limited to teaching literacy, basic arithmetic, and a variety of menial skills in school workshops, farms, and plantations. Thus, pupils in these government-run schools not only learned skills deemed necessary by the administration for proper colonial development, they also helped to reduce the costs of the education system by earning their keep; further, at least in theory, they learned an important lesson about their place within the overall colonial system.

The best and brightest graduates of lower-level government schools were occasionally sent on to higher institutions to learn specialized skills or be trained for roles such as nurses or interpreters. For the bulk of the colonial period, there were no colleges in the colonies, and few indigenous peoples ever went abroad to attend one, but a few of the upper-level schools (such as France's *Ecole William Ponty*) were granted the same status as metropolitan institutions. However, in an effort to keep graduates from either taking their skills abroad or supplanting trained white personnel, colonial authorities passed legislation that declared diplomas granted by these schools invalid outside the colonies.

Even if they remained in the colonies, however, not all those who acquired one of these diplomas were assured of jobs suited to their training. Those lucky enough to find employment inside the government education system labored under the watchful eyes of white teachers or supervisors who ensured that only material in the official syllabus made its way into the classroom. Throughout the official education system, including lower levels staffed by indigenous teachers, classes were taught in the language of the colonizer and emphasized rote memorization, obedience, and loyalty to the regime. Discipline, as in metropolitan schools, could be harsh, and when necessary, it was maintained by the liberal use of corporal punishment.

Although they shared many of the colonial administration's problems and aspirations, the missionaries' approach to education in the colonies was quite different. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, missionaries eagerly accepted the challenge of educating colonial populations, in hopes of using schools as part of their ongoing evangelization efforts. Moreover, as products of their times, missionaries also genuinely believed in the concept of uplifting and civilizing indigenous peoples. This meant teaching loyalty, obedience, Western morality, hygiene, nutrition, and, above all, Christianity. Potential pupils, however, rarely found these subjects interesting enough to enroll in mission schools, preferring instead to concentrate on earning a living or the pursuit of a more academic education. Consequently, mission schools frequently found themselves in the position of expanding their curricula to include other elements of Western education so as to attract pupils. This was particularly true in areas where rival denominations operated, since pupils and potential converts tended to shift allegiances repeatedly in order to get the education they wanted. Once in place, missionary schools taught their pupils religious doctrine, basic academics, and valuable skills that translated into paying jobs for graduates. In order to teach these skills and to generate much-needed revenue for their evangelization efforts, the missionaries followed the lead of their governmental counterparts and opened plantations, farms, and workshops alongside all of their schools.

As in the government's educational system, the best and brightest graduates of missionary primary schools went on to the next level, where they were often trained by white missionaries as catechists and teachers so that they could help with the task of gaining converts. As soon as they were ready, indigenous teachers and catechists were sent out into the field to help open new bush or village schools as part of a self-perpetuating operation. Furthermore, as part of their ongoing evangelical efforts, mission societies were willing to start schools beyond existing administration centers and to open those schools to pupils from all castes and social classes, thereby making mission schools much more egalitarian than their government counterparts.

The final element to missionary efforts to acquire converts was a conscious effort to educate

women. In the process, missionaries hoped to convert not just their female pupils but also future generations as these students passed on what they had learned to their own children. To this end, missions in all of the colonial empires opened up increasing numbers of girls' schools. Curricular content in these institutions was, however, even more limited than that for male pupils because missionaries tended to accept contemporary gender norms, which mandated that girls be prepared for roles as future wives and mothers. Hence, girls' schools run by missionaries offered limited academics and focused instead on religion, cooking, and housekeeping skills.

Although the colonial powers generally welcomed and applauded missionary education efforts, disputes did occasionally arise, particularly in reference to the scope, content, and quality of missionary activities. In particular, colonial administrators worried that the growing networks of missionary bush schools were staffed by indigenous teachers who were insufficiently prepared for the job and were therefore counteracting uplift efforts. Similarly, colonial officials frequently complained about the missionary preference for using local vernaculars as the medium of instruction, arguing that it was not conducive to efforts to teach patriotism and loyalty to the home country. Although missionaries attempted to reassure colonial governments that they were indeed committed to the colonial endeavor and were attempting to instill the proper values in their pupils, they also hastened to add that their primary duty was to gain converts—a task that could best be accomplished by giving students the skills necessary to read and understand the Scriptures in their own language. Finally, government officials also feared that the scope of missionary education efforts was creating a generation of people who felt that they were too good for manual labor. This would not only retard colonial development, which depended on a steady supply of plantation and other workers, it also dangerously raised expectations among the indigenous population. In the end, government concerns about missionary school systems led to the establishment of a wide variety of regulatory practices in all the colonial empires, including the creation of official qualifying exams for all graduates, inspections and licensing requirements for schools and

teachers, and the payment of subsidies to mission schools that enacted official curricula.

Kenneth J. Orosz

See also British Empire; Children; English Language; French Empire; French Language

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Egypt

Most historians concur that Egypt's modern *colonial* history starts with the French invasion of 1798. Indeed, Napoleon's temporary success certainly fueled the new colonialism of the nineteenth century, one that saw established states in Africa or Asia as legitimate prey for European imperialists. After the French evacuated in 1801, Egyptian history followed two paths. Between 1811 and 1885, Egypt itself was a colonial power, dominating parts of the Middle East and northeast Africa. Simultaneously, down to 1956, European powers tried to control Egypt, via direct and indirect means.

Actions of the ambitious Muhammad Ali dynasty helped set both paths. The founder, who dominated Egypt from 1805 to 1848, sent armies into the Sudan, Arabia, Greece, Syria, and Anatolia. His repeated success helped frame the Eastern Question concerning the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled Egypt for centuries, and led to great-power intervention via the Treaty of London (1841). Although this deprived Egypt of its Middle Eastern empire, it left intact even larger holdings in the Sudan. There, Egyptian expansion continued until the country was faced with defeat in a war with Ethiopia (1875–1876) and simultaneous financial collapse.

Egypt's hard times ended dreams of empire and allowed European penetration. When tremendous debts forced government austerity, popular

resentment led to the Arabi Revolution. This, in turn, provided an excuse for the British invasion of 1882. Until 1914, Britain exercised a veiled protectorate over Egypt, simultaneously maintaining that Egypt had its own government. During World War I and until 1946, the English tried more direct control, then opted for partial independence, with significant reservations. Treaties in 1922 and 1936 established greater Egyptian autonomy, but as demonstrated by London's attitude during World War II, all could be swept aside in deference to imperial strategies.

When British authority finally waned in the postwar era, nationalist currents rose to create a radical government in 1952. Soon led by Gamel Abdel Nasser, the United Arab Republic played a leading role in supporting anticolonial movements in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. During the Suez War of 1956, Israel, Britain, and France struck hard at the new regime and won all the battles, but they were then forced to withdraw due to U.S. and Soviet diplomatic efforts. A milestone in the struggle against colonialism, this ended a cycle that dated back to Napoleon's 1798 invasion.

John P. Dunn

See also Ali, Muhammed; British Empire; Cairo; Eastern Question; French Empire; Khedive; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Ottoman Empire; Suez Canal; Wafd Party; World War II

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Eisenhower, Dwight (1890–1969)

As the thirty-fourth president—from 1953 through 1961—Dwight David Eisenhower led the United States during a period when most of the nation's Western allies were loosening their hold and giving up sovereignty over their vast empires in the developing world. Although concerned that some of these new countries would become Communist or, at least, allies of the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the Republican Eisenhower administration nevertheless maintained the nation's consistent anticolonial policy, encouraging the

peaceful transition to independence of numerous countries in Africa and Asia. At the same time, however, Eisenhower and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, did not hesitate to intervene in the decolonization process—as in the case of the Congo—if they felt U.S. interests were at stake.

Born in Denison, Texas, in 1890 and raised in Abilene, Kansas, Eisenhower graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1915 and served as a captain in the U.S. Army in World War I. A career officer, he rose through the ranks during the lean military years of the interwar period. He took command of U.S. forces in Europe during World War II, launching successful invasions of North Africa, Italy, and France. Between the end of the war and his election to the presidency in 1952, Eisenhower served as army chief of staff, president of Columbia University, and supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Eisenhower was partly elected on his promise to quickly bring the Korean conflict to an end, which he did in 1953. Although he continued supplying massive U.S. support to the French in their efforts to hold on to their colony in Vietnam and prevent a takeover by Communist forces led by Ho Chi Minh, Eisenhower nevertheless refused to go to France's rescue—ruling out the use of nuclear weapons—at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. Subsequently, the Eisenhower administration was deeply involved in the negotiations behind the Geneva Accords of 1954, whereby Vietnam was divided into northern and southern halves in preparation for nationwide elections to determine a unified government later. However, fearing the popularity of the nationalist-Communist Ho Chi Minh, the Eisenhower administration prevented implementation of the accords and began supporting the anti-Communist regime in the south with military aid and small numbers of military advisers.

Eisenhower's true anticolonial colors were demonstrated in the Middle East in 1956. That year, the nationalist leader of Egypt—Gamel Abdel Nasser—seized control of the Suez Canal from the British and French. When these two powers, along with Israel, invaded Egypt to regain control of the canal, Eisenhower used the vast persuasive powers of the United States to force them to back down, which they did. Eisenhower feared that

this recrudescence of old-style colonialism would alienate peoples in the developing world and turn them toward the Soviet Union.

However, the Eisenhower administration was not above intervening in the decolonization process if it felt that Communist or Communist-leaning governments were about to come to power. During the chaotic transition from Belgian to independent rule in the Congo in late 1960 and early 1961, Eisenhower dispatched the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to prevent the leftist Patrice Lumumba from consolidating his control over the central African nation. On January 17, 1961, during Eisenhower's last days in office, Lumumba was assassinated by his opponents in the Congo, with the help of the CIA.

Eisenhower left office on January 20, 1961, and retired to his farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He died in 1969.

James Ciment

See also Belgian Congo; Cold War; Decolonization; French Empire; Ho Chi Minh; Korea; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Sinai War; Suez Canal; Vietnam

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Elizabeth I (1533–1603)

Elizabeth Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, rose to the English throne in 1559, after a childhood punctuated by threats to her position in the royal household under her half siblings Edward VI and Mary I. Inheriting a dangerous and unstable situation, Elizabeth transformed England from a peripheral power beset by the more powerful France and Spain into an independent force, backed by a strong Protestant nationalism and an excellent navy. Much of the philosophy of expansion came from John Dee, the queen's personal astrologer, who invested the idea of English colonization with the mythological weight of King Arthur and ancient British claims to the New World, while teaching solid mastery of navigation and mapmaking. Others around the queen, including Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, Philip Sydney,

and Francis Walsingham were investors and supporters of the Muscovy Company and the search for a northeast passage by Martin Frobisher between 1576 and 1578. The chief architect of English colonization, Richard Hakluyt, received a church living from the queen to support his efforts.

Much of Elizabeth's policy was motivated by a desire to keep England safe, balanced between France and Spain. Toward the end of her reign, she had to alter her policy, as England supported the Dutch against Spain and backed the Huguenots in France. Because of this, Elizabeth publicly supported the quasi-private navy developed through the issuing of letters of marque to privateers, who attacked Spanish shipping in the Americas. Elizabeth was a major investor in Francis Drake's circumnavigation in the *Golden Hind*, and she used much of the proceeds from Drake's raids on that voyage to finance England's defense against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Although Drake had claimed Tierra del Fuego and parts of California on his voyage, more tangible claims were made to North America. Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh received a commission to colonize, in the process claiming Newfoundland and laying the foundations for the Virginia colony, named for the "virgin" queen.

Establishing a permanent English colony was not the queen's chief concern. But in the face of Spanish invasion and continuing hostilities in the Netherlands, which made any outside settlement a hostage to Spanish aggression, her reign saw the establishment of influential trading companies, the production of accurate maps and sea charts of the Americas, and the accession of the ideas that England ought to possess a strong navy and that it had title to the New World through historical antecedents, such as Prince Madoc of Wales, a legendary twelfth-century voyager to the Americas. Elizabeth's influence also set the pattern of private enterprise and entrepreneurship in the settlement of British America.

Margaret Sankey

See also British Empire; Drake, Sir Francis; Dutch Empire; Exploration; Frobisher, Sir Martin; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Energy

The Industrial Revolution in Europe introduced steam power fueled by coal, thereby transforming energy on an unprecedented scale. Although the first practical steam engine was invented in 1698 by the English engineer Thomas Savery (1650–1715), this and its improved versions were confined to pumping water from mines up to the 1760s. Then, in 1769, the Scottish engineer James Watt (1736–1819) invented the separate condenser and thereby introduced the grand age of steam-powered transportation.

The increased use of steamships by the European powers in the course of the nineteenth century reinforced their supremacy in foreign territories. Steamships with steel hulls, screws, and compound engines greatly reduced the duration of the voyages between Europe and its colonies, which, in turn, meant that people and cargo could be transported to the colonies faster and raw materials and foodstuffs from the colonies could reach Europe sooner. Combined with the development of extensive railway networks based on steam locomotives within the colonies, used to transport the much sought after minerals from the mining areas in the interior to the coastal ports, the introduction of steamships allowed for rapid exploitation of the natural resources in the colonies.

The European powers, with ample domestic coal resources, found a ready market for their coal exports in the colonial territories. Imported coal was used by the coaling stations established along the sea routes and by the transportation, mining, and industrial sectors within the colonies. In addition, coal deposits in British colonies such as the Natal (South Africa), Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nigeria, and India were actively exploited by the colonial governments and used as the main energy source within the coal-producing colonies. Surplus coal was exported to neighboring colonies that lacked the necessary deposits to fuel their mining and transportation systems. The extensive mining areas in Zambia, for example, were fully dependent on imported Zimbabwean coal from the Wankie Colliery.

The second phase of industrial development in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to major technological innovations and introduced new sources of energy based on electric power and petroleum. The age of petroleum started in earnest on August 28, 1859, when

the American Edwin Drake (1819–1880) found oil in western Pennsylvania. This discovery triggered oil explorations on a global scale, even though petroleum's use as an energy source was confined to kerosene until the invention of a practical internal combustion engine in the 1890s. This invention was followed by the advent of the automobile, fueled by gasoline, and that, in turn, transformed transportation systems globally over the course of the twentieth century.

Although petroleum gained prominence in the first half of the twentieth century, coal remained the primary source of energy in Europe, providing around 80 percent of all European energy needs during this period. Yet despite the continuing predominance of coal, European countries opened up their colonial territories to intensive geological surveys by petroleum companies in the hope of discovering commercially viable petroleum deposits. Protective measures were introduced in the colonies, such as the British Mineral Oil Ordinance No. 17 of 1914 that barred non-British petroleum companies from prospecting for and exploiting petroleum resources within the British Empire. But by the 1950s, despite extensive exploration efforts in the colonies, colonial petroleum production was mainly confined to Trinidad (a British colony), Morocco (a French colony), and the Dutch East Indies. It was only in the final days of colonialism that petroleum exploration began to pay off in colonies such as Nigeria, which created perfect conditions for European neoimperialism in the independence period because the European energy companies that conducted the exploration won contracts to exploit the resources they had uncovered.

Phia Steyn

See also Coal; Industrial Revolution; Mining; Petroleum; Transportation

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English Language

As a native tongue or as a second language, English is the most widely spoken language on earth



Smoke spews from a coal mine in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in the early twentieth century. Coal remained the principal fuel of railroads and steamships during most of the colonial era. (Library of Congress)

today. Though its present spread is largely due to the influence of U.S. technology, it was initially disseminated across the globe by the far-flung British Empire.

Colonies in North America and Australia, sparsely inhabited by indigenous peoples and populated mainly by British settlers, became English-speaking countries quite naturally. In most colonies, however, Britons constituted a small minority and the linguistic situation was quite different. Although the British felt they had a duty to educate and Christianize the so-called savage natives, they considered it practical to accomplish this by indirect rule, placing traditional chiefs on the throne and interfering only when absolutely necessary. The choice of language in education was left to the missionaries, who at least initially taught in English.

Britons were focused on seeking economic benefits from colonization and were not particularly eager to promote the English language. Indeed, their feeling of superiority led them to keep indigenous populations at arm's length. Only in 1835 did British authorities in India formulate policies to utilize English as an instrument of colonization. They put an end to the debate between Orientalists and Anglicists, ruling in favor of the latter, and established schools modeled on the British system. Even then, however, English education was instituted mainly to train the professionals and skilled workers who would be needed by the colonial administrations. In time, the Indian paradigm was implemented in other colonies. The use of English was deemed helpful in developing national unity because it avoided any favoring one indigenous language over another. Moreover, economic survival required continuing ties with the English-speaking world.

Underlying these policies was an awareness that political configurations would eventually change and that it was desirable to indoctrinate future local leaders so that they would want to maintain ties with Britain. Colonies gained independence sooner than Britain had anticipated, and most of them did adopt English as the official (or co-official) language.

English is still the language of secondary and higher education in the former British colonies, but in most, unique varieties of English have emerged in which innovations of vocabulary, syn-

tax, and imagery are used to convey indigenous thought. Influential intellectuals disagree on the effect of these developments. Some agree with Kenya's Ngugi wa Thiong'o and argue that the use of colonial languages results in a domination of the mental universe of the colonized and must therefore be eliminated; they favor the development of indigenous languages. Others, such as Nigeria's Chinua Achebe or India's Salman Rushdie, believe that English can be made to express indigenous experience and that altering English to reflect contemporary local life is the most effective act of liberation.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also British Empire; Communications; Education; Language; Literature; United States

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Environment

Colonialism not only affected the political and socioeconomic lives of colonized peoples but also had a deep impact on their environments. One remarkable result of encounters between Europeans and non-European peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Asia after the late-fifteenth-century European voyages of exploration was the exchange of animals, diseases, and plants. Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Americas in 1492, for example, resulted in the trade of a host of such items between the Americas and the rest of the world years later. Some of the early exchanges were positive developments that brought the world closer together; others, however, had catastrophic consequences for indigenous peoples of the colonized regions. For example, maize and potatoes, both native to the Americas, were introduced to Europe and Asia and have become staple foods for much of the world's population. But smallpox, introduced to the Americas from Europe, killed millions of Native Americans because they had no immunity to the disease.

European colonialism resulted in the conquest of lands in Africa, the Americas, and Asia. In some of these regions, especially in the Americas, Australia, and southern Africa, European settlements were established. In most instances, European agriculture was successfully used to manipulate the environment to meet the needs of the settlers for food and other resources. In North America, for instance, European immigrants tamed whatever portions of land they needed within a few decades and sometimes even sooner.

Animals and plants from Europe were introduced in colonial settlements with large tracts of forests, savannas, and steppes. By the 1600s, herds of horses and cattle were roaming Argentina, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and the plains of Mexico. Also by this time, a rapidly increasing number of domestic dogs gone wild were among the predators of these herds. In British North America, imported animals increased in number very dramatically, and wild horses and cattle were part of the expanding frontier from New England to the Gulf of Mexico. In Australia, pigs and poultry imported from the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa were thriving on the farms of English settlers by the late eighteenth century. The British also imported woolly sheep from Europe, and the animals multiplied within a short period. In New Zealand, there were about a quarter million sheep by the time Great Britain annexed the island in 1840.

European crops as well as undesirable plants flourished in regions where climatic and soil conditions were conducive to growth. Imported weeds thrived and took over vast tracts of fields in the Caribbean Islands, Mexico, Australia, and New Zealand, where the land had been disturbed by conquest and the introduction of new crops and animals. Forests were razed for timber and fuel in areas endowed with vast expanses of vegetation, and animals overgrazed grasslands and woodlands where pasture was available. Many indigenous floras were fatally vulnerable to European species of weeds, such as ferns, thistles, and nettles. In some cases, however, the introduced plants and weeds helped to protect the topsoil of hectares of valuable agricultural land.

The soil and flora of most colonized areas throughout the world were altered forever. Domesticated animals from Europe arrived, thrived, and multiplied into enormous herds. Their eating

habits, trampling hooves, and droppings and the seeds of weeds they brought left a deep impact on the environments that became their new homes. In the end, colonialism changed and reshaped the world because most continents lost countless natural plants and animals due to the human introduction of overpowering species. And in many instances, colonized regions were adversely affected by the introduction of animals, diseases, and plants from another environment, which dominated the existing indigenous flora and fauna.

Tamba E. M'bayo

See also Americans, Native; Argentina; Australia; Brazil; Cape Colony; Columbian Exchange; Mexico; New England; New Zealand; South Africa

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Eritrea

Eritrea achieved nationhood in 1992, one of the last African states to do so, winning independence not from a European colonial power but by separating from Ethiopia after thirty years of war. Eritreans considered their move to independence a liberation, but Ethiopians saw it as a secession.

In modern times, Eritrea was generally recognized as part of the Ottoman Empire, although Ethiopian emperors considered it their territory; they tolerated an Ottoman presence, utilizing Eritrea as a buffer and collaborating with the Ottomans economically. Ethiopia militarily repulsed Egyptian moves to occupy Eritrea in 1875 and 1876. Meanwhile, Italy had established itself at Massawa and Aseb in the 1860s, eventually consolidating control over a larger coastal colony. Eritrea served as an Italian base for conquering Ethiopia in 1896 and again between 1935 and 1936, although both efforts ultimately failed.

Eritrea remained in Italian hands until 1941, when, as a result of Italy's World War II defeat, ten years of British military occupation began. Political party formation ensued, and the United Nations endeavored to settle Eritrea's long-term

future. Eritrean Christians generally favored federation with Ethiopia, whereas Muslims preferred independence or partition. Ethiopia, arguing historical and cultural ties to Eritrea's peoples and wanting secure access to the sea, encouraged federation. A sharply divided United Nations accepted a U.S.-sponsored plan that federated the colony with Ethiopia in 1952. But ten years later, Emperor Haile Selassie I scrapped this arrangement, annexing Eritrea as Ethiopia's fourteenth province.

This unilateral action, largely ignored by the international community, lent momentum to Eritrea's nationalist movement, and many Eritreans began to view Ethiopian administration as colonial. They perceived that Eritrea's own economic development was subordinated to the greater needs of Ethiopia. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), founded in 1960, contested the Ethiopian presence in Eritrea, but Ethiopia's military, well supplied by the West, was generally able to contain it. Various factions challenged the ELF internally, most prominently the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which was founded in 1973. Incessant infighting detracted from efforts to mount a more effective liberation struggle. Meanwhile, a deteriorating domestic situation in Ethiopia in the early 1970s (drought and famine as well as the mounting human and economic costs of the Eritrean insurgency) contributed to Haile Selassie's deposition in 1974 and the succession of a Marxist-oriented military regime (the Derg).

The Derg briefly toyed with Eritrean reconciliation but soon dissolved in its own internecine struggles and purges, thereby encouraging the 1977–1978 Somali grab for the Ethiopian region of Ogadeen. With the Derg alienated from Western support and overextended both militarily and economically, the Eritrean liberation groups, having achieved a fragile unity, were able to mount a more effective challenge and went on the offensive after 1979. In 1982, the Derg, in the Red Star campaign, committed itself to an all-out, final military solution in Eritrea, but the offensive stalled, with heavy losses on both sides. By 1988, the Ethiopians had lost vast sections of the country and were increasingly isolated in urban areas. They intensified the use of aerial bombardment, displacing hundreds of thousands of Eritreans, who joined the many refugees already in Sudan.

By 1989, the EPLF, working closely with Ethiopian opposition groups—particularly the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF)—sought to undermine and destabilize Ethiopia's military regime. Domestic support for the Derg quickly eroded, and in 1991, forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (a coalition of the TPLF, EPLF, and various other opposition groups) occupied Addis Ababa. Espousing self-determination, the EPRDF supported a UN-sponsored referendum on Eritrean independence in 1992 by which Eritrea became a self-governing nation.

Charles W. McClellan

See also Ethiopia; Haile Selassie I; Italian Empire; Ottoman Empire

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Espionage

The act of gathering information in a clandestine fashion has been part of statecraft since the very beginning of civilization. Because one nation feels the need to know what another is doing, there is a continuing demand for material that reveals military, industrial, or political secrets. Thus, espionage has been described as the “second oldest profession.” The ancient Egyptians practiced spying; it is mentioned by Homer and is found in the Bible.

The greatest exponent of espionage was Sun Tzu, the ancient Chinese strategist who wrote the *Art of War*, a treatise in which he described five types of spies and their usefulness (for him, the art of war was entirely based on deception). He enumerated these as: local spies (agents who are citizens of a hostile nation), moles (agents that are officials in the government of the hostile nation), double agents (recruited enemy agents used against their own country), doomed spies (agents used for deception and entirely expendable), and surviving spies (agents that consistently produce information about the hostile nation). The qualities that each spy must possess include intuition, acumen, ingenuity, and subtlety. As for the fate of

each spy, Sun Tzu made it simple—all spies are expendable. He also stressed the importance of counterintelligence. Enemy agents may compromise the effectiveness of a country's intelligence service unless measures are taken to thwart the enemy. Thus, the basic principles of espionage delineated by Sun Tzu have changed little over time, as they remain in effect to this day.

One of the earliest examples of modern espionage occurred in the nineteenth century—namely, the “great game,” which was an elaborate system of surveillance, intelligence, and counterintelligence deployed by Great Britain and the Russian Empire. The effort on Britain's part was to head off any expansionist ambitions that Russia harbored concerning India. To this end, a buffer zone known as the Wakhan Corridor was established in southern Afghanistan in 1896. However, wariness persisted on each side, and measures and countermeasures continued to be employed right up to the cessation of British rule in India in 1947.

By 1914, on the very eve of World War I, all European nations had established departments where spies were trained, as well as highly sophisticated infrastructures that allowed for the handling of spies and the decoding of information that was gathered in the field and sent back to headquarters. Two of the most famous spies to emerge from this period were Sydney Reilly (1874–c. 1925) and Mata Hari (1876–1917). It was Reilly who set the standard for modern-day espionage, transforming it from a “great game” for gentlemen, with accepted rules and limits, into an arena of ruthless intrigue and deception to achieve political and military ends. Reilly worked for the British, was able to penetrate the German High Command during World War I, and nearly reversed the Russian Revolution in 1918. To this day, his fate is shrouded in myth, with some firmly believing that he was not killed by the Russians as had been reported but lived out his life in secrecy.

Mata Hari also paid dearly for her exploits. She is best known for her skills at double-crossing, that is, she worked for both the British and the Germans simultaneously. Dutch by origin, her real name was Margaretha Geertruida Zelle. She worked as a dancer in Paris and joined the German Secret Service sometime in 1907. She gained military secrets by seducing British, French, and German officers, then passed the information on

to either side. She was eventually arrested by the French (in 1917), quickly tried, and executed.

The countries that led the rest in developing a refined structure of spy rings were Britain, Germany, and Russia. Each of these three colonial powers required a continuous flow of information in order to deflect and diffuse conflicts that could undermine their dominance.

The history of British espionage goes back to Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's spymaster, whose agents had infiltrated all the courts of Europe. In later years, Britain established the ground rules for cryptography, domestic surveillance, and the detection of treason. In 1909, two agencies were created within the Secret Service Bureau of the War Office—namely, the Home Section (known as MI5, short for the fifth branch of Military Intelligence) and the Foreign Section (known as MI6, or the sixth branch of the Military Intelligence). MI5 became adept at counterespionage during World War II and was responsible for catching many German spies. It is still in operation and functions as a counterterrorism agency. MI6 still sends agents abroad on spy missions.

From the 1880s until 1918, the largest spy school in the world was located in Berlin and was run by the German Secret Service; Berlin has had a long history as a center for espionage activity, down to the present day. Most of the infrastructure was disassembled after 1918, with Germany's defeat in World War I. However, with the surge of national socialism and Adolf Hitler's rise to power from 1920 to 1933, the infrastructure of German intelligence agencies was again reestablished, since Hitler had need to uncover his enemies. This task was entrusted to the Sicherheitsdienst (SD, or Security Service), which was a specialized unit within the Schutzstaffel (SS), Hitler's elite personal guard. As Hitler consolidated his power, the work of the SD expanded as well, until an espionage unit was specifically created—the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, or Reich Security Organization), which worked only on overseas operations (much like MI6). Out of the RSHA was created the infamous Gestapo (the Geheime Staatspolizei, or Secret State Police), which looked after homeland security (much like MI5). The RSHA established a network of agents, spies, and informants throughout the world, and it ran two spy schools, one in the Hague and one

in Belgrade, where agents were trained in engineering, disguises, topography, trigonometry, ciphers, coding, deception, and seduction.

Like England, Russia has a long history of espionage, going back to the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), and each successive czar had his own network of spies who scoured the land for revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries. After the revolution, intelligence activity was greatly extended by Vladimir Lenin. However, it was Joseph Stalin who established Russian espionage both at home and abroad. The intelligence apparatus that he created evolved into three separate units. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD, or Secret Police) was responsible for internal security and also ran Stalin's countless death camps (the gulag system). The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) was the NKVD reformulated after 1946. The Committee for State Security (KGB) was the result of merging two agencies: the Ministry of State Security (MGB, or military counterespionage) and the economic intelligence unit known as K1. The KGB was created in 1954 and was responsible for internal security and foreign intelligence. This agency operates to this day in modified form.

Nirmal Dass

See also British Empire; German Empire; Soviet Union; World War I

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Ethiopia (Abyssinia)

Modern Ethiopia (known as Abyssinia or the Abyssinian empire prior to the twentieth century) has long defended its sovereignty against outside encroachment, while periodically challenging its neighbors offensively. Ethiopia's temperate climate and fertile soils, its ancient Coptic Orthodox Chris-

tianity, its association with the Nile's source, and its plentiful resources (including gold, ivory, slaves, and coffee) have attracted foreign interest throughout history.

The Portuguese were involved in Ethiopia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, pursuing a Christian alliance against the Ottoman Turks by aiding Ethiopia against the Somali leader Ahmed ibn Ibrahim. In 1868, the British dispatched a 32,000-man force to compel Ethiopian emperor Tewodros II to release European hostages he had seized to help him secure Western weapons. In the late nineteenth century, as the Ottoman Empire disintegrated, Isma'il, the grandson of Egypt's Muhammad Ali, claimed Ottoman coastal territory along the Red Sea and in the Horn of Africa. Fighting for control of Eritrea, Ethiopia's emperor Yohannis IV annihilated a small Egyptian force at Gundet in 1875 and a larger one in 1876 at Gura. One year later, Yohannis thwarted Italian efforts to garrison the Eritrean highlands, pummeling a 500-man Italian force at Dogali, an event that encouraged the Italians to aid Menelik's imperial challenge of Yohannis. Meanwhile, Isma'il's domination of the neighboring Sudan helped spark the Mahdist revolt there in 1889, resulting in border confrontation between the Mahdists and Ethiopians as the former raided for booty and destroyed isolated Egyptian garrisons. Yohannis's death in this campaign left Menelik II to assume the Ethiopian throne.

As regional ruler of Shewa, Menelik expanded his territory to the south, west, and east, improving his access to the sea and gaining rich reserves in land, gold, slaves, and ivory. Using force or its threat, Menelik compelled dozens of new ethnic entities to accept his authority, tripling the size of the Abyssinian empire, defining its modern boundaries, and consequently creating modern Ethiopia. In 1889, the Italians signed the duplicitous Treaty of Wuchale with Menelik, claiming an Italian protectorate over Ethiopia. Menelik, too, was eventually forced to defend his kingdom, overwhelming the Italians at the Battle of Adwa in 1896.

His eventual successor was the progressive Haile Selassie I, who became regent in 1916 and emperor in 1930. Like Mustafa Kemal and Reza Khan, he envisioned modernization for his country. Distrusting the Italians, he played the colonial



Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia appears before the League of Nations in 1940 to protest Italy's invasion of his country. During the European scramble for African colonies in the late nineteenth century, Ethiopia was one of only two countries—the other was Liberia—to remain independent. (Library of Congress)

powers against each other and placed great faith in collective security, gaining Ethiopia's 1923 admission to the League of Nations despite strong Italian opposition.

In the next decade, Italian Fascists and nationalists would make yet another attempt to conquer Ethiopia. The Italians were frustrated at their failure to dominate Ethiopia economically, and they recalled the previous humiliation at Adwa; in addition, they felt Italy had been mistreated by the Allies after World War I, and their country was affected by the impact of the world depression in the 1930s. Thus, in October 1935, Italian forces invaded Ethiopia. Employing both Italian and colonial troops (from Eritrea, Somalia, and Libya) and using modern tanks, airplanes, bombs, and poison gas, Italian forces advanced from Eritrea and Somaliland. Denied assistance from the League of Nations, Haile Selassie fought the Italians in a se-

ries of conventional battles at Tembien, Amba Aradom, and Maichew in early 1936. Ultimately, however, modern technology overwhelmed and dispirited his forces, and the emperor chose to go into exile in London, where he continued diplomatic efforts to win support for his kingdom. Meanwhile, Italian forces occupied the entire country, although never securely. An Ethiopian guerrilla movement subsequently emerged, relentlessly targeting Italian convoys, isolated garrisons, and work camps. For their part, the Italians initiated a campaign of economic development, focused on transportation infrastructure, cash crops, and European settlement, but Italy's involvement in World War II drained away available resources. The broader war led to Allied assistance for the Ethiopian guerrillas, a commitment of supplies, and fresh forces and equipment. British, South African, French, and Belgian troops, along

with their colonial levies, fought alongside the guerrillas in liberating Ethiopia. Haile Selassie returned to his capital in May 1941 after a five-year exile.

Despite his wartime experience, Haile Selassie steadfastly supported collective security, making Ethiopia a UN member in 1945 and serving as co-founder of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. In the postwar period, the emperor successfully ended Allied military occupation of his country and won control of Eritrea. At the same time, he cultivated a warm relationship with the United States while associating Ethiopia with the Non-Aligned Movement.

Charles W. McClellan

See also Adwa, Battle of; Italian Empire; League of Nations; Menelik II; Organization of African Unity

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Eurocentrism

Eurocentrism is a much debated concept that has a close relationship to the history of European colonialism. At one level, the term is often simply used to mean the disproportionate emphasis given to Europe (especially Western Europe) in the writing and teaching of history and in the social sciences and the media. But at another level, this primarily empirical definition masks deeper layers of Eurocentrism, such as the implicit or explicit assumption that the often romanticized historical trajectory of Western Europe (and more recently North America or what some observers call Euramerica) represents the model against which all peoples and social formations are to be evaluated and understood. In this case, Eurocentrism is the long-standing academic and popular practice of viewing the history of the societies of the non-European world in terms of their success or failure to modernize along “Western” lines. Directly related to this is the way in which Europe is held up as the fountainhead of democracy, economic progress, and modernity, even as its long history of colonialism and its history of dictatorship and authoritarianism (until well into the twentieth century) is disregarded or downplayed. Eurocentrism also

refers to the practice of viewing the rise and spread of Europe as the driving force in world history. This form of Eurocentrism is readily apparent in the way that colonialism and the colonial era are still regularly interpreted as the event or period that brought the rest of the world into history.

Institutions—such as the nation-state, which was and still is seen as the main vehicle for liberation from colonialism in the non-European world—are also grounded in European history and reflect the deeply rooted character of Eurocentrism. Although nationalism emerged in the colonies as a reaction against colonialism and even against Eurocentrism, colonialism provided the overall context for the rise of new nation-states. As a consequence, the ability of the new nations to transcend their colonial histories and their Eurocentric underpinnings has been more circumscribed than was often anticipated or is currently asserted. The complex and variegated European colonial empires that had been built up by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Asia and Africa were the framework within which anticolonial nationalisms emerged. At the moment of decolonization, nationalist movements turned the “state” into the embodiment of the national struggle, and the various movements’ many contradictions and tensions were given a unity by the new nation-states erected on the Eurocentric foundations of colonial power. The development of the new nations was evaluated by their leaders and citizens—and by the rest of the world—in terms of the ability to follow the historical path to development and democracy ostensibly pioneered by the nation-states of Western Europe and North America.

This points to the way in which Eurocentrism remains widespread and is embedded in the very fabric of the contemporary nation-state system and the international economy. Efforts to overcome Eurocentrism, like nationalist initiatives against colonialism, are compromised from the outset and can work as much to reinforce Eurocentrism as to help bring about a more thoroughgoing liberation from the West. In fact, with the passing of the Bandung era (the period from the Bandung Conference in 1955 to the failed push for a new international economic order by the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1970s), along with the growing trend toward globalization and the end of

the Cold War, some observers argue that the terrain has shifted so dramatically as to make the idea of overcoming Eurocentrism more problematic than ever. In the 1970s, postcolonial theory emerged to provide a thorough critique of the way in which the ideas and practices of the new nation-states were implicated in—and reproduced types of Eurocentric knowledge that were grounded in—the colonial era. However, most postcolonial theorists still implicitly accepted the nation-states, established by the earlier anticolonial initiatives, as the key political units of the postcolonial era. At this juncture, there is a view, outlined in some detail by writers such as David Scott, Arif Dirlik, Michael Hardt, and Antonio Negri, that the dramatic reconfiguration of the nation-state system in an era of globalization means a point of diminishing returns has been reached. The emancipatory potential of the nation-state has been seriously challenged by its record in the postcolonial world, at the same time as the illusive character of efforts to transcend Eurocentrism has been highlighted. With the passing of the Cold War and the deepening and spread of globalization, the significance and character of Eurocentrism is changing, and the way in which it is being—or can be—challenged is shifting as well.

Mark T. Berger

See also Bandung Conference; Cold War; Decolonization; Democracy; North-South Conflict; Racism; Third World

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powers, that was set up in 1957 to promote an overwhelming integration of Europe and expand its international role, including its trade and development ties with the Third World. By 2001, the European Union included Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Further candidates for membership in 2003 included Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Turkey. In the mid-1990s, the former colonies and semicolonies accounted for some 34 percent of EU exports, and more than 20 percent of the Third World exports went to the EU. The EU continues to rely on key raw material imports from former colonies, such as rubber, copper, and uranium. Additionally, a multitude of cultural, economic, and political ties still bind many of the former colonies to Europe.

The history of the European integration, with all its difficulties, setbacks, and rivalries, closely coincided with the decolonization of the European empires and postcolonial development in the Third World. The association of the French, Belgian, Dutch, and Italian possessions with the European Community was envisaged initially in the 1957 Treaty of Rome that created the EC. Since the time of President Charles de Gaulle, France used EC relations with postcolonial Africa to strengthen its ambitions as a great power within the community. At the same time, West Germany and the Netherlands contested the EC aid programs of the 1960s that were centered on the francophone African countries and promoted wider association between the community and the Third World.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, Britain's vast interests in the British Commonwealth complicated the country's application to the EC, and conversely, inter-European disagreements over the British admission to the community hampered the association of former British colonies in Africa with the EC. By contrast, the rapid expansion of EC-Third World ties in the 1970s allowed the former Spanish and Portuguese African colonies to obtain association status before their former masters joined the community.

By the early twenty-first century, the EC extended association status to seventy-seven African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries,

European Union (European Community)

The European Union (EU)—formerly the European Community (EC)—is an association of European countries, some of them former colonial



Representatives from the twelve original member states meet at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam for the signing ceremony of the 1997 European Union treaty. Among other things, the treaty restricts asylum for refugees from former European colonies in the developing world. (Associated Press)

mainly former European colonies. A series of agreements (the Yaoundé Conventions of 1963 and 1969; the Lomé Conventions of 1975, 1979, 1984, and 1990–1995; and the Cotonou Agreement of 2000) built a closely integrated global system of trade and aid arrangements; this system guarantees preferential commercial ties between Europe and the ACP countries and, most important, makes the later eligible for EC grants and low-interest loans through the world's largest development aid program. Since the 1970s, accords paralleling the EC-ACP association have been made with nonassociated European ex-dependencies and other countries in the Middle East and North Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These accords emphasize closer economic cooperation, political dialogue, cultural ties, technical assistance, development aid, and the prospect of establishing free trade zones in the future.

Thus, by the end of the twentieth century, Europe succeeded in creating a huge trading empire that recast and refashioned the old colonial ties with former colonies and overseas territories (only

Guinea in 1962 and Greenland in 1985 withdrew from association with the EC). Nevertheless, inherited antagonisms and suspicions, as well as new tensions, cloud EC-Third World relations.

Some see the EC-ACP relations as a manifestation of neocolonialism, whereby former colonial powers use trade privileges to continue the exploitation of poor countries in the era of globalization (although for Europe, the importance of trade with the ACP countries is decreasing). Additionally, former colonies demand more EC aid. The Europeans, for their part, frequently complain about political instability, corruption, and human rights abuses in the Third World, and they are concerned about the growing illegal immigration from Europe's former possessions. The EC protection of its agriculture and some declining industries (steel, shipbuilding, textiles, and so on) seriously affects free trade relations with the developing countries. Thus, Europe's domestic social and economic priorities often limit its overseas aid programs.

Some former European colonies have established closer ties with the EC/EU. For instance, the

overseas territories of France (Guadeloupe, Martinique, Réunion, and Guiana), Spain (Canary Islands), and Portugal (Azores and Madeira) acquired a special status as the most remote regions of the EU, and they provide it with strategically important assets to develop international tourism and trade and to expand agricultural production and space and ocean exploration. The British former colonies of Malta and Cyprus are among the likely candidates to join the EU in the near future.

Peter Rainow

See also Decolonization; Economics; North-South Conflict; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; Third World

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Exhibitions, Colonial

Perhaps the best-known forms of imperial exhibition were the international expositions of the period between 1851 and 1940—grand events designed to celebrate progress, technology, and colonialism. At these exhibitions, the colonial powers displayed their advanced technology, industry, resources, fine arts, and all types of manufactured goods. The words *exhibition*, *exposition*, and *fair* are used interchangeably to refer to these events.

The first of these colonial spectacles was the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, held in Hyde Park, London, in 1851, under the sponsorship of Prince Albert (1819–1861). Over 100,000 domestic and foreign exhibits were housed in a huge, glassed-in space, which was as much a marvel of industrial technology as any of the machines or goods displayed inside. The structure, dubbed the Crystal Palace by the media, was designed by Joseph Paxton (1803–1865), a former gardener and greenhouse engineer. The Crystal Palace was constructed in nine months from prefabricated units of iron and glass; it measured 564 meters (1,850 feet) in length and covered over 70,000 square meters (750,000 square feet) of exhibition space. On display within this glass arena were all of the industrial and decorative arts (ex-

cept painting), with a decided emphasis on British-manufactured goods made from colonial raw materials. More than 6 million people visited this spectacular display of British colonial wealth and resources.

The 1851 London exhibition immediately inspired competition from other industrialized nations; between 1851 and 1940, there were almost a hundred such expositions hosted by the Germans, Dutch, Belgians, and Americans, as well as the English and French. Keeping with the tradition of technologically wondrous exhibition structures established by the Crystal Palace, the French built the Eiffel Tower for their 1889 Exposition Universelle (commemorating the centennial of the French Revolution, with 32.3 million visitors) and constructed the Paris Metro for the 1900 Exposition Universelle (celebrating the new century, with 50 million visitors). Other major international expositions of the colonial period included the Centennial International Exposition (Philadelphia, 1876); the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893–1894); the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition (St. Louis, 1904); the Panama Pacific International Exposition (San Francisco, 1915); the British Empire Exposition (London, 1924–1925); the Exposition Coloniale Internationale (Paris, 1931); the Century of Progress Exposition (Chicago, 1933–1934); the Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne (Paris, 1937); the Golden Gate International Exposition (San Francisco, 1939–1940); and the New York World's Fair (New York City, 1939–1940). The theme of every international exhibition was Western technological progress and, implicitly, the “rightness” of the colonial system. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the international exhibitions in the construction of colonial ideology, both directly, through their mass audiences, and indirectly, through visual representations such as photography, publications, and mass-produced souvenirs.

A second important colonial exhibition practice was the Western display of the cultural artifacts of the traditional societies of colonized people. Objects of material culture from Africa, Oceania, and the Americas were first exhibited in the West in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century “cabinets of curiosity” (collections of natural oddities), then as specimens of allegedly primitive

culture in ethnographic and natural history museums. Such objects (masks, carvings, textiles) only became appreciated as fine art after Western artists had begun appropriating the style of non-Western art in the modernism movement, around 1910.

Perhaps the most shocking form of colonial exhibition was the display and commodification of living human beings. This practice had a long history prior to Western colonialism as an aspect of the display of freaks and/or wonders of nature; colonialism supplied a new source of strange and exotic persons to meet the ever present demand. As early as 1501, live Eskimos were displayed to the public in Bristol, England; in the seventeenth century, Native American Virginians were displayed as zoological specimens at the zoo in St. James Park in London. In the early nineteenth century, the London entrepreneur William Bullock featured several types of exotic people in dramatic theatrical displays incorporating panoramic backdrops. In the 1870s, the Hamburg animal trainer and zoo master Carl Hagenbeck hired Norwegian ship captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen to “collect” a Greenland Eskimo family for display in Germany and throughout Europe. The tour was so profitable that Jacobsen repeated it with other so-called exotic types, including a group of Lapps complete with a reindeer herd and, in 1885 and 1886, a twenty-seven-city tour featuring nine dancing Bella Coola (Pacific Northwest Coast) natives. Jacobsen’s “collections” also furnished cultural artifacts for German museums. Human displays were common sights in European cities throughout the colonial period.

Beginning in earnest with the 1889 Paris Exposition, most of the international expositions also featured exhibits of “primitive” people collected from the colonies. These displays were intended to educate by showing the progress of Western civilization over raw, primitive nature. Didactic and entertaining, the human displays (frequently in the form of ethnographic villages) were a popular feature of the international expositions. Hundreds of souvenir photograph albums featuring exotic types were published, further emphasizing the contrast between these primitive “others” and advanced Western society. These visual displays of difference stressed the importance of biology and inheritance rather than environment and culture

in the formation of human societies, and they were related to contemporary scientific theories concerning race, including both anthropometry (the measurement of the races) and eugenics (the selective breeding of humans). Western institutions used the exhibition of the cultures of colonized people to illustrate essential differences in nature that were asserted to exist between the colonizer and the colonized. Colonial exhibitions were never passive reflections of reality; rather, they worked to construct and support the colonial system.

Elizabeth Perry

See also Art; Racism; Science

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Exploration

In the view of many historians, the age of European exploration in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries was a necessary precursor to the establishment of a colonial world order in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the age of exploration, the major European powers, including Spain, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal, sought out new products and markets in the Americas, Africa, and the Far East.

In 1498, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route from Europe to India, which sped the trade in spices and cotton, as well as silk and porcelain from China; before this discovery, such goods had to be transported via a long overland route to Europe. With this beginning, European explorers ventured into the South Pacific, to the Americas, and to Australia. Thus, the age of exploration is sometimes called the Vasco da Gama era. The knowledge of the geography and natural resources of distant territories gained during these explorations helped European powers establish trading companies and trading towns in regions such as India and the Gold Coast of Africa during the seventeenth century.

One of the most important of these companies, the British East India Company, established in 1600, came to dominate the political and economic life of India from its headquarters in London. The company was granted a monopoly on the Eastern trade by Elizabeth I, and during its early voyages, the company battled with Dutch, French, and Portuguese competitors over trade in India and the East Indies. After reorganization as a joint-stock trading company, it established administrative districts in the Provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay and consolidated its control over Indian affairs.

In the beginning of this period, European possessions in the rest of the world were limited to coastal outposts and the small trading towns that grew up around them. As time went on, however, European companies came to control the production of goods as well as the trade. In the case of the British East India Company, British officials allied themselves more and more closely with the local elites, gaining power and access to resources in this way. In 1773 and 1774, the British government shifted power from the company to the government through the India Act. This measure established a separate department and governor-general for Indian affairs, turning India into a *de facto* colony of Great Britain. The British East India Company was one of the most prominent and successful of these ventures in using exploration as a step toward colonialism, but other companies, such as the Dutch East India Company and the Danish East India Company, functioned along much the same lines.

In the Americas, the Pacific, and Australia, European exploration had more brutal consequences for the local cultures that the Europeans encountered. In the Americas over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish conquistadores decimated the local populations, who fell victim to the superior Spanish technologies of warfare and European diseases to which they had no natural resistance. In the Americas, as in the East, European powers competed with each other to explore and establish colonies and gain access to trade goods, including coffee and chocolate from South America. Christopher Columbus's expedition, sponsored by the Spanish Crown in 1492, was an effort to find a new trade route to the riches of the East but instead landed in the Caribbean. Explorers were also attracted to the region by legends of a city of gold—

El Dorado—in the Americas. Several wars were fought in Europe and the Americas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the struggle over the resources of the New World. Although the Portuguese and the Spanish were the first to explore this region, it was the British and the French who were ultimately more successful in establishing permanent colonies, especially in North America. The rise of British sea power is symbolically recognized with the British defeat of the Spanish Armada in a battle for control of trade routes to the Americas. The English arrival in the South Pacific, in the Hawaiian islands in the late eighteenth century, was also marked by violent encounters with the peoples there, whom the English denigrated as "savages." In Australia, which the British used as a prison colony, the Aborigines were forced off their land—to which the British declared that they possessed no legal right—and killed or dispersed across the continent in large numbers.

Compared to efforts in other parts of the world, the European exploration of Africa occurred relatively late. Until the mid-nineteenth-century discovery that quinine could be used as a prophylactic against malaria, the interior of Africa was considered too dangerous and unhealthy for European exploration. Prior to that point, the European presence in Africa was essentially limited to the slave-trading posts on the west and north coasts, through which kidnapped people passed from the interior of Africa to sugar plantations in the Caribbean and farms in the American South; it is estimated that over 20 million people were enslaved before the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century. After the exploration and mapping of the Congo River by Henry David Morgan and the crossing of Africa by David Livingstone in the mid-nineteenth century, the African interior was opened for further European exploration. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire competed in a rapid scramble to claim colonial territories. The speed of the colonial acquisition in Africa and the brutality with which the technologically advanced Europeans destroyed the indigenous peoples in warfare represented a significant escalation in terms of the importance of the colonial enterprise in shaping world power. The tension among the European powers that ensued is considered to be one of factors leading to World War I.

The activities of exploration and colonization were very closely linked, and the European influence on the globe in that regard is often divided into two periods: an early modern period of exploration and a modern period during which Europeans capitalized on the knowledge and access to resources gained during their travels to establish powerful bureaucracies to govern the regions and people they had encountered as explorers.

Karen Oslund

See also Aborigines; British East India Company; British Empire; Columbus, Christopher; Conquistadores; Da Gama, Vasco; Dutch East India Company; Elizabeth I; French Empire; Livingstone, David; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire

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Faidherbe, Louis (1818–1889)

Governor of the French colony of Senegal and founder of the city of Dakar, Louis Faidherbe was one of the leading figures in the creation of the French Empire in West Africa in the middle and late nineteenth century. Born in Lille in 1818 and educated at the prestigious École Polytechnique in Paris, Faidherbe became a military engineer in 1840 and for the next twelve years served in Algeria, as well as Guadeloupe in the Caribbean. In 1852, he was posted to Senegal and, after winning the respect of the local French merchants, was appointed governor. Among his first actions was a successful expedition against the Islamic leader Umar Tal, who was challenging Senegal from the east.

His campaign against Umar Tal lasted until 1861 and resulted in the transformation of French Senegal from a scattering of trading outposts to a unified colony that had become the economic and military heart of the growing French Empire in West Africa. An administrator as well as a military leader, Faidherbe moved vigorously to eliminate slavery; founded Dakar (the future capital of French West Africa) and several other cities; and established an administration that ruled through local chieftains.

Ultimately, Faidherbe was too ambitious for the French government in Paris, which turned down his plans to expand Senegal eastward to the Niger River and Timbuktu. At the time, his plans were

seen as too expensive, but they would serve as a model for French expansion after the turn of the twentieth century.

Faidherbe returned to Algeria in 1865 and then was recalled to France at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and was made commander of the Army of the North. Following France's defeat, he was elected to the National Assembly but resigned due to the body's hostility to the republican cause, which he had strongly supported throughout his life. He was elected to the Senate in 1879 and served there until 1888, dying the following year.

James Ciment

See also Algeria; Dakar; Franco-Prussian War; French West Africa; Senegal

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Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)

The Falklands (known as the Malvinas by Argentinians) consist of two large and many small islands in the South Atlantic, 480 miles northeast of Cape Horn, South America. Humans (2,050 in 1991) are outnumbered by sheep (around 720,000 in 1992) by a ratio of 350 to 1 on these chilly, boggy, treeless outposts. Most people live in the only town, Port Stanley, which is on the largest island, East Falkland.

France (1764–1767), Spain (1767–1810), and Britain (1765–1774) all made abortive attempts to settle the area in the eighteenth century, for the islands proved useful for whaling and sealing. Following independence from Spain in 1816, Argentina (then known as the United Provinces of the River Plate) claimed the islands after Spain in 1820, sending settlers there six years later. In January 1833, a British ship took the islands by threat of force, and the Argentinean settlers left. At first a naval station, the colony was dominated by the Falklands Islands Company from midcentury on, and settlers came from Britain.

Argentina, however, never abandoned its claim to this territory. The United Nations called for the two sides to enter discussions in 1965; they commenced in 1967. Britain was willing to consider ceding sovereignty but only if the islanders' consent could be secured. It could not. In 1980 and 1981, parliamentary and islander pressure stalled proposals to cede sovereignty in return for Argentina leasing back the islands to Britain.

In March 1982, a few Argentineans raised their flag on icy South Georgia, 800 miles to the south of Port Stanley, disturbing Britain's Antarctic Survey and the native penguins. On April 1 and 2, 1982, the 67 British Marines on the Falklands were overwhelmed by an Argentinean force that grew to 12,000. After a moment's hesitation, Britain sent 20 warships (including 2 of its 3 remaining aircraft carriers), merchant vessels, and 6,000 troops. Leading elements departed from Britain on April 5. Arriving in East Falkland on May 20, they landed at San Carlos, on the opposite side of East Falkland from the Argentinean headquarters at Port Stanley. Argentinean airplanes from the mainland took a slow, steady toll, sinking the HMS *Sheffield* early on and destroying the container ship *Atlantic Conveyor* and its helicopters. This loss forced British troops to "yomp" (move with a heavy load) across the island to the heights outside Port Stanley. There they seized after hand-to-hand combat from June 11 to June 14, forcing the Argentineans to surrender.

In this last British imperial fling, 750 Argentine, 255 British, and 3 Falklanders' lives were lost (as well as four naval vessels and a container ship), all to defend fewer than 2,000 people on islands 8,000 miles from Britain. Had Argentina waited longer before committing its mainly con-

script army, the decommissioning of British ships might have made this perilous adventure still more improbable.

Subsequently, the Falklanders were given full British citizenship. The Falklands Island Development Corporation was established in June 1984, with the sale of fishing licenses and stamps and coins supplementing traditional wool exports. A 1985 constitution acknowledged the Falklanders' right to self-determination, and in the same year, a new airfield allowed for rapid reinforcement by wide-body jets. The islands' status remains in dispute.

Karl A. Hack

See also Argentina; British Empire; United Nations; War and Warfare

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Fanon, Frantz (1925–1961)

Psychiatrist and anticolonialist political theoretician Frantz Fanon left his hometown of Fort-de-France, Martinique, in 1943 to join the Free French forces and fight against the Nazis in Provence and Alsace. He remained in France after World War II, studying medicine and then psychiatry in Lyons, where he experienced racism for the first time. Fanon's clinical and personal observations of the relationships between whites and blacks and, by extension, colonizers and colonized are explored in his book *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Black Skin, White Masks) (1952), which examines the images and realities that lead to the depersonalization of the black man and his eventual alienation from himself.

Called to head the psychiatric hospital in Blida, Algeria, in 1953, before the struggle for Algerian independence began in earnest, Fanon treated both the victims of government-sanctioned torture and those who administered it. His sympathy for the Algerian cause grew, and in 1956, he resigned his post and went to Tunisia to work for the Algerian Front de la Libération Nationale

(FLN) in exile. He continued to see patients and wrote magazine and newspaper articles supporting the anticolonial cause; some were included in his *L'an V de la révolution algérienne* (Year Five of the Algerian Revolution) (1959) and *Pour la révolution africaine* (For the African Revolution) (1964). Fanon became acquainted with Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah and Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba, and in 1960, he was named the Provisional Algerian Government's ambassador to Ghana. Shortly afterward, Fanon was diagnosed with leukemia, but he continued to work on what would be called "the Bible of Third Worldism," *Les damnés de la terre* (The Wretched of the Earth) (1961). Jean-Paul Sartre wrote the preface to this book, which was published shortly before Fanon's death in Washington, D.C., where he had gone to seek medical treatment. His body was returned to Tunis, and he was buried in a martyr's cemetery in Algeria.

Les damnés de la terre calls for a new world to be born of a violent revolution led by the peasants of Africa because they benefited least but were most oppressed by capitalism and imperialism. Nothing short of the destruction of colonialism would be acceptable, according to Fanon, because any accommodation meant that profits would merely shift from one set of oppressors to another. In 1965, an English translation of the book was published in the United States by Grove Press, which advertised it as "the handbook for a Negro Revolution that is changing the shape of the white world."

Gail Tinsley

See also Algeria; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; French Empire; Social Sciences

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to dominate the struggle for independence and finally brought an end to the monarchy in 1952.

Crowned in 1937, Farouk inherited his father's autocratic manner. At the time he assumed the throne, Egypt's largest nationalist party, the Wafd, had been successfully marginalized by a combination of pressures from the palace and Great Britain. But as World War II approached, Britain's ambassador and de facto high commissioner, Miles Lampson, urged a different approach. Arguing that Egypt needed a more unified government and that Farouk had too many Italian friends, Lampson asked the king to allow a Wafdist government. Farouk refused, appointing his own people instead. Then, on February 4, 1942, British troops surrounded the royal place, and Lampson presented an ultimatum: Farouk could accept the Wafd or abdicate.

The king surrendered, and although this saved his throne, the act squandered whatever influence he held in nationalist circles. His abject capitulation to British demands was greatly resented within the Egyptian army and led to the creation of the Free Officers' Movement. Indeed, 1942 marked a key point in Farouk's political life, and his stature continued to be eroded thereafter. Although he proudly hoisted the royal flag over Cairo's Citadel as British forces withdrew in 1946, he was by then seen as an overly indulgent despot and a disgrace to Egypt. Farouk continued to dominate Egyptian affairs through the disastrous Palestine War, economic hard times, and growing political unrest. On July 23, 1952, a bloodless coup by the Free Officers' Movement overthrew the royal government. Farouk abdicated on July 26 and sailed off in exile to Italy.

John P. Dunn

See also British Empire; Decolonization; Egypt; Israel; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Wafd Party

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Farouk I (1919–1965)

Farouk I, Egypt's last reigning king, played an ambivalent role in his country's struggle against colonialism. Although there is little doubt he opposed British control over Egypt, Farouk was immature, autocratic, and erratic. These traits allowed others

Fascism, Italian

Much of the Fascist position on overseas expansion was based on theories that were borrowed from the nineteenth century and applied in an inconsistent and opportunistic manner. Combining the nineteenth-century belief in the destiny



Benito Mussolini, Fascist leader of Italy. (*The Illustrated London News Group*)

of nations to actualize themselves with social Darwinism's emphasis on the survival of the fittest, Fascists conceived of imperial expansion and conquest as a natural outgrowth of the emergence of the Fascist state. They contended that, struggling amid competitive and hostile states, Fascist Italy could fulfill its destiny only through militaristic expansion. As early as 1919, the future Fascist leader Benito Mussolini referred to imperialism as eternal and immutable, the destiny of dynamic nations that had the courage to embrace it in the face of weaker states who failed to accept the challenge.

Mussolini's imperial doctrines and policies were framed by his vision of an Italian empire in the Mediterranean and Red Sea that would constitute a rebirth of ancient Roman grandeur, his feeling that Italy's territorial aspirations had been betrayed by Britain and France in the peace settlements following World War I, and the convenient reminder that Italy's defeat by Ethiopia in 1896 should be avenged and used as a catalyst in the new imperial vision.

Furthermore, apologists for Italian imperialism justified their incursions into Africa as the responsibility of a superior people to elevate backward societies. Fascist theorists considered it both a historical duty and the national destiny to impose superior Italian (and Roman) civilization on the lesser peoples of Africa. In addition to supplying food and raw materials, colonies would be outlets for Italian settlement that would make the colonies prosper and progress while at the same time relieving Italy's severe economic problems.

In reality, Italian policy after the seizure of Ethiopia in 1935 and the formal establishment of an East African empire changed to an apartheid-type system based on explicitly racial ideas. Undoubtedly, some of the Italian racial theorists were persuaded by the central role race played in national socialism. Many writers on colonial issues, such as the influential Italian anthropologist Lidio Cipriani, questioned the civilizing mission of Italian colonization, claiming that Africans were mentally, physically, and morally inferior to whites and thereby to Italian culture as well. Consequently, Italy imposed a colonial system that rigidly segregated Italians and Africans. This system, though frequently unimplemented or ignored in practice, was designed to underscore the subject status of the Africans, and all rules and practices were intended to encourage racial purity and the consciousness of white superiority.

But with the inherent contradictions between Mussolini's aspirations and Italy's actual resources in Africa and with his increasing preoccupation with the approaching war, this vision of a Fascist colonial empire ultimately suffered the fate of Mussolini's other boastful—and unfulfilled—dreams.

William H. Alexander

See also Ethiopia; Italian Empire; Mussolini, Benito

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Fashoda Crisis

The 1898 Fashoda Crisis had its roots in the European obsession to colonize the African continent. The crisis was essentially a confrontation between two imperialist powers, France and Great Britain, as

they attempted to assert their dominance over the African continent. The Berlin Conference, hosted by Otto von Bismarck in 1884, not only set the rules for the division of Africa but also made the colonial powers even more aggressive in their pursuit of unclaimed territory and proclamation of protectorates and colonies that all powers would recognize.

The climatic event took place in Fashoda, a settlement on the White Nile in southeastern Sudan (the present-day town of Kodok). At the time of the crisis, France was clearly in the process of expanding in a west-to-east direction, and Britain was expanding from north to south. French troops under Maj. Jean-Baptiste Marchand arrived in Fashoda on July 10, 1898. Two months later, on September 18, the British arrived, under the command of Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener. Both powers laid claim to Fashoda and the Sudan, and the threat of war loomed.

Although both armies wanted to occupy the fort at Fashoda, Kitchener and Marchand recognized that a military confrontation was undesirable. Consequently, they agreed to hoist British, French, and Egyptian flags over the fort at Fashoda. Thereafter, the two imperial powers reached a compromise whereby the French sphere became the region west of this watershed and the British confirmed their position in Egypt, which was especially important because of the Suez Canal (built in 1869). This solution to the Fashoda Crisis led to the 1904 Anglo-French Entente. The formation of this entente prompted the British to change the town's name in hopes of obliterating the memory of the incident.

James Mulli

See also Bismarck, Otto von; Conference of Berlin; Kitchener, Lord Horatio Herbert; Sudan; Suez Canal; War and Warfare

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Ferdinand and Isabella (Spain)

The 1469 marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella of Castile (1451–

1504) united the kingdoms of Spain. The political philosophies of the two rulers were largely identical, as both believed strongly in religious homogeneity as well as expanding the material wealth and territory of the Spanish Empire. Given those two preeminent goals, 1492 became the pivotal year of their reign. That year, Spain succeeded in its campaign of expelling Jews and Moors from its territory, and with the help of Christopher Columbus and his famous entourage, it began its expansion into the New World.

Already in possession of islands along the coast of Africa, Ferdinand and Isabella began the exploration and conquest of the Spanish Main after Columbus's initial voyage. Ostensibly interested in promoting their religion through exploration and salvation, the Catholic monarchs instructed the conquistadores to convert all heathens in their path. However, the primary motive for Ferdinand and Isabella's expansion into the New World was a desire to accumulate wealth. Notables such as Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro explored and conquered the Americas, sending all recovered gold directly to the Crown. When the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico proved unprofitable, the monarchs directed a deeper exploration into the Americas to seek out greater wealth and search for mythical lands and repositories such as the city of El Dorado, whose streets were supposedly paved with gold.

Isabella died in 1504, but Ferdinand continued Spain's expansion into the Americas and Europe. After joining the League of Cambria against Venice in 1508, he moved on to conquer areas along the North African coast. By 1512, Ferdinand had successfully extended Spanish borders from the Pyrenees to the Rock of Gibraltar with the annexation of Navarre. On his death in 1516, his grandson, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, succeeded him.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Columbus, Christopher; Conquistadores; Cortés, Hernán; Exploration; Pizarro, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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Ferry, Jules (1832–1893)

French statesman Jules Ferry was elected deputy, or member of the National Assembly, in 1869. After the defeat at Sedan (1870) against Prussian invaders, he became a member of the Government of National Defense and mayor of Paris. Later, as head of the republican Left, he held several important ministerial posts (from 1879 to 1885). He is remembered for instituting major educational reforms and expanding France's colonial empire.

As minister for public instruction, he proposed laws secularizing public education, making it free, and making it compulsory for children between the ages of six and thirteen. He also made secondary education available to girls and founded a normal school specifically for them in Sèvres. His laws were passed in 1882, notwithstanding strong opposition from many who viewed them as anticlerical.

Between 1883 and 1885, as minister of foreign affairs, he endeavored to acquire new colonies. He wanted France to reassert its status as a great power after the 1870 defeat; he also believed in the superiority of the white race and its "duty to civilize inferior races." Above all, however, he was motivated by economic considerations. He visualized a worldwide economy in which trade would become an increasingly important factor and believed that France's export markets were menaced by German and U.S. protectionism and competition. He foresaw grave economic and social problems—problems he felt could be solved through colonial expansion. Thus, he sought new markets and ports of call. He championed the conquest of Tunisia (1881), northern and central Vietnam (1883), the French Congo (1884–1885), and Madagascar (1885). Ferry pursued his imperialistic goals relentlessly and, by and large, successfully, but in 1885, he was voted out of office because of setbacks encountered in connection with the conquest of Tonkin. He was elected to the French Senate in 1891 and became its president in February 1893 but was assassinated one month later by a religious fanatic.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Education; French Empire; French Indochina

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Feudalism

Derived from the Latin word for fief (*feudum*), *feudalism* was a term created in the sixteenth century by European lawyers attempting to codify property laws; it was never used during the medieval period that it attempts to describe. The modern uses of the term are widely disparate and variously include social, political, and economic aspects of society.

Feudalism has been primarily understood as a political system in which a vassal voluntarily promised military service through a series of oaths to a lord in exchange for protection and benefices—often a piece of land known as a fief. This system, based almost wholly on personal associations, was believed to have evolved from Germanic tribal customs after the collapse of Roman institutions in Western Europe. The fragmentation of central authority necessitated the distributed model of feudalism in which individuals acted independently, devoid of notions of state or public power. The feudal system in Europe is thought to have begun sometime between the sixth and eighth centuries, reached its height around the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and died out over the next few centuries.

Often included in the pledges of loyalty were a series of reciprocal duties for both lord and vassal. The vassal might pledge to serve at court, provide counsel and financial assistance, and generally uphold the interests of his or her lord. The lord could also pledge to defend his vassal's land and offer advice and counsel to the vassal. These rights and duties were never uniform and varied significantly over time and location.

However, the notion that feudal relationships were the primary form of political organization during the medieval period has been brought into question. In fact, feudo-vassalic relationships were only one of a number of complementary interpersonal and collective relationships that included conceptions of personal and public power. Although there is no firm consensus regarding the

remaining utility of feudal conceptualizations, the most recent scholarship has moved beyond regarding feudal relations as the primary method for understanding the complex and varied associations of medieval Europe.

In addition to this aristocratic and military arrangement, some historians have also attempted to describe a feudal society that was determined by the economic and social relationships that existed between lords and peasants. This model characterizes feudalism as a hierarchical social system having a servile peasantry ruled by a dominant military class that controlled access to land and resources. Karl Marx's understanding of feudalism as a direct replacement for ancient slavery that lasted from the sixth century to the eighteenth has been particularly influential. Marx's static conception of serfs being exploited for twelve centuries has often been generalized to include any society in which wealth and privileges are reserved for a small segment of the population. It is this conceptualization of feudalism that is often applied to colonial areas outside of Europe. However, if feudalism has limited usefulness in describing medieval Europe, it would seem to be even less relevant in regard to other societies.

Thomas Cramer

See also Economics; Marx, Karl

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Fiji

The islands of Fiji, first settled by Austronesian migrants around 1500 B.C.E., were unknown to Europeans until the seventeenth century. In 1643, Abel Janszoon Tasman of the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or Dutch East India Company, sighted the northeast edge of the group, but European knowledge of the islands remained limited even after the brief visits made by James Cook in 1774 and William Bligh in 1789 and 1792. It was only after the "sandalwood rush" in the first

decade of the nineteenth century, focused on the west coast of Vanua Levu, that Fijians established sustained contacts with Euramerican traders. Contact further intensified between the 1820s and 1850s as a result of a thriving *beche-de-mer* (sea cucumber) trade that, like the sandalwood boom, was driven by the demands of distant Chinese markets.

These trading contacts had important cultural and political consequences: the hegemony of the Bau *vanua* (confederation) was underpinned by its large store of muskets and its prominent role in cross-cultural trade. On the basis of a series of military victories against the rival vanua, the Bau chief, Cakobau, emerged as the dominant figure in Fiji, and his conversion to Christianity under the influence of the Tongan Christian Enele Ma'afu in 1854 further cemented Bau authority. Cakobau's formal assumption of kingship in 1871 failed to prevent escalating racial violence, however, and in 1874, at the behest of Cakobau, Fiji became a crown colony of Britain.

The first governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, launched a series of important reforms, banning sales of Fijian land and buttressing traditional sociopolitical hierarchies. Gordon also initiated the use of indentured Indian laborers in newly established sugar plantations: these laborers were encouraged to stay on in Fiji (even after the abolition of the indenture system in 1920), but the Indian settlers (who now compose some 44 percent of the population) enjoyed few political rights. Despite a weak nationalist movement, Fiji gained independence in October 1970, but the legacies of colonial rule, particularly the political and cultural marginalization of Fijian Indians, continue to trouble this Pacific nation.

Tony Ballentyne

See also British Empire; Cook, James; Labor

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Firestone Tire and Rubber Company

The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company was founded by Harvey S. Firestone in 1900. Its success

resulted from the burgeoning demand for tires as automobile production increased in the United States. However, to supply the rubber his company needed to produce those tires, Firestone depended on two colonies in Asia—the British colony of Malaya (now Malaysia) and the Dutch colony known as the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia).

After a post–World War I depression caused rubber prices to fall to less than \$.15 a pound, the British government, cooperating with the Dutch and with plantation owners in the colonies, passed the Restriction Act of 1922. Better known as the Stevenson Plan, the act caused prices to rise to \$1.23 a pound by reducing rubber output. Harvey Firestone denounced the British and Dutch monopoly on rubber as a “vicious plan” that forced Americans to pay inflated prices. Opposed to monopoly yet believing in supply-and-demand economics, he sought out new rubber plantations to supply his company. An agreement with the West African republic of Liberia resolved Firestone’s problem.

Liberia, which had been founded by African American colonists, remained independent after European powers colonized Africa due to its ties to the United States. Its connection to the United States proved profitable to Firestone, as the Liberian government signed an agreement in 1926 that gave his company lease rights to 1 million acres of land at \$.06 an acre for ninety-nine years. Firestone also gained access through the free port of entry Monrovia, the capital, while paying a nominal tax of 1 percent of gross rubber exports. Finally, the agreement gave Firestone Tire and Rubber Company unofficial yet effective control over Liberia’s revenues through indirect economic concessions such as company stores and the Bank of Monrovia, which was established by a Firestone subsidiary, the Finance Corporation of America. Most egregious of all, however, was the recruitment of laborers for Firestone plantations by Liberian officials in exchange for cash payments. The agreement saved the Liberian government from bankruptcy while establishing Firestone Tire and Rubber Company as the equivalent of a European colonial power.

Eugene VanSickle

See also British Empire; Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; Indonesia; Liberia; Malaysia

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Fourteen Points

In a famous address delivered to the U.S. Congress on January 8, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson laid out a fourteen-point peace plan that encapsulated his conception of the new international order that should flow from the eventual end of World War I. Wilson’s address included a call for: (1) the end of secret diplomacy; (2) unrestricted access to the high seas; (3) the dismantling of barriers to trade and investment; (4) the reduction of arms production; (5) the impartial adjudication of territorial claims; (6) the German government and its allies to withdraw from Russian territory; (7) the restoration of Belgian national sovereignty; (8) the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the occupied areas of France; (9) the readjustment of Italy’s borders; (10) the autonomy of national groups in Austria-Hungary; (11) the end of the foreign occupation of Romania, Montenegro, and Serbia, with the latter being granted access to the Adriatic Sea; (12) some form of autonomy for the non-Turkish peoples living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire; (13) the establishment of a sovereign and independent Poland, with access to the Baltic Sea; and (14) the creation of an association of nations that would facilitate the sovereignty and independence of all nations.

The Fourteen Points were greeted with enthusiasm in the United States; however, Wilson had drawn them up without any consultation with his allies. Nevertheless, they provided the framework for the negotiation of an armistice with Germany and Austria-Hungary by November 11, 1918, the end of World War I. During these negotiations, Wilson revised the tenth point to mean that the nationalities of Austria-Hungary should be given “complete independence,” and the Allied powers registered concern about the significance of the second point and ensured that demands for repa-

rations (something not covered in the Fourteen Points) were imposed on Germany and Austria-Hungary. It is often emphasized that the Fourteen Points were aimed in particular at undermining the secret treaties that Britain, France, Russia, Italy, and Japan had entered into at the beginning of the war (the Constantinople Agreements and the Treaty of London of 1915), providing for the redistribution of the colonies and territories of Germany and its allies. More generally, Wilson sought to make clear that the United States was opposed to the colonial and territorial ambitions of its allies. By the far the most significant point as far as Wilson was concerned was the last one, which paved the way for the establishment of the League of Nations.

Mark T. Berger

See also German Empire; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; Versailles, Treaty of; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I

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Franco, Francisco (1892–1975)

Francisco Franco Bahamonde was born in El Ferrol, Galicia, Spain, on December 4, 1892. In 1912, after his graduation from the Infantry Academy in Toledo, he requested a transfer to the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. Four years later, having been mentioned in dispatches from field commanders to military headquarters in Madrid, he was promoted to commandant. After becoming head of the Foreign Legion in Africa in 1917, he participated in a number of military engagements against the Moroccan mutineers in the area of Rif and Tétouan. He was promoted for his role in these actions, becoming the youngest general in Europe. At that time, he was very popular among those in the Spanish army who were interested in Africa.

In February 1936, Spain's leftist Popular Front government, which suspected Franco's right-wing politics, sent Franco to the Canary Islands in semi-exile; five months later, he fled to Tétouan and from there to the Iberian Peninsula, where he oversaw the mutiny of the Spanish army in Africa, marking the start of the Spanish civil war. During this struggle, Franco set himself up as chief of the army, head of state, head of the government, and

head of the only existing party in Spain. With the assistance of German chancellor Adolf Hitler and the Italian leader Benito Mussolini—and the passivity of the democratic countries—Franco's insurrectional “national” side defeated Spanish republican troops in 1939 and set up a dictatorial regime, abolishing all individual and collective freedoms, as well as any kind democratic participation in government.

Thousands of citizens fled into exile. In Catalonia, the Parliament and the autonomous government were abolished, and its language and culture were banished. So-called national Catholicism and Fascist principles inspired the diffuse ideology of Franco's regime, resulting in an active intolerance and persecution of anyone expressing an opinion against the regime. From 1953, the geostrategic interests of the Cold War favored the end of Spain's isolation from the West and after 1959 made deeper the characteristic underdevelopment of Spain. After a long illness, Franco died in Madrid on November 20, 1975, without having modified the essential structures and basic features of his regime.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also Cold War; Hitler, Adolf; Morocco; Mussolini, Benito; Spanish Empire

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Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)

Under the exceptional control of Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian government sought to create a German empire composed of all the German-speaking lands in Europe. Bismarck had succeeded in creating the North German Confederation of states, but the south German states were hostile toward Prussian authoritarianism.

The path to war between France and Prussia began with a dispute over the successor to the Spanish throne. The French opposed the candidacy of Prince Leopold von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of King William of Prussia. In a carefully worded telegram, Bismarck enraged the French government while at the same time arousing support for war in Berlin.

France declared war on the North German Confederation on July 19, 1870, despite its own military

unpreparedness. The Prussian military machine defeated the French forces in two months, though the siege of Paris continued until January 28, 1871. France's defeat led to the abdication of Napoleon III and the establishment of the Third Republic. Under the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt, France lost the German-speaking provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and a small mining district in its northern frontier; it also had to pay an indemnity of 5 billion francs. The German victory over France led directly to the formation of the German Empire, though unification of the German lands proved to be a stumbling block for peaceful relations with France and Britain.

The southern German states, not previously connected to the North German Confederation, were drawn into the "conflict of nations" between France and what would become the German Empire through the twin pressures of nationalism and patriotism. Through political and diplomatic maneuverings, Bismarck was able to fight three separate wars for unification and create Germany's Second Reich, the historical successor to the Holy Roman Empire that Napoleon had destroyed in 1806.

After an armistice was signed with France, King William of Prussia was crowned emperor (*Kaiser*) of Germany. The North German Confederation and its constitution provided the framework on which the empire was to be based. Prussian autocracy and militarism became the leading characteristics of the Second Reich, but most of the German people remained uninvolved with politics. The annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, against Bismarck's own wishes, allowed nationalism and pan-German sentiments to dictate politics, both at home and abroad, while at the same time alienating Germany from France and Britain.

The newly formed German reich had upset the delicate balance of power that had characterized European politics since the Congress of Vienna in 1815. France was openly hostile to Germany and its ambitions on the continent and in the world as a whole. Britain feared competition from an industrial, military power nestled in the heart of Europe. Ultimately, the unification of Germany set in motion a series of events that would lead to World War I.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Bismarck, Otto von; French Empire; German Empire; Napoleon III; War and Warfare; Wilhelm II of Germany

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Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790)

Benjamin Franklin was a true Renaissance man, being, among many other things, a statesman, an inventor, a philosopher, and a successful businessman. Born into modest means in Boston, Massachusetts, he rose to be one of the leading Americans of the eighteenth century. His broad interests, coupled with a pragmatic and empirical mind-set, led Franklin to keen insights about many issues. In 1729, at the age of twenty-three, he published *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, arguing that the American colonies should have a currency other than gold and silver. Even at that young age, he was aware that the needs of the colonies differed from the needs of the mercantilist home country.

When war broke out in 1754 between the English and the French (labeled the French and Indian Wars in the colonies), Franklin effectively argued, at the Albany Congress, that the colonies must unite to defend themselves against France. Although the plan for colonial unity was adopted, it was not ratified, and little became of it. Franklin later went to London in an attempt to get the proprietors of his adopted home colony, Pennsylvania, to allow a tax for the common defense of the colony; up to that point, the proprietors had resisted any effort to tax their interest in Pennsylvania. In 1760, Parliament passed a bill taxing both the colonists and the proprietors. Franklin stayed in England as an unofficial representative of the colony for the next eighteen years. During this time, he published numerous pamphlets and articles to present the colonial point of view to the English people and to Parliament. When an armistice was signed between the English and French in 1763, Franklin successfully argued that the British Empire was better served by taking Canada rather than the island of Guadeloupe. He knew that the colonies had the potential for tremendous growth

and that, although they were still just a frontier for the empire, they would one day represent a major partner, if properly managed. He called for the colonies to be allowed to manufacture goods, arguing that they were growing so rapidly they could easily absorb goods manufactured both domestically and in England.

By 1775, the relationship between the colonies and England had degraded to the point that Franklin believed he could accomplish little more in London, so he returned to Philadelphia. There, he was elected to the Continental Congress, and he proposed the Plan of Union, a modified version of his earlier Albany plan; it was later incorporated into the Articles of Confederation. In 1776, at the age of seventy, he was appointed as minister to France. This assignment was critical to the budding nation, and Franklin performed his duties splendidly. After the Revolutionary War, he aided in the negotiation and drafting of the Treaty of Paris. He was also a delegate to the new nation's 1789 Constitutional Convention, his last major civic duty. During his later life, Franklin opposed the slave trade, arguing, with his typical pragmatism, that slavery was both a hardship for the white laborer and detrimental to the African American. Unfortunately, he himself owned slaves and even took a slave servant with him to London, where he argued against Parliament's abuses of colonial rights.

Michael Banner

See also American Revolution; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Franz Joseph (Austro-Hungarian Empire) (1830–1916)

One of the longest-reigning monarchs in European history, Franz (Francis) Joseph ruled the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1848 to 1916. As emperor, he was responsible both for the establishment of the dual monarchy of Austria and Hungary in 1867 and for the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum issued to Serbia in 1914 that led to the outbreak of World War I and the ultimate destruction of the empire.

Born in 1830, Franz Joseph was the son of Archduke Francis Charles and the grandson, on his mother's side, of King Maximilian I of Bavaria. But it was his position as the nephew of the heirless Austrian emperor Ferdinand I that led to his grooming as the future monarch. On the abdication of his uncle during the widespread revolutions of 1848, Franz Joseph became emperor.

The rebellions of that year led to promises of a constitution limiting the power of the emperor. When Franz Joseph and his prime minister, Felix Schwarzenberg, refused to implement those promises in 1851, it caused widespread protest and a general dislike for Franz Joseph that would persist throughout his reign. When Schwarzenberg died the following year, Franz Joseph decided not to appoint another prime minister; he would rule more directly himself.

In 1859, Franz Joseph led Austria into a war against the Kingdom of Sardinia and its ally, France, for control of Lombardy. When the emperor's army commanders proved incapable, Franz Joseph turned to Prussia for help. But when the latter demanded control of the Austrian army, the emperor instead signed a peace treaty with Sardinia, ceding Lombardy.

In the following decade, hostilities with Prussia forced Franz Joseph to give up Austria's remaining claims on Germany and resulted in the loss of Venetia in Italy. At the same time, the emperor faced an increasingly restive Hungarian population, seeking greater autonomy within the empire. In 1867, a reluctant Franz Joseph accepted the idea of a dual monarchy for Austria and Hungary.

During much of the rest of the century, he was largely preoccupied with the Balkans, where the Austro-Hungarian Empire was expanding as the Ottoman Empire collapsed. But rising Russian power and Slavic nationalism provided constant resistance. Ultimately, that Slavic nationalism would play itself out in Sarajevo with the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and the subsequent outbreak of World War I. Siding with Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire would be defeated in the war and broken up into its component national parts. But Franz Joseph would not live to see this, for he died in 1916, two years before the end of the war.

Franz Joseph is remembered as both a bumbler in foreign affairs and a reformer at home. He



Printed for Vienna's World Fair of 1873, this poster depicts Hapsburg Emperor Franz-Joseph, who led the Austro-Hungarian Empire during its final decades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Library of Congress)

instituted much-needed reforms to streamline the empire's administration and helped the passage of a good deal of social welfare legislation. Abroad, however, he often sent contradictory signals, trying to shore up his empire on one front while ceding territory to nationalist forces on the other. In the final analysis, it can be said that Franz Joseph underestimated the power of such forces to destroy his antiquated notion of empire.

James Ciment

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Ottoman Empire; Russian empire; Serbia; World War I

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French and Indian War

See Seven Years' War

French Empire

Competing with other great powers, France dispatched explorers, sailors, missionaries, and mer-

chants in the 1500s to lay claim to lands beyond the seas. By the eighteenth century, it was in possession of numerous overseas regions: New France (the eastern coast of Canada), a band of territory stretching in a wide swath from the New France area down to the Mississippi Delta, the French West Indies, French Guyana, parts of India, and a few scattered forts on the West African coast.

But in a series of wars with Britain and Spain in the 1700s, culminating in those of the French Revolution after 1789, France lost most of its possessions—the largest loss being New France. Realizing he could not preserve the Louisiana territories from American designs, Napoleon sold them to the United States in 1803. The most valuable colony, the sugar-producing island of St. Domingue, was lost as a result of slave uprisings in the 1790s. Although France had lost most of its possessions due to the aggression of rival great powers, Haiti became the first French colony lost as the result of the inhabitants waging a successful struggle for independence from the home country.

After the Napoleonic era, during which France's imperial activity was mainly confined to the European mainland, there was some resumption of overseas imperialism. Charles X, seeking to bolster support for his regime through military exploits, sent an army against the bey of Algiers in July 1830. News of the army's victory came too late to benefit the king, however, and he was overthrown. Algeria was the only French possession to become a major settlement colony. The government seized the best land, handing it over to the settlers; meanwhile, the Muslim populations continued to grow even as the amount of land they had shrank, and they became increasingly pauperized.

In the 1840s, the Anglophobic French navy competed with Britain in establishing outposts around the world from which French power might be projected. French positions were established in the Guinea Coast, farther south at Libreville, and on Tahiti in the Pacific.

Under Napoleon III, expansion continued. Wanting to curry favor with Catholics who were concerned about the ill treatment of their priests, Napoleon established control over southern parts of Vietnam. In West Africa, the forts in Senegal, Gorée, and St.-Louis became bases from which a more aggressive policy was pursued, giving France larger territorial control, particularly along the

Senegal River. When France needed a place for its convicts, it took over New Caledonia in the Pacific and made it into a penal colony in 1853.

Imperialism was fully launched in the 1880s as the European powers, convinced that colonies were a necessary part of great-power status, sought to increase the territories to which they could lay claim overseas. One of the most important imperialist ideologues was the economist Paul Leroy-Beaulieu; in *De la colonisation des peuples modernes* (Of the Colonization of Modern Peoples) (1874), he proclaimed that empire was a matter of survival for France, ensuring its economic well-being. The French prime minister in the 1880s, Jules Ferry (1832–1893), apparently accepted Leroy-Beaulieu's analysis and also regarded overseas empire as essential to great-power status. Furthermore, after their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, French statesmen saw in empire an affirmation that France still could be counted among the leading states of Europe.

If Ferry and many of his fellow republicans were confirmed imperialists, expansion was not necessarily always directed from the top. In the 1880s, for example, French military officers seeking action and glory used Senegal as a launching pad for military operations into the western Sudan (today's Mali), and they often, in disregard of orders from their superiors, planted the French flag ever farther inland. Similarly, French explorers and military personnel in Indochina ignored cautions from Paris and moved northward, bringing all of Vietnam under French rule in the 1880s.

The naval officer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza explored the Congo and returned to Paris with a treaty that the king of the Beté, known as Makoko, had signed, acknowledging a French protectorate over his kingdom. A vigorous press campaign convinced Parliament to ratify the treaty; meanwhile, Belgian and German interest in the area only increased its value. In its rivalry with Britain for control of the Niger River, France was bested: Britain acquired the coastal areas, and France was stuck with landlocked, desert land that became the colony of Niger in 1900. To the east, Chad, equally devoid of resources, had been acquired a year earlier. French imperialists could win satisfaction, however, from the contiguous territories linking the Congo to Algeria. The possession of Algeria stimulated French interest in the two adjoining

territories, and the Algerian colony would be used as a base from which to conquer Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1911. Thus, by 1914, the French Empire stretched across the globe. With 10 million square kilometers in surface area and 50 million subjects, it was the second largest empire in the world.

Imperial propaganda upheld the economic benefits of empire. Indeed, Ferry had declared empire to be the “daughter of industry.” But empire turned out to be of limited utility to the French economy. France's foreign trade was only a modest part of its economy, and colonial trade, in turn, represented only a limited part of that foreign trade (about 10 percent before World War I). At the same time, however, colonial trade *was* of use to industries that were in decline and no longer competitive, such as candle, soap, and textile manufacturing. For them, the colonies were necessary for economic survival.

French colonial rhetoric embraced grand principles of spreading civilization overseas. Yet few funds were expended on development projects. By a law enacted in 1900, all colonies had to be self-sufficient; their progress was to depend on the resources that could be locally mobilized. Precious little was spent on education or health. Moreover, to build the colonial infrastructure, the administration subjected much of the local population to forced labor. Control was assured through the *indigénat*, a disciplinary system under which colonial administrators could arbitrarily, without any judicial proceedings, imprison colonial subjects for a long list of infractions, including showing insufficient respect for the French authorities.

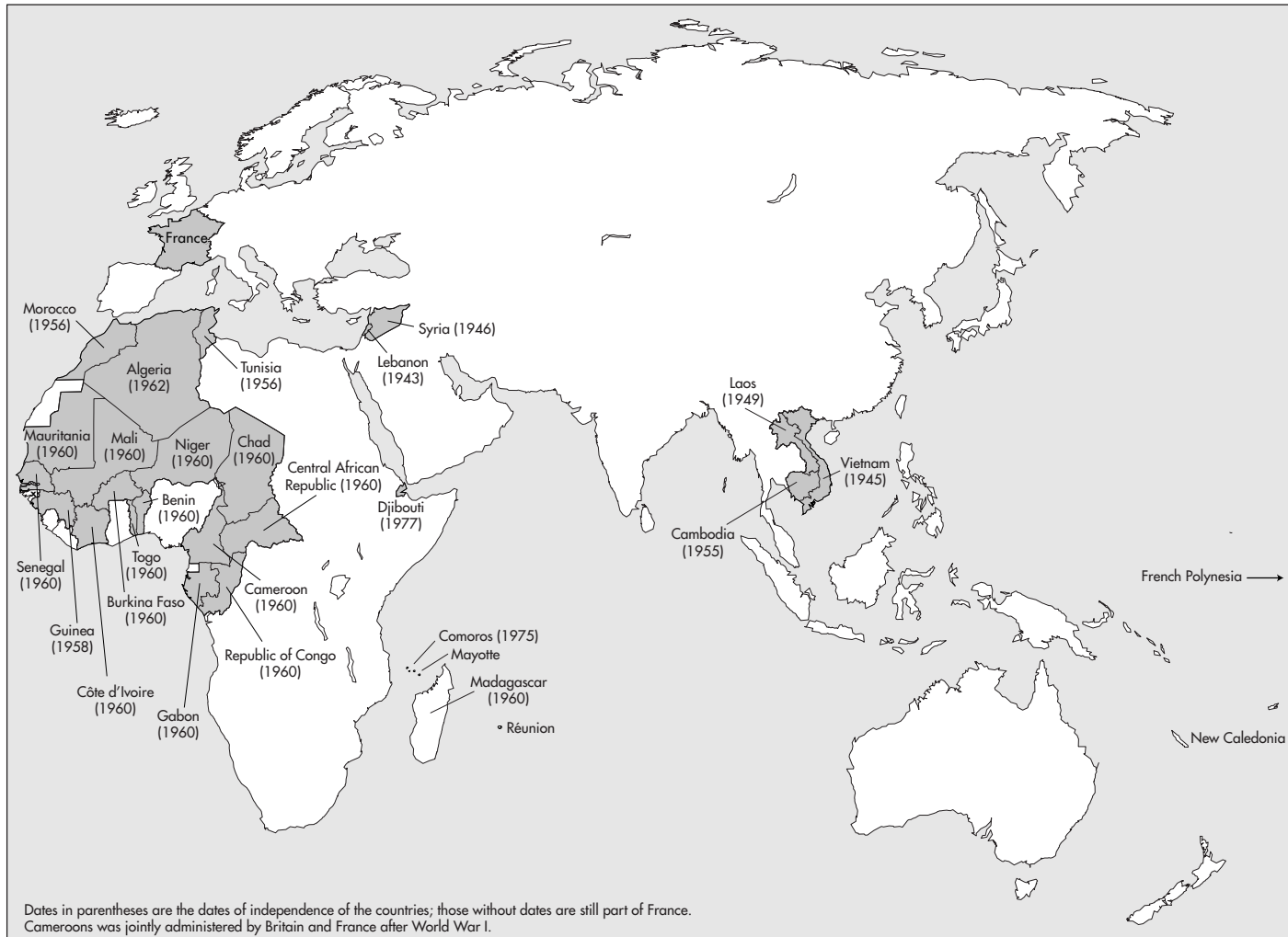
From the beginning, French rule was resisted by the colonial peoples. In Algeria, there were repeated uprisings in the nineteenth century; in Indochina, the French battled the rebel Black Flags in the north for years. In West Africa, the Ivory Coast was annexed in 1893, but it was 1916 before the territory was fully pacified.

Especially after World War I, many colonies expressed a desire to establish a separate identity, apart from the metropole. The West Indian Aimé Césaire and the Senegalese Léopold Sedar Senghor spoke of a separate black identity, *négritude*. Across the globe, the Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh, a founding member of the French Communist Party, was determined to free his country from

FRENCH EMPIRE—WESTERN HEMISPHERE



FRENCH EMPIRE—EASTERN HEMISPHERE



French imperialism and bring socialism to his people. The Algerian Messali Hadj founded the Etoile Nord Africaine, hoping to make it the vehicle of Algerian independence. The French answered these overseas stirrings with repression; they made few changes to adjust to the transformations occurring in their empire.

World War II spelled the end of empire for France, as it did for most other imperial powers. France was defeated in a few weeks and occupied by Germany. And as foreigners intruded in the empire, the decline in French power and prestige was revealed: Japan occupied Indochina, the Americans landed in North Africa, and the British entered Madagascar. The Franco-French war between the authorities in Vichy and the Free French extended overseas, indicating that France itself was divided.

As a result of the war, France never returned to Syria but had to grant it independence; in Indochina, taking advantage of the eclipse of France during the war, Ho Chi Minh started a war of independence that culminated with military victory in 1954. French rule was challenged elsewhere as well. In Algeria, there were mass protests in 1945 that were put down with severe force, and two years later in Madagascar, a nationalist rebellion was defeated only after 100,000 Madagascans were killed. In French West Africa, labor protests and political agitation were common.

France's Fourth Republic, founded after World War II, seemed to provide a new deal for its overseas peoples. It created the French Union, connecting the colonial peoples to France. Citizenship was granted to these people, and they could elect representatives to Paris and local councils. The integration of the colonies into the French Fourth Republic was intended to discourage nationalist movements overseas. But the integration was very incomplete. If the overseas peoples elected deputies to the French National Assembly, it was not in relation to their numbers. And in the metropole, no government tolerated the kind of disease, illiteracy, and grinding poverty that existed overseas. Meanwhile, the French claimed that there was no need to grant independence to the colonies because they no longer existed, having become fully part of France, but that claim rang hollow to nationalists overseas.

The French pulled out of Indochina in 1954, but almost immediately thereafter, organized resistance convinced them it was wise to grant independence to Tunisia and Morocco in 1956. With relative equanimity, France withdrew from these two North African possessions. Algeria, however, was a different matter. Algeria was legally considered an integral part of France, and the French stakes there were much higher. Some 1 million Europeans lived in Algeria at the time, and it was considered the most valuable of France's possessions; it was the linchpin of the empire, connecting France to black Africa. Thus, when a revolt broke out in Algeria in November 1954, the French fought hard to destroy the nationalist movement. But four years later, fearing that a government in Paris might compromise with the nationalists, settlers and the army in Algeria rose up and overthrew the Fourth Republic, bringing to power Gen. Charles de Gaulle, leader of the Resistance in World War II. De Gaulle realized that the era of empires was passed. After several false starts, he negotiated with the Algerian nationalists, and Algeria became independent in 1962. In the meantime, by 1960, the French had accepted the independence of all of black Africa. Only the confetti of empire was left—the overseas departments such as the West Indies, French Guyana, and Réunion, which had been fully integrated, as well as a few other possessions such as the Comores, which became independent in 1975; the Territories of Afars and Issas, which became the Republic of Djibouti in 1977; and the New Hebrides, which became Vanuatu in 1980. New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, and French Polynesia remained overseas territories.

William B. Cohen

See also Algeria; Brazza, Pierre; Césaire, Aimé; Fernand; de Gaulle, Charles; Ferry, Jules; French Indochina; French Language; French Revolution; French West Indies; Ho Chi Minh; Louisiana Purchase; Morocco; New Caledonia; New France; Polynesia; Senegal; Senghor, Léopold Sédar; Tunisia; Viet Minh; Vietnam; World War II

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French Equatorial Africa (AEF)

French Equatorial Africa (Afrique Equatoriale Française—AEF) was a federation created by the French government in 1910 to centralize control of its four territories in west-central Africa: Gabon, Middle Congo (now Republic of the Congo), Chad, and Ubangi-Shari (now Central African Republic). Cameroon was added to the federation by a League of Nations mandate in 1918. The capital was Brazzaville on the Malebo Cove of the Congo River; it was named for Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, who had explored the Congo River basin in the late nineteenth century and acquired the territory for France, linking French possessions in central Africa with those in West Africa. He became the first governor of the region then called French Congo.

The federation was ruled by a governor, assisted by a deputy in each territory. The governor was in complete charge and was directly responsible to the minister of colonies in Paris. He could do little, however, as poor communications and a lack of personnel and financial support prevented development. Consequently, the governor essentially focused on security matters.

The multiethnic federation covered almost 1 million square miles stretching over very different climatic zones: desert in the north, then savanna, and dense rain forest farther south. Population density was low, about 3.5 persons per square mile, and the isolated indigenous population was poor and unaware of modernization. The area offered few resources. France had sought possession of the region not for its resources but rather for reasons of European politics. It wanted to keep out European competitors and relished claiming ownership of a vast empire that stretched from the Mediterranean to the Bight of Benin.

French colonial policies required that this vast empire not burden metropolitan taxpayers; hence, the large amount of capital needed to exploit the ivory and wild rubber found in the rain forest was unavailable. And since no worthwhile trade between European manufactures and African products existed, the colonial governments could not raise taxes to support themselves. The only possibility left was to attract private capital in exchange for land grants. Concessionaires paid little rent and in practice ruled the land as they saw fit. To exploit their possessions, they needed hunters,

porters, and rubber workers. They resorted to terror to obtain their labor force, and working conditions were horrendous. Moreover, forcible recruitment prevented Africans from cultivating their own fields, which resulted in famines. Thousands perished before the situation attracted European attention. When André Gide visited the Congo between 1925 and 1926, he was incensed by the beatings and killings he witnessed. But even with greater awareness and good intentions, the small number of civil servants allocated to French Equatorial Africa could do little to correct the neglect and oppression. Not surprisingly, endemic resistance persisted in Chad, revolts occurred repeatedly in Gabon and Ubangi-Shari, and violence erupted in Brazzaville. The situation did not improve significantly until World War II.

The fate of AEF changed due to the fall of France and the presence of Félix Éboué, a black French civil servant from French Guiana. As lieutenant governor of Chad in 1940, Éboué unhesitatingly declared allegiance to Free France. The example he set, later followed in other African colonies, and the strategic importance of AEF led to a close relationship between Éboué and de



Charles de Gaulle is welcomed to Chad by Governor-General Félix Éboué of Free French Africa. (Library of Congress)

Gaule, and the idea of a genuine partnership between France and its colonies was born. Meanwhile, Éboué put an end to forced labor and developed agriculture. He also strengthened indigenous institutions and taught traditional chiefs modern administrative techniques. At the 1944 Brazzaville Conference, African leaders for the first time called publicly for reforms in French colonial rule.

In 1946, when voting on a new constitution, French voters granted Africans the right to elect territorial assemblies. These, in turn, elected delegates to the French General Council of AEF. Inhabitants of the African colonies, regardless of race, were also authorized to elect representatives to all French parliamentary bodies: the National Assembly, the Council of the Republic, and the Assembly of the French Union. Africans became French citizens, and the colonies were designated overseas territories of France. However, Paris remained in control.

In the 1958 referendum, all territories of AEF rejected immediate independence in favor of membership in the new French Community, and the federation was dissolved. Middle Congo became Congo-Brazzaville, and Ubangi-Shari became the Central African Republic. In 1959, the new republics formed a short-lived, loose association (the Union of Central African Republics), and in 1960, they became fully independent republics.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Brazza, Pierre; Cameroon; Éboué, Felix; French Empire

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fairs by assisting in the creation of a unified Vietnamese empire in 1802. It was not until 1859, however, that Napoleon III began the haphazard process that led the French to establish colonies in Indochina. The French completed their conquest of Vietnam by 1884 and established protectorates in Cambodia in 1863 and in Laos in 1887. Although the reasons for this colonial policy were rarely clearly expressed, political and cultural prestige, along with the desire for economic gain, were certainly major factors driving a part of France's elite to support the conquering of these distant lands.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the French colonizers experienced a certain level of popular and political unrest, which culminated in serious troubles during World War I. The rigid political structure and the often brutal labor conditions imposed by the French in Indochina, combined with growing intellectual ferment among a good part of the indigenous elite, fostered a powerful undercurrent of anger during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in Vietnam. This discontent led to the creation of several nationalist parties, including the Indochinese Communist Party. Since the French severely repressed these movements, however, they were effectively broken immediately before the outbreak of World War II, with one notable exception: the Communists.

The French repression of the 1930s, combined with the Japanese occupation of Vietnam from 1940 to 1945, prepared the Communists and their nationalist allies for their struggle against the French colonizer in the postwar era. After a brief peaceful interlude in 1946, the Communists turned against the French and began a long guerrilla campaign that culminated in the defeat of the French forces in the armed camp of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. Although the fort was of little military value, the loss was highly symbolic and forced the French to negotiate a peace agreement in July of that year in Geneva. All of the details surrounding the independence of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were not finalized until the end of the year, but France's direct influence in the area was effectively over. What little indirect influence it still exercised in Vietnam ended in 1956 when the Vietnamese government "invited" the French forces to leave the country.

Pierre Cenerelli

French Indochina

The European presence in Indochina dates from the sixteenth century, when Jesuits began to evangelize the region's population and even created a Latin-based Vietnamese alphabet. The French state first involved itself in Vietnam's political af-

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Cambodia; Communism; French Empire; Vietnam; War and Warfare

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French Language

France's motivation for empire building has been as much a striving for prestige as a desire for economic benefit; hence, the propagation of French culture and language has been central to its colonial policies. France firmly believed that to remain a world power, its culture needed to flourish beyond its national boundaries. This long-standing belief was expressed in France's nineteenth-century imperialism, which rejected foreign linguistic and cultural values. Proclaiming the universality and preeminence of its own language and culture, France undertook a civilizing mission whereby peoples in its colonies would presumably become French over time. Moreover, from the creation of the French Academy (in 1635) up to the recent Loi Toubon (legislation intended to protect the French language, adopted in 1994), France has always defined what *proper* French is.

In practice, colonial linguistic policy varied from continent to continent and from one time period to another, depending on the attitudes of specific colonial administrators as well as the primary concerns of the heads of state in Paris. In sparsely inhabited North America, preservation of the French language became an issue only in the nineteenth century, as Great Britain and the United States became ruling powers. On Caribbean islands, French took hold: as early as 1804, for example, Haitian freedom fighters pleaded their case for independence from Paris in French. On Pacific and Indian Ocean islands and in Indochina, French governments tolerated local idioms even though they sponsored education in French, mainly to train the needed labor force. French colonial linguistic policy could best be seen in Africa, where the use of indigenous languages was forbidden in schools and where the myth of as-

similation was consistently propagated. In practice, French education reached only a limited percentage of the population. The existence of francophone literature is due, in large part, to the achievements of a tiny minority of local leaders and writers, such as Léopold Sédar Senghor, who were imbued with French culture and expressed themselves in the purest metropolitan French. There are also differences between North Africa, where Arabic serves as a common national language, and multilingual West Africa, where ethnic jealousies perpetuate the use of French.

Notwithstanding protests against continued use of the colonial language, attempts at Africanizing written French, and the fact that spoken French has assumed its own syntax and created its own vocabulary in the different countries, “proper” French is still the official language in many former French colonies in Africa. Meanwhile, France, obsessed with the waning of its international influence and the threat of English becoming the dominant international language, encourages the perpetuation of French by sponsoring a number of organizations centered on *francophonie*. In doing so, it indirectly recognizes its debt to its former colonies, which have spread the use of its language and have enriched French-language literature into the twenty-first century.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Education; French Empire; Language; Literature

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French Revolution

Among the most cataclysmic events in Western history, the French Revolution (1789–1815) remade the map of Europe and profoundly affected the course of empire in every corner of the world. Moreover, the political principles of democracy, equality, and liberty that the Revolution forwarded would be taken up by colonized peoples around the world over the next two centuries—in the French and other empires—in

their efforts to achieve political independence and self-determination.

The causes of the French Revolution that began in July 1789 were complex and long-standing and included widespread hunger and poverty among the peasantry and urban working poor; political disenfranchisement of the growing middle class; a bloated aristocracy; and a government that was out of touch with the needs of the people. Over the next ten years, the Revolution underwent radical and reactionary phases before being transformed in 1799 with Napoleon Bonaparte's declaration of a consulate, with himself becoming the de facto dictator of the nation.

During those years, the impact of the Revolution was felt well beyond France's borders, both in Europe and overseas. In the former, France—under both the directorate from 1795 to 1799 and Napoleon's consulate and empire from 1799 to 1804 and 1804 to 1815, respectively—seized possessions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Italy and Germany. Most of these changes in sovereignty on the European continent, however, were reversed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, in which the victorious antirevolutionary and anti-Napoleonic powers of Europe largely reestablished the prerevolutionary political order of the continent.

Abroad, the changes wrought by the Revolution and by the Napoleonic government it gave birth to were more long-lasting, though the ban on slavery in French colonial possessions promulgated in 1791 would be reversed by Napoleon eleven years later. The British, at war with France and its allies through much of the revolutionary period between 1789 and 1815, took advantage of the chaos of the era. In 1793, they seized France's outposts on the Indian subcontinent. Two years later, with the Netherlands occupied by the French, the British seized the Dutch colonies of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and the Cape Colony in southern Africa. The British navy also defeated the French at the Battle of the Nile in 1798, undermining Paris's effort to seize Egypt, though it would take three more years before Napoleon gave up his dream of a French empire in the Middle East.

Still, despite these momentous events, the most important effects of the French Revolution on the colonial order of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were felt in the Americas. In 1791, a rebellion by the mixed-race people of St.

Domingue (now Haiti)—inspired by the ideals of the Revolution and encouraged by the chaos back in France—led to a full-scale slave rebellion that would result in the creation of the first black republic in modern history and the second independent republic in the Americas in 1804, after the United States. Moreover, Napoleon's unsuccessful efforts to recapture the island helped convince the French leader to strike a deal with President Thomas Jefferson, ceding the vast Louisiana territory to the new United States and ending France's colonial presence in mainland North America.

To the south, the ideals of the French Revolution—as well as the French invasion of Spain in the first decade of the nineteenth century—inspired Latin American revolutionaries such as Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín to lead independence struggles throughout the region. Within a few years of the end of the French revolutionary era in 1815, all of mainland Latin America—with the exception of a few tiny European holdings—would be divided up into independent republics.

Finally, the Revolution introduced the world to the idea of universal human rights, a concept taught to many colonial peoples in missionary schools in the empires of France and other European powers over the next 150 years. These principles—departing so blatantly from repressive colonial practice—would help inspire revolutionary sentiment among colonized peoples in much of Asia and Africa in the twentieth century as well, leading to the downfall of the colonial order throughout the world.

James Ciment

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Bolívar, Simón; Bonaparte, Napoleon; Cape Colony; French Empire; Haiti; Louisiana Purchase; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sri Lanka

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French West Africa (AOF)

As France pushed eastward to Lake Chad and occupied territories linking its African colonies on

the Mediterranean with those on the Atlantic, it formalized the administrative structure of its holdings. It established the Ministry of Colonies in Paris and in the following year (1895) created the Federation of French West Africa (Afrique Occidentale Française—AOF). Borders, drawn along straight lines without regard to topography, were negotiated with neighboring colonial powers. Internal borders and names of territories changed repeatedly over the sixty-four years of AOF's existence, without concern for local history and ethnic distribution.

In the 1920s, the federation included present-day Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and formerly German Togo, under a mandate of the League of Nations. It covered an area of some 1,730,000 square miles and had about 15 million inhabitants belonging to dozens of ethnic groups. Most numerous were the Mossi, Mande, Fulani, Hausa, Wolof, Moors, and Tuareg.

The capital of AOF was Dakar, located in the oldest of these French colonies, Senegal. The French presence in Senegal had started with a trading post in the mid-1600s, and two centuries later, Louis Faidherbe had organized African troops under French command, expanded the territory, developed trade, and founded Dakar. Senegal was the base from which French occupation proceeded.

The French believed in the superiority of Western civilization and in the universal validity of French culture. Yet the much vaunted policy of assimilation, which was supposed to transform Africans into French men and women, was actually a policy of association geared to French interests. The only exception to the assimilation policy was made in the 1870s for four communes of coastal Senegal where male inhabitants were granted French citizenship with full political rights, including that of electing representatives to French parliamentary assemblies (provided they knew French). All other inhabitants of AOF remained subject to the *indigénat* (law of indigenous people), which imposed taxation, forced labor, and conscription. On the eve of World War II, only about 80,500 blacks were citizens.

The federation was administered by a governor-general responsible directly to the minister of colonies and assisted by a lieutenant governor and

staff in each colony. French administrators were responsible for all aspects of life in their jurisdictions. Of course, there were too few of them to deal with all Africans directly, so they had to rely on African chiefs as intermediaries. Recalcitrant chiefs were replaced with compliant ones, despised by both their French bosses and the population. Moreover, all branches of government had to employ blacks in order to function. Clerks, craftspeople, laborers, and soldiers had to be trained. The rapid changes disrupted traditional life and created much misery, particularly in remote interior regions and among nomadic tribes such as the Tuareg.

The French government demanded that colonies be financially self-sufficient. Unwilling to invest taxpayers' money in its colonies, it ignored the exploitation of the indigenous population. It also appropriated land by claiming that it did not belong to anyone because it superimposed European legal notions of property on African notions of traditionally shared land. It implemented forced labor. Subsistence agriculture was forcibly replaced by cash crops. The principal sources of revenue were rigorously enforced duties on trade and direct taxation. However, only older coastal colonies had sufficient production and trade to engender any significant income. The original intention of utilizing some of these revenues to develop territories in the interior had actually been one of the reasons for creation of the federation, but resources remained insufficient; even providing the basic infrastructures needed for further development proved most difficult. Over the years, French schools, military service, employment by the administration, money-based exchanges, and the growth of cities did put the local populations in direct contact with French civilization. But most often, this entailed dislocation and poverty. The advantages of colonization were few, but two proved significant in the years ahead: a considerable population growth when basic sanitary improvements were implemented and the creation of a small, highly educated elite ready to lead the colonies to freedom after World War II.

The 1944 Brazzaville Conference of French colonial administrators marked a turning point. Recognizing Africa's contribution to Free France, Gen. Charles de Gaulle's provisional government offered French citizenship to the peoples of all the

African colonies, abolished forced labor and the *indigénat*, and made French-style education more available. Liberalization, however, did not mean self-government. The establishment of the Fourth Republic (1946) classified former colonies as constituent territories of the new French Union. Full French citizenship rights were extended—but only to overseas citizens who met specific property and literacy criteria, that is, less than one-tenth of the population. New advisory bodies were established. Metropolitan overseas investments grew considerably. However, African parliamentarians saw the new constitution as undemocratic and created the African Democratic Assembly (in 1946) and the Democratic Senegalese Bloc (in 1948) to lobby for greater rights. Under pressure, the 1956 *loi-cadre* (enabling legislation) was promulgated, granting greater local autonomy as a substitute for independence.

In 1958, General de Gaulle, returned to power, presented a new alternative: either African territories could ratify the constitution of the new Fifth Republic and thereby become autonomous states within a community whose external affairs would be controlled by France or they choose total and immediate independence. Only Guinea, led by Sékou Touré, voted against the constitution. Others were reluctant to sever their long association with France and to see the substantial developmental assistance given their territories since the conclusion of World War II come to an abrupt end. As the new constitution came into being, the federation was dissolved. Two years later, its former members became fully independent republics and members of the United Nations.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Dakar; Faidherbe, Louis; French Empire; Guinea; League of Nations; Senegal; Touré, Sékou

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French West Indies

After the initial settlement of the Caribbean by the Spanish in the fifteenth century, European nations flocked to the West Indies in search of land to colonize. During the seventeenth century, the French succeeded in colonizing several West Indian islands, but only a few have survived as the French West Indies.

Also known as the French Antilles, France's Caribbean empire originally was composed of St. Kitts, St. Eustatius, Grenada, Dominica, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Barthélemy, St. Martin, St. Domingue, and a few other tiny islands. France was a powerful entity in the Caribbean, but it found it hard to maintain control of all of its possessions and eventually lost most of the settlements. Several were lost to neighboring European powers. The most notable of its lost colonies, St. Domingue, gained its independence in 1804, becoming the sovereign nation of Haiti soon after the Haitian Revolution in 1791.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, only the islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Les Saintes, and St. Barthélemy remained under French control. In 1946, these few possessions were established as separate departments of the Fourth French Republic, retaining this status through the Fifth French Republic in 1958. As departments, the French West Indies have full political rights within France, with representation in the French Senate and the National Assembly. Each island's residents are French citizens, who enjoy open migration to and from France and the other French possessions.

The French colonies, like the rest of the Americas, relied on African slave labor until emancipation in the early nineteenth century. That labor was replaced by wage labor, first indentured and now local. The local economies have remained largely agrarian, primarily producing bananas and sugarcane; in addition to agricultural profits, the French West Indies also rely on a very lucrative tourist industry. Although a majority of the people in the islands support their status as departments of France, some favor independence.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also French Empire; Haiti; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Frobisher, Sir Martin (1539–1594)

A navigator, explorer, pirate, and naval captain, Martin Frobisher was born in Yorkshire, England. After his father's death, he went to sea on an expedition to the Guinea Coast in 1553, which, though financially successful, resulted in a great loss of life. The following year, he went with John Lok on another voyage to Guinea, where a chief demanded a hostage before he would trade. Frobisher volunteered for the job, but he later fell into Portuguese hands and was imprisoned for a while before being released and sent home. Between 1559 and 1576, he operated as a freelance corsair, or pirate, taking many prizes for the Protestant princes of Europe. Though arrested and imprisoned five times by the Elizabethan government of England, he was never tried on a criminal charge.

Frobisher later turned his energies to the search for a northwest passage and in June 1576 set forth on the first of three voyages into Arctic waters. He pinned his hopes on Zeno's largely fictitious map of 1558, but he did sail to the Shetlands, then on to the Faroes and to Cape Farewell on the southern tip of Greenland, which, according to Zeno's map, he took

to be Friesland. On August 11, 1576, he sailed into the strait that would thereafter bear his name but which he imagined was the entrance to a northwestern passage to China. After both this and his next voyage, he returned to England with a cargo of worthless black pyrite he mistakenly thought contained gold. On a third voyage in 1578, he discovered what is now known as Hudson's Strait. In 1585, as vice admiral, he sailed with Sir Francis Drake on a Spanish West Indies expedition. The expedition brought home vast spoils, possibly worth £60,000.

During the battle with the Spanish Armada in 1588, Frobisher commanded the *Triumph*, a flagship of one of the four squadrons, and he fought with courage and distinction, for which he was knighted. During three subsequent expeditions to the Azores, he took many valuable prizes for England. In 1594, he led a squadron of ships to help the French Huguenots, but in storming the fort at Crozon near Brest in Brittany, he was severely wounded. He died on returning to Plymouth.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; British West Indies; Drake, Sir Francis; Elizabeth I; Exploration; Huguenots; Spanish Empire

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G

Gandhi, Mohandas (1869–1948)

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar in Gujerat, India. He was married at the age of thirteen to Kasturbai, and they had four sons. From 1888 until 1891, he studied law in England and was called to the bar. In India, he practiced law but was not successful. Consequently, he traveled to South Africa in May 1893 to practice law there and did not return to India permanently until January 1915. However, he gave up his lucrative law practice in 1904 to devote his life to communal uplift. In 1894, he started the Natal India Congress. During the South African War (1899–1902) and the Zulu Rebellion (1906), he organized an ambulance corps. Subsequently, he developed his technique of nonviolent noncooperation, *satyagraha* (truth force), to fight against the government's racist policies.

He returned to India a national hero and was given the title of Mahatma (Great Soul). In 1917, he started a satyagraha movement against the indigo growers of Champaran in Bihar and then against the mill owners of Ahmedabad. In 1919, he called for a national *hartal* (strike) against the British and supported the Khilafat Movement. By 1920, he had become the most important leader of the Indian National Congress. He spread his ideas through his journals—*Indian Opinion*, *Young India*, and *Harijan*—and through such books as *Hind Swaraj* (1909), *Ethical Religion* (1922), and

Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, which he wrote in the 1920s.

His participation in the satyagraha movement led to his arrest in 1922, and he was imprisoned for two years; he subsequently started two other satyagraha movements (1930–1932 and 1940–1942). From 1924 until 1930, he retired to his *ashram* (commune) at Sabarmati to devote himself to Hindu-Muslim unity, to prohibition, to the moral and economic uplift of village life, and to spinning *khadi* (homespun cloth). On March 12, 1930, he commenced the Salt March, an attempt to protest the British monopoly over the crucial commodity. He was arrested on May 5 and held in prison for nearly a year, until January 26, 1931.

In 1932, as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in which Gandhi agreed to call off civil disobedience against British authority in India, he was invited to attend the Second Round Table Conference in London. He did so as the sole representative of the Congress. Unfortunately, instead of focusing on ending British rule in India, the conference centered on the rights of minority groups in the subcontinent. On Gandhi's return to India, he was imprisoned but was released in 1933. When World War II broke out in 1939, Gandhi refused to support the British in the war effort, and in 1942, he began the Quit India Movement, for which he was imprisoned until 1944. When India became independent in 1947, Gandhi was in Bengal trying to bring about harmony between the Muslims and

the Hindus. He was assassinated on January 30, 1948, by Hindu nationalists angry at his compromises with Pakistani leader Mohammad Jinnah.

Roger D. Long

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Boer War; British Empire; Hinduism; India; South Africa

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Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807–1882)

An Italian patriot and military leader, Giuseppe Garibaldi fought for peoples' right to self-determination and for the unification of Italy. Influenced by Giuseppe Mazzini, he became a republican with socialist leanings, yet, foremost a patriot, he devoted his life to helping the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia grow into the Kingdom of Italy. Garibaldi served in the Piedmontese navy, but participation in an abortive republican uprising forced him to flee to South America. For twelve years there (1836–1848), he fought against Brazilian and Argentinian imperialism. His exploits made him famous as a freedom fighter. In 1848, news of revolutionary stirring drew him back to Italy. His personal reputation was enhanced by his efforts, but uprisings in Milan and Rome failed, and he again went into exile.

Only in 1854 was he allowed to return to Piedmont. King Victor Emanuel II and Prime Minister Camillo Benso (Count of Cavour), needed Garibaldi's skills and determination, but they feared his republicanism, anti-imperialism, and disregard for international relations. When war with Austria broke out in 1859, Cavour gave Garibaldi command of an army of volunteers. Garibaldi liberated northern Lombardy and was aghast when Cavour signed an armistice. On his own, Garibaldi regrouped his forces and, with 1,000 men, undertook to liberate Sicily and southern Italy in 1860. He succeeded thanks to



Giuseppe Garibaldi was a key leader in the wars and revolts against Austro-Hungarian imperial rule that led to the formation of the Italian nation in the late nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

enthusiastic popular support and generously declared Victor Emanuel II king of the newly liberated lands. The Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed in 1861. Yet Cavour still feared international complications, and when Garibaldi moved toward Rome in 1862, Piedmontese forces stopped him. Commonality of purpose prevailed again in 1866, and Garibaldi accepted Victor Emanuel II's request to lead troops in a new war against Austria, which resulted in the liberation of the Venetian region. Garibaldi lived his last years on the island of Caprera, issuing political pronouncements. He declared himself a socialist and a pacifist, championed the rights of labor and women, and condemned capital punishment and racism.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Austro-Hungarian Empire; Italian Empire

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General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Originally signed in 1947, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), formed as part of the International Trade Organization, establishes rules for international economic relations that are designed to encourage free trade while eliminating discriminatory trade barriers. Signatories voluntarily agree to abide by multilateral agreements that promote the most efficient allocation of resources, as advocated by Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Each country has the option of exercising an escape clause if the rates adversely affect its own domestic producers. Once a country negotiates a tariff reduction with another member, all other participants receive the same rates automatically. The ability of developing countries to participate in the international economy with a status equal to that of developed countries has helped stabilize internal political institutions and foster robust economies.

After World War II, colonies, encouraged by the prospect of involvement with GATT, insisted on independence and, once it was achieved, quickly joined the organization. More than 117 nations signed the agreement, pledging to resolve disputes through the governing body. The two major Communist countries, the Soviet Union and China, refused to participate. Since 1947, the member countries have participated in seven separate rounds of negotiations: in Geneva in 1947; in Torquay, England, in 1951; in Annecy, France, in 1949; and in Geneva again in 1956, 1960, 1961, and 1962. The last three—and the most important—sets of trade negotiations occurred in the Kennedy Round (1964–1967), the Tokyo Round (1973–1979), and the Uruguay Round (1986–1994). In 1994, representatives agreed to establish the World Trade Organization, thereby replacing GATT with another organization empowered with the ability to enforce trade violations through sanctions. GATT has stimulated international trade and reduced the average rate of tariffs from 40 percent to 5 percent throughout its forty-seven years of operation and governs over 90 percent of the world's trade.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Capitalism; Economics; Environment; North-South Conflict

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Geneva Conventions

The Geneva Conventions is the informal name given to a series of international treaties signed by most of the world's nations between the years 1864 and 1977. Collectively, the five main treaties—signed in 1864, 1906, 1929, 1949, and 1977—deal with the rules of war. Although some of the treaties were negotiated elsewhere, all were signed in the Swiss city of Geneva, home to the Red Cross and Red Crescent international relief agencies, with which the conventions are closely associated.

The first convention was signed in 1864 and dealt with the protection of persons wounded in war and those helping the wounded, the 1906 convention applied the rules to maritime conflict, and the 1929 provisions set out protections for and rights of prisoners of war. Because of numerous violations of earlier protocols during World War II, the 1949 convention extended protections for the wounded and for prisoners of war.

But it is the 1977 convention that is of most concern to the subject of colonialism. Due to the many anticolonial wars of national liberation and the numerous civil conflicts in newly liberated countries in the post-World War II era, the latest Geneva protocols extend the protections of the earlier conventions to wars that are noninternational in nature, involving combatants who are not fighting for sovereign states. (The 1977 convention also updates earlier protections to take account of technological changes in warfare and apply new protections to civilian populations in times of war.)

As far as noninternational wars are concerned, part 1, article 1, paragraph 4 of the 1977 convention reads that the Geneva Conventions apply to “armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.”

James Ciment

See also Law; League of Nations; United Nations; War and Warfare

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George III (1738–1820)

George III, the grandson of George II of England, is primarily remembered as the king who lost the American colonies and, sometimes secondarily, as "Mad King George" because of his devastating episodes of insanity. This is not an entirely fair picture. On his accession to the throne in 1760, George III insisted that Britain scale back the Seven Years' War in Europe (known in America as the French and Indian War), as it was faced with mounting bills and Prime Minister William Pitt's insistence on an invasion of Spain. The king's pressure on his ministers resulted in the resignation of Pitt and his replacement by the more pliable Earl of Bute, a longtime friend of the king. This arrangement, though it prevented Prussia from achieving its war aims, resulted in the 1763 Treaty of Paris, by which Britain inherited the largest colonial empire in the world, including Canada, the Ohio River valley, and west Florida as well as secured privileges in Newfoundland fisheries and the Honduran forests.

The king had also learned to pick malleable ministers and cabinet officers who would accede to his wishes and particularly his colonial policy, which stressed the need to pay off the enormous war debt through taxation and led to the Stamp Act and Townshend Duties. A focused and frequently stubborn monarch, George III was familiar with the minute mechanics of the government and intervened frequently to manipulate elections, as he did in 1784, and to crush offensive legislation, as with the India Bill in 1783. Although de-

spising factions and attempting to keep government run by court favorites, George III was personally hurt by opposition from men such as John Wilkes and the Whigs who pressed the claims of the American rebel leaders. The king was set on prosecuting the American Revolution until the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. At that point, he was convinced to offer a conciliation, but the effort failed.

The last years of his reign were tragic, as the king was increasingly beset by attacks of madness, perhaps brought on by inherited porphyria, a disorder of the nervous system. Nonetheless, George III was regarded affectionately by his subjects for his interest in agriculture, for which he won the nickname "Farmer George," and his domestic respectability, especially when his personal life was contrasted with that of his unruly sons. The French Revolution seemed to vindicate the king's stance on revolution in general. He was a major force in keeping Britain in arms against Napoleon, even when the rest of the allies made peace, and was thus responsible for the great victories at Camperdown, Cape St. Vincent, and the Nile. In 1811, permanently disabled by his insanity, George III, by then entirely blind, was replaced by a regency under his eldest son, George IV, and died in 1820. The king who lost America was also the king who triumphed over Napoleon, oversaw the Industrial Revolution in Britain, and saw the birth of the successful expansion of the British Empire into India and Canada.

Margaret Sankey

See also American Revolution; British Empire; French Revolution; Pitt, William; Seven Years' War

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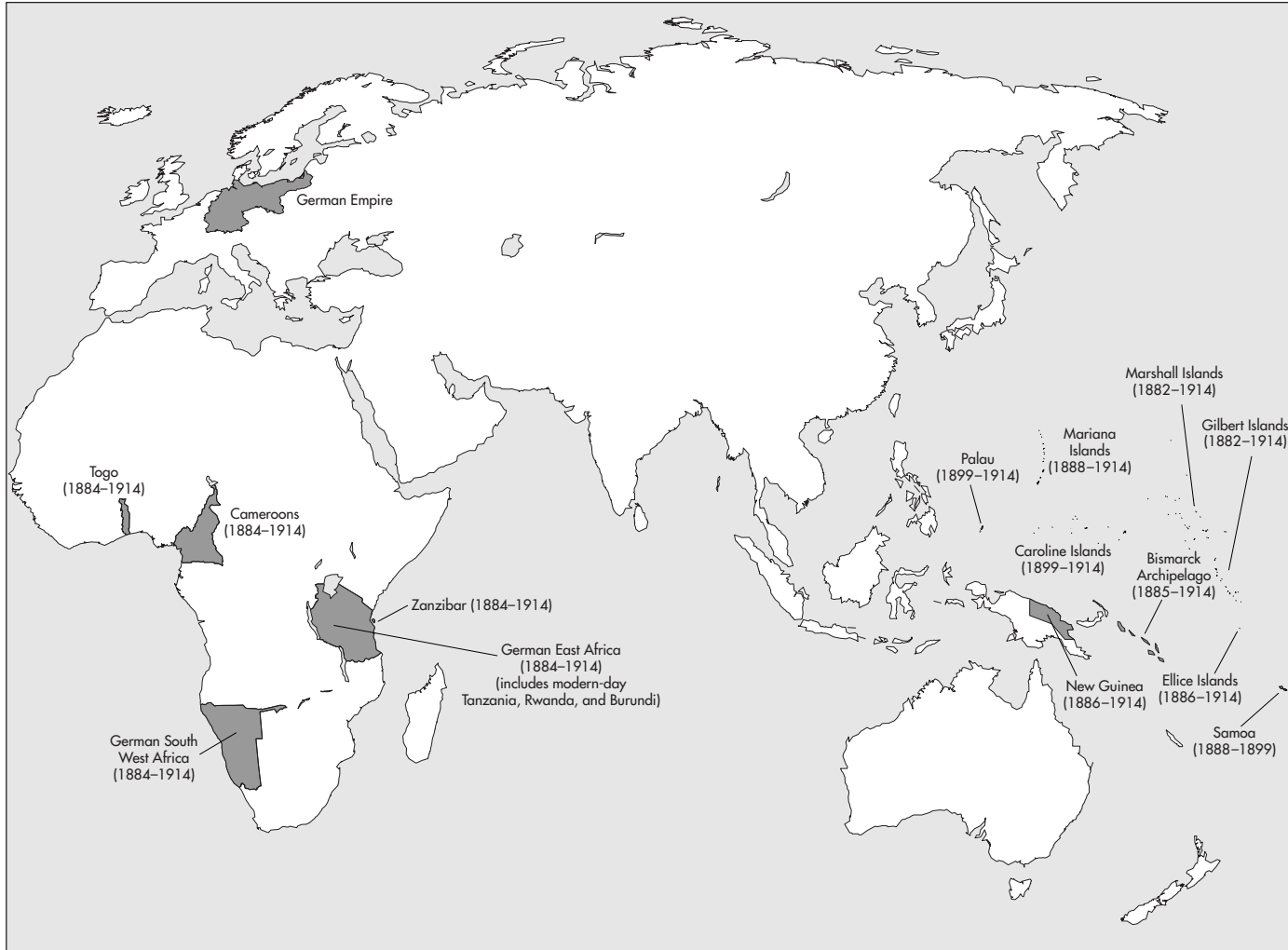
German East Africa

See Tanganyika

German Empire

In the history of colonialism, Germany's empire has received far less attention than the overseas empires of Great Britain and France. There are several reasons for this, including the relative

GERMAN EMPIRE



brevity of Germany's colonial project, the comparatively small amount of territory involved, the marginal economic importance of the German colonies, and Germany's early loss of its colonies following defeat in World War I. Yet Germany's colonial empire is significant to both modern European history and the colonial histories of Africa and Asia. Indeed, it is impossible to understand the histories of modern Germany and its former colonies without also understanding the German colonial period.

German liberals began discussing the acquisition of colonies as early as 1848, and the idea of colonialism reemerged in the 1860s as a subject of interest to certain German constituencies, such as industrialists and the Prussian military establishment. It was not until after German unification in 1871, however, that colonialist agitation reached a higher pitch in domestic politics. The development of the colonialist movement after 1871 was due to the convergent interests of several groups, including commercial and industrial representatives, tropical trading interests, and German emigrationists.

In the 1860s and 1870s, several organizations were founded to promote German colonial interests. These early examples became models for the later *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, formed in 1887 by the members of two existing colonial organizations. This organization, which remained the most vocal and steadfast advocate of colonialism throughout the imperial period, lasted until the Third Reich, when it was subsumed under the national socialist organizational apparatus. Carl Peters, one of the group's initial leaders and perhaps the most notorious figure in German colonial history, played a formative role in the ideological development of the German colonialist movement as a propagandist, but he also played an active role in the actual territorial acquisition of Germany's East Africa colonies. He and several like-minded associates undertook a series of treaty-signing expeditions in 1884 that led directly to the German possession of Tanganyika. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck had staunchly opposed colonial expansion until 1884, but for a combination of domestic and foreign policy reasons that have been much debated by historians, he changed his mind in 1884, setting Germany on its path to formal colonialism.

Chancellor Bismarck officially declared a protectorate over portions of southwest Africa in 1884. The establishment of protectorates over the West African areas that later became known as Togo and Cameroon followed later that year. In February 1885, Bismarck also declared a protectorate over mainland East Africa, and he later placed its administration under the newly created German East Africa Company. In each case, the establishment of protectorates over these territories followed the signing of individual "treaties" with local African leaders. These treaties were of dubious character, since the African leaders who signed them generally had no authority to grant land concessions to the Germans and certainly could not have known what the German legal concepts in the treaties involved. Nevertheless, these pieces of paper served as the foundation for German colonial rule over these four disparate regions of Africa.

In the Pacific, Germany acquired northeastern New Guinea in 1884 and added the Mariana Islands, Caroline Islands, and Palau Islands to German New Guinea in 1899. It also occupied and leased the Chinese city of Qingdao and its hinterland in 1897 and annexed the islands of Savaii and Upolu as German Samoa in 1900. This annexation rounded out Germany's possessions for the remainder of its tenure as a colonial power. The Pacific islands remained the most economically unimportant in the German colonial constellation, though they did feature in political debates in the Reichstag over the citizenship rights of the "mixed-race" offspring of German men and Asian women.

In November 1884, Bismarck hosted the Berlin Conference, at which the Great Powers of Europe decided how best to proceed with the colonial occupation of Africa while at the same time avoiding potentially disastrous conflicts among themselves. Although Bismarck achieved his goal of preventing a major European conflagration over the colonies, the doctrine of "effective occupation" that emerged from the conference committed Germany to a more expensive colonial project than he had planned for.

Between 1884 and 1907, Germany attempted to fulfill its effective occupation requirements in its various African colonies by fighting a series of wars of "pacification" and launching "punitive ex-

peditions” against numerous peoples who opposed the German presence and the economic, social, and political changes the colonial regime demanded. German colonialists also attempted to set up the fundamental economic and political elements necessary to effectively administer the colonies and to encourage more settlers. German military commitments to securing colonial territories culminated in two major rebellions in two separate colonies—German South West Africa and German East Africa—that began in 1904 and 1905, respectively. In German South West Africa, first the Herero and then the Nama rose in open and coordinated rebellion against the Germans, and they met with some initial successes. However, after German reinforcements arrived in the summer of 1904, they defeated the Herero at Waterberg Mountain, surrounded them there, and drove the remaining force into the Omaheke Desert, where most of them died of thirst and starvation. In October 1904, Gen. Lothar von Trotha, the German commander, issued his infamous “extermination order,” in which he ordered that all Herero were to be shot regardless of combatant status. In the end, about 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama died either in the war itself or in its aftermath, when those who survived were confined in disease-ridden concentration camps on the coast or used as forced laborers. In East Africa, the Maji Maji Rebellion, which mainly involved the southern portion of the colony, broke out in 1905. As in South West Africa, the military suppression of this rebellion required the use of reinforcements. The main part of the uprising was put down by April 1906. Up to 100,000 Africans died in the conflict, and the famine and disease that followed it unleashed massive starvation in the southern region. Although relatively few Germans died in these conflicts, the expenses incurred and the publicity surrounding the alleged atrocities committed by German troops provoked much domestic discussion about Germany’s colonial project.

These military activities, the brutal treatment of the subject African populations involved, and a series of colonial scandals caused by official misconduct on the part of colonial military officers and administrators provoked substantial debate and crisis in the Reichstag, raising questions about colonial policy and parliamentary oversight. The

turmoil eventually resulted in Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow’s dissolution of the Reichstag and the election of the “Bülow bloc”—which included all political parties except the Catholic center and the Social Democrats—based on a patriotic, pro-colonialist platform. Between 1907 and 1914, German colonial administrators and governors sought to develop the colonies so that they would be self-sufficient and economically productive for Germany. By 1913, however, the colonies still required subsidies in order to function, and profits from trade in the colonies were negligible.

In 1914, World War I erupted, and the German colonies came under attack by Allied forces almost immediately after war was declared in Europe in August 1914. Togo and the Pacific possessions fell to Allied occupation in late 1914, but South West Africa and Cameroon were not conquered until 1915 and 1916, respectively. In German East Africa, a legendary force led by Gen. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck held out against a harried multinational Allied force until after the European armistice in 1918. At Versailles, Germany petitioned to have its colonies returned to it, but the Allies argued that Germany was not fit to continue to administer colonies. Accordingly, its colonies were taken and divided among the Allies as mandates of the League of Nations. For Germany’s former colonies, the mandate period entailed learning how to live under new colonial administrations and the different practices of a new set of colonial practitioners. Although Germany’s formal period of colonialism had now come to an ignoble end, the colonies remained a prominent feature in German politics during the Weimar and Nazi eras, when they became symbols of the perceived wrongs done to Germany during World War I and at Versailles.

Michelle Moyd

See also Bismarck, Otto von; Cameroon; Conference of Berlin; Herero Revolt; League of Nations; Maji Maji; Papua and New Guinea; South West Africa; Tanganyika; World War I

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Ghana

See Gold Coast

Gibraltar

This 425-meter-high (1,380-foot) rocky promontory is linked to the Iberian Peninsula by a sandy isthmus of 1.6 kilometers (1 mile). Muslim invaders noticed the strategic value of the site in 711, and the Almohads fortified the rock in the twelfth century. Castilians invaded Gibraltar first in 1309 and then in 1462. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the defenses went unattended, and an Anglo-Dutch squad, commanded by Adm. George Rooke, conquered Gibraltar in 1704. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 acknowledged British supremacy over Gibraltar, causing consternation in Spain and prompting multiple warlike and diplomatic initiatives to reclaim the Rock of Gibraltar.

In 1830, Gibraltar formally became a British colony, and in 1909, the British authorities, acting unilaterally, set its colonial borders. This created a huge controversy when, later on, an airport was built in the neutral fringe. The Spanish government repeatedly put its claims for the return of Gibraltar before the UN General Assembly and its decolonization committee, transforming this claim into a nationalist crusade during the regime of Francisco Franco. In 1967, the United Kingdom set a referendum for the Gibraltar population, which showed its support for maintaining the status quo. In 1969, a new constitution was promulgated, and the Spanish government closed the border and interrupted any communication with the rock, removing Spanish workers from the area. In 1981, the United Kingdom granted British citizenship to the inhabitants of Gibraltar, although the border would not be reopened until 1982.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also British Empire; Franco, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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Gilbert and Sullivan

As Britain's most popular composers of the Victorian era, W. S. Gilbert and Sir Arthur Sullivan collaborated on thirteen comic operas between 1871 and 1896. Though these operas dealt only tangentially with imperial themes and situations, they were imbued with the patriotism and chauvinism of the late Victorians.

Gilbert and Sullivan were both products of the Victorian lower middle class that they delighted in parodying. Gilbert trained as an attorney before taking up journalism, and Sullivan was the son of an army bandmaster. When they met in 1870, Sullivan had already established a reputation as a talented classical composer; Gilbert was a successful comic journalist. Their first collaboration was *Thespis, or the Gods Grown Old*, which appeared in 1871. They achieved their first triumph in 1878 with *HMS Pinafore*, a farce about an English captain's daughter's love for a common sailor. Over the next eighteen years, they produced a string of commercially and critically successful operas, including *The Pirates of Penzance* (1879), *Iolanthe, or the Peer and the Peri* (1882), and *The Mikado, or the Town of Titipu* (1885). After 1877, their productions were staged by the English impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte, who established the Savoy Theater in 1881 as a venue for their operas.

Gilbert and Sullivan produced comic, escapist operas that sought to transport their London audiences away from the anxieties of late Victorian England. Therefore, they contained almost no references to the so-called scramble for Africa, Irish home rule, industrial depression, or any of the other major problems plaguing the nation. However, both Gilbert and Sullivan shared the promonarchical, patriotic, and chauvinistic predilections of most middle-class Victorians, and these views came through in their operas. Their heroes are often sailors (*HMS Pinafore*, *Pirates of Penzance*), soldiers (*The Yeoman of the Guard*), or aristocrats (*Iolanthe*). Both men were supporters of the monarchy, and they presented the institution with great reverence in many of their operas. The duo counted Queen Victoria among their fans, and Sir Arthur Sullivan was a friend of the Prince of Wales. Their operas presented English institutions as standards of civilization and portrayed foreigners as invariably exotic and silly (most apparently in *The Mikado*). Gilbert himself was a

strong supporter of the Conservative Party, and his blind patriotism is reflected in the song “For He Is an Englishman” from *HMS Pinafore*, which laments the fate of someone unfortunate enough to be born “A Roosian, a French, or Turk, or Proosian.” Gilbert and Sullivan’s only opera with an overtly imperial theme is *Utopia Limited*, a fantasy in which the people of a fictional south sea island look to England to reform their backward country.

Despite the success of their partnership, Gilbert and Sullivan were often at odds over creative differences, and they experienced long periods of estrangement. They collaborated on their final opera, *The Grand Duke, or the Stationary Duel*, in 1895. Sir Arthur Sullivan died in 1900, and W. S. Gilbert died eleven years later. During the twentieth century, the Gilbert and Sullivan operas became a part of the imperial culture that bound together the English-speaking members of the British Empire and Commonwealth. They provided a cheerful and nostalgic reminder of the bygone confidence of the Victorians and their apparently effortless mastery of their empire. The operas remain popular in Britain and throughout the English-speaking world today.

James Burns

See also British Empire; Music

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Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898)

One of the greatest figures of the Victorian age and four times prime minister of England, William Gladstone maintained a strong interest in the British Empire throughout his long career. As a young member of Parliament, he spoke frequently on colonial affairs, serving briefly as colonial secretary under Robert Peel in 1846. With the split of the Conservative Party, Gladstone, like other Peelites, devoted sustained attention to colonial matters and advocated the extension of local self-government to the colonies of settlement. In 1855, Gladstone delivered his famous “Our Colonies” speech, which highlighted the importance of the



As Liberal prime minister, William Gladstone agreed to the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, a triggering event in the European scramble for African colonies later in the decade. (Library of Congress)

colonies to Britain and argued that an enduring imperial bond had to rest on a reciprocal sharing of rights and responsibilities.

As chancellor of the exchequer under Lord Palmerston, Gladstone pursued the implications of his imperial vision by urging that the colonies, which had received responsible government, should take on the duties of their own local defense. He was accused of being concerned only with budgetary savings, but in fact, he believed that, as colonies met their local defense challenges, they would mature and grow in their relationship with Britain. At the same time, he was realistic about the demands Britain faced along the “turbulent frontiers” of the empire in West and South Africa and in the Pacific, and he was hesitant

about extending Britain's control in those regions. During his first government, from 1868 to 1874, critics of Gladstone's views in Parliament and the press condemned what they called the "crisis of anti-imperialism" that risked the empire's future. Gladstone vigorously and persuasively restated his deep commitment to an imperial association that rested on freely chosen ties.

Gladstone's later governments faced urgent imperial crises. In 1882, he reluctantly agreed to the British occupation of Egypt, a significant step that fueled European competition for colonies—the so-called scrambles in Africa and the Pacific. Gladstone continued to resist pressures for the further extension of territory and was widely blamed for the death of Gen. Charles G. Gordon and the debacle in the Sudan.

Despite setbacks and a rapidly changing global context, Gladstone still attempted to maintain the principles of his imperial policy. This fact is best illustrated by his adaptation of the idea of responsible self-government to the campaign for Irish home rule, through which he hoped to address Irish grievances. Thus, in all phases of his distinguished career, Gladstone dedicated himself to initiatives that would consolidate and maintain a vibrant, mutually desired imperial network.

Susan H. Farnsworth

See also British Empire; Conservative Party; Egypt; Home Rule; Palmerston, Lord; South Africa

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Glorious Revolution

In 1688 the birth of a male heir to King James II of England guaranteed that the next ruler of England would be, not one of James's Protestant daughters Mary or Anne, but a Catholic son. Rebellion broke out among subjects already threatened by the king's open toleration of Catholicism, which he embraced himself.

Invited to intervene, the Dutch Protestant William of Orange and his wife, Mary, accepted the

throne from Parliament when James II fled to France. This act is what constituted the Glorious Revolution. In the American colonies, this revolution was taken up by the inhabitants and directed against the hated Dominion of New England, which James II had instituted in 1686 by combining the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey under the military rule of Sir Edmund Andros. Colonists in Boston arrested Andros on news of the rebellion in England, forcing him to return home. Maryland's Protestants used the rebellion as an opportunity to overthrow Catholics appointed by the colony's proprietor, Lord Baltimore, and the Dutch population of New York captured and held Andros's deputy, Col. Francis Nicholson, and replaced him with a regime led by the German Jacob Leisler.

Once secure in power, William and Mary turned to deal with the colonies in 1691, revoking the Dominion of New England but combining Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Maine into Massachusetts and allowing a government in which a royally appointed governor worked with an elected house of representatives under a new charter. The Catholic Calvert family formally lost their charter to the colony of Maryland, which remained in the hands of Protestant governors until one of the Calvert heirs converted to the Church of England in 1712. William and Mary also ordered the deposition of Leisler in New York, a task accomplished by the use of force. Leisler's regime had become vindictive and tyrannical, and the people of New York welcomed the new governor appointed by the monarchs. William and Mary were deeply interested in their colonial people, anxious to avoid the colonies being used as a power base for James II and his descendants and wanting to allow them the benefits of the Revolution that had been accomplished in England. In the era of the American Revolution, the political settlement of the Glorious Revolution featured heavily in the arguments of the American rebels.

Margaret Sankey

See also British Empire; Christianity; Dutch Empire; New England

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Gobineau, Count Arthur de (1816–1882)

In the nineteenth century, Count Arthur de Gobineau devised a racial philosophy of history on which subsequent racial doctrines, including many associated with colonialism, would be based. The sinister pessimism of Gobineau's theories of history and societies (not just those in Europe) surpasses every other comparable document, including Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Despite its modern-day associations with pseudo-intellectualism or outright cultural ignorance, racialism or race-thinking was an important component of European political thought and theory throughout the 1800s and is most prominently exemplified in Nazi Germany during the twentieth century.

Gobineau's enormous, six-volume *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races), begun in 1850 and completed in 1855, and his personal links with Richard Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and other prominent racial theorists mark him as an independent philosopher whose disillusionment with European society became the motivating factor for a view of humanity based entirely on racial terms. Gobineau's ideology has been compared to Karl Marx's deterministic view of society. Although Marx saw class struggle as the key to social interpretation, Gobineau believed that the struggle between racial groups was the most enduring element of human history. Both Marx's and Gobineau's major works were divergent responses to the same crisis—the drastic social, economic, and cultural changes taking place in industrializing Europe, and both had an impact on colonial and anticolonial ideas arising in Europe at the time.

Gobineau divided humanity into three categories: white, yellow, and black. According to Gobineau, blacks were the “lowest,” possessing great physical strength but marked by a limited intellect and impassivity toward suffering. Yellows, above the blacks, personified mediocrity, preferring to live simply and passively. Whites, though, were depicted as motivated and highly intelligent, valuing honor, liberty, and freedom. Interestingly enough, Gobineau's chief indictment of the whites was their “great susceptibility” to intermingle with other racial groups.

Though Gobineau originally intended to encourage a restoration of the social order in Eu-

rope, he eventually concluded that Europe was being poisoned irreparably both from within and without through miscegenation between races. His hierarchical racial scheme came to have a considerable impact on theories and philosophies of colonialism. However, his personal stance, although seeming to support imperialist ventures, actually became that of a pessimistic anti-imperialist. Gobineau was utterly convinced that the racial inequalities of humanity would steadily weaken the “superior” races. By acquiring colonies, he argued, the European nations were only accelerating the intermingling of races, which would ultimately lead to the downfall of Western civilization.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Racism

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Gold

The Portuguese searched vainly for Prester John's mythical gold hoards that were supposedly in Africa or India, which helped inspire their imperial ventures. But their trade in gold from Monomotapa (Zimbabwe) at Sofala on the Mozambique coast proved more profitable, albeit for a brief period. West African gold, long traded with Arabs, supplemented the transatlantic slave trade as a source of profit. Ashanti gold was the particular target for the British, and in the late nineteenth century, development of this resource justified the building of a railway from the Atlantic coast to facilitate both mining and British military domination. For the French, gold from the Soudan (Mali) was particularly important.

Earlier, Spanish looting of Inca gold helped Madrid finance its European adventures and promoted Atlantic piracy (euphemistically known as privateering). Replacing plunder, mining efforts over much of Spain's American empire covered the initial costs of penetrating new regions. Ultimately, however, gold was less important than silver for the Spanish American economy. In the eighteenth century, gold mining in the Minas Gerais region of Brazil became a major part of the

economy, but in contrast to the situation in Peru, where indigenous labor was generally available, the Brazilian mining required large numbers of slaves.

The Australian colony of Victoria experienced one of the three major mid-nineteenth-century gold rushes. This rush not only impacted the country's economy but also considerably altered the nature of migration to Australia and ultimately shaped its society and culture. India also saw some gold-mining development, particularly in Mysore under British rule in the later nineteenth century.

Two new major gold fields opened up in the late 1800s, one in Western Australia and the other in the Transvaal, which was only brought formally into the British Empire in 1901 by the South African War. These discoveries, particularly in the Transvaal, depended even more than earlier mining efforts on technological developments, especially the MacArthur-Forrest cyanide process, which made it possible to derive profit from very low-grade ores.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Boer War; Economics; Mining; South Africa

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Gold Coast (Ghana)

The earliest encounters between Europeans and the people of what became known as the Gold Coast occurred as far back as the sixteenth century. Yet a formal European colonial presence was not established until 1821.

Gold, ivory, and eventually slaves attracted Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English traders to the coastal trading stations. By the seventeenth century, many forts built of stone had been erected, presenting a rare continuous European presence in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. The castles served as trading depots and, from the late seventeenth century, as collecting points for departing African slaves. With the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, the Gold Coast gained further importance.

The eighteenth-century peak of the trade saw additional problems when, as a result of the differences between the peace and the war parties in Ashanti (Asante, Asanti), the interior kingdom initiated a

southern expansionist move toward the coast. By the time the slave trade was abolished in the early nineteenth century, the British, Dutch, and Danish had all established enclaves on the Gold Coast.

In 1821, the British forts were officially placed under the governor of Sierra Leone, thus beginning the period of British colonial rule. Conflicts ensued between Great Britain and the Ashanti state. The subsequent wars with the Ashanti empire in 1824, 1863, and 1874 represented some of the first clashes between a European power and an African kingdom.

The continuous European presence on the coast created a coastal population that was defining its aims for a European-style government within the British Empire when, in 1844, a bond was signed between the coastal Fantee and the home country.

Wars against the Ashanti empire in 1874, 1896, and 1901 finally completed the British conquest of one of the most feared enemies of Victorian Britain. By the twentieth century, the Gold Coast included most of today's Ghana. Primarily due to the presence of gold mines, the colony drew the largest number of Europeans in the whole of West Africa by 1900. And with the development of cocoa plantations that attracted small farmers and migrant workers, the colony became a relatively successful territory in economic terms during the colonial period.

Mostly due to its complex urban intellectual history, the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast was among the more developed in British West Africa. In 1957, given its political and economic development, the country became the first African colony to gain independence, as Ghana, and Kwame Nkrumah assumed the presidency.

Máthé-Shires László

See also Ashanti Wars; Gold; Nkrumah, Kwame; Sierra Leone; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Good Neighbor Policy

In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced a concept he called the Good Neighbor pol-

icy to improve relations between the United States and Latin America. In his inaugural address, he dedicated the United States to this policy in its conduct of foreign affairs. Just a few weeks later, the phrase was specifically directed to Latin America, thereby reversing the previous administrations' insistence on America's right to intervene in the internal affairs of Latin American nations. A different form of colonization developed as the United States offered a "helping hand" to its neighbors, said Roosevelt, in order to promote "more order in this hemisphere and less dislike." This message, as well as the Good Neighbor policy itself, was solidified later that year at the Inter-American Conference in Montevideo, where Secretary of State Cordell Hull signed a joint declaration prohibiting any nation from interfering in the internal or external affairs of another within the Western Hemisphere.

This new policy was quickly put to the test when Mexico nationalized U.S. oil holdings. Further pressure was applied to Washington's nonintervention promise as revolutions climaxed in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Cuba. In response to these incidents, Roosevelt chose a wait-and-see stance, rather than sending in military troops to protect U.S. interests as previous presidents had done. In addition, in 1934 he withdrew U.S. Marines from Haiti, an area that the United States had exerted control over since 1916.

U.S. businesses, invigorated by the new policy, entered into money-making schemes with dictators such as Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua and Fulgencio Batista in Cuba, enabling these tyrannical leaders to gain power and wealth at the expense of their own populations. This form of economic colonialism became prevalent as the United States continued to pursue its good neighbor strategy. As a result, American businesses were able to exert power over the foreign policy of the very countries that had been guaranteed freedom from intervention in the Montevideo declaration.

Although Roosevelt wanted an empire in Latin America, he rejected the use of military force to obtain it. Cordell Hull appeared in the limelight again as he engineered passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. Since the leaders of the United States had advocated a noninterventionist program, they looked to foreign trade to regulate the business aspects of Latin America.

This form of economic colonialism gained strength as the gap widened between the economic power of the United States and that of the rest of the Western Hemisphere. For a time, it appeared that Roosevelt had succeeded in enjoying the "cooperation of others" in his quest for order and less dislike in the hemisphere.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Batista, Fulgencio; Central America; Cuba; Mexico; Nicaragua; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States

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Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyeovich (1931–)

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985–1991) and president of the Supreme Soviet (1988–1991), was the last leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Gorbachev's reform politics helped bring about the union's collapse and the opening of Eastern Europe. His economic reforms of *perestroika* (restructuring and reform) and *glasnost* (openness) led to increased demands for political change. He decreased military expenditures, pursued détente with the West, and worked toward nuclear disarmament.

Gorbachev allowed his new economic reforms to be applied to Soviet satellite states as well. Unlike previous Soviet administrations, when the satellites rebelled against Moscow, his regime chose not to resort to military intervention. This led to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the ousting of Communist governments throughout the Eastern Bloc. In February 1989, he also ended the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Inside the Soviet Union, economic reforms prompted nationalists and dissidents to openly criticize the government. Although it pursued a policy of noninterventionism abroad, the government continued to apply military force at home in order to maintain its cohesion. Soviet troops were dispatched to quell uprisings in the Armenian-dominated area of Nagorny Karabakh, in Georgia, in Central Asia, in the Baltics, and in other parts of

the Soviet empire as well. As nationalities along the periphery gained in strength, Russians in non-Russian republics began to be increasingly viewed as colonialists, triggering interethnic hostilities. After a failed coup in August 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned, on December 25, 1991, ending over seventy years of Soviet rule.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Afghanistan; Cold War; Soviet Union

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Gordon, Charles G. (1833–1885)

A British colonial personality par excellence, Charles Gordon played a prominent role in both Asia and Africa. By training a military engineer, he was also an explorer, general, and religious eccentric. Although often sympathetic to local peoples, Gordon ended his life a hero of the imperialist government of Britain.

His career began with service during the Crimean War, followed by surveying work to delineate the new Ottoman-Russia frontier. In 1860, Gordon took part in the Second Opium War and the sacking of Beijing. Afterward, he left the British military, taking over command of “the Ever Victorious Army,” a band of mercenaries serving the Chinese government against Taiping rebels. Under his direction, the force lived up to its name, and Gordon became a popular figure back home, picking up the nickname “Chinese Gordon.”

Leaving China in 1865, his next colonial experience began eight years later, when he accepted employment with Khedive Ismail of Egypt. Gordon’s new job was to continue the pacification and development of Ismail’s vast holdings in the southern Sudan. Success led to his 1877 appointment as governor-general of the Sudan, but illness and disputes with Egyptian lieutenants caused his resignation three years later.

Returning to the Sudan in 1884, he directed an ambiguous strategy that was supposed to pull Egyptian forces out in order to avoid their destruction by local rebels under the charismatic Muhammed al-Mahdi. Gordon’s miscalculation of British support led to the famous siege of Khar-

toum and his death as pro-Mahdi forces stormed the city on January 26, 1885.

John P. Dunn

See also China; Crimean War; Egypt; Khartoum; Khedive; Opium Wars; Sudan; War and Warfare

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Great Depression

The Great Depression of the 1930s was an era full of contradiction in the history of colonialism. That is, it represented both a period of resurgent imperialist expansion, particularly by the Fascist and militarist states of Italy and Japan, and yet another crippling blow undermining the hold the great colonial powers of Britain and France had on their empires around the world.

The Great Depression is the name given by contemporaries and historians to the extraordinary economic downturn in the industrialized West—and, by implication, in much of the non-Western world—that occurred in the period between the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929 and the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The impact of the depression was felt in different degrees in different countries, although a pattern emerged: the more industrialized a country was, the deeper it was affected. The United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom were particularly hard hit, especially in the first few years of the downturn.

Britain, the greatest of the imperialist powers, was able to effect a recovery after 1932 by going off the gold standard—an action taken in 1931—and establishing higher protective tariffs in 1932. Moreover, the economy was reoriented away from exports, which were hard hit by the collapse in worldwide demand, and toward the home market. The impact on the economies of the British colonies was severe, as markets for the raw materials they produced dried up both in Britain and elsewhere.

At the same time, London began to relax its hold over some of its colonies, most notably India. The Government of India Act, passed in 1935, created a modicum of home rule for the subcontinent, extending the franchise to some 30 million Indians and establishing Indian-run ministries.

But the key ministries of defense, revenue, and foreign affairs continued to be run by officials appointed by Britain.

Meanwhile, France—less industrialized and thus less severely impacted—made virtually no moves to relinquish control over its colonial holdings, even as drops in demand led to depressed economies in West Africa, particularly in those areas tied to the export of raw materials.

The most spectacular imperial developments during the Great Depression period did not involve the leading old imperial powers but the aggressive, militaristic states of Italy and Japan. The former used the disarray in the international community—a result, in part, of the economic calamity—to aggressively move against Ethiopia, the last independent kingdom on the African continent in 1935, which it conquered.

Japan was even more ambitious and aggressive. With its own industrializing economy hit badly by the Great Depression, Tokyo began to develop the notion of creating its own vast empire in East Asia, though it cloaked its ambitions in anti-imperialist rhetoric and called its plan for a new Japan-led order in the region the Greater Asian Co-Prospersity Sphere. It invaded Manchuria in 1931 and the rest of China in 1937, pursuing its quest to create a self-contained economic sphere of influence for itself.

Finally, perhaps the most important impact of the Great Depression on the history of colonialism was an indirect one. By undermining the slowly healing post-World War I international community, the Great Depression helped precipitate World War II. That global conflict, more than any other event, led to the downfall of the great empires that Europe had built from the fifteenth century onward.

James Ciment

See also Economics; Ethiopia; Fascism, Italian; India; Japanese Empire; World War II

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Grotius, Hugo (1583–1645)

Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist and statesman, wrote two influential treatises that have become the

basis of contemporary international law but in their time also gave legal justification to European colonial activity. Both works—the 1604 *De jure praedae* (On the Law of Prize and Booty), of which the chapter *Mare liberum* is best known, and the better-known 1625 *De jure belli ac pacis* (On the Rights of War and Peace)—were conceived in the context of religious conflict in Europe as well as nascent Dutch colonial expansion. As a humanist scholar, Grotius strongly believed that all behavior of individuals and states was subject to regulation by natural law. This belief allowed him not only to articulate rules of conduct in warfare between European states but also to legitimate the activities of said states as their colonial activity was becoming firmly established.

A famous passage in *De jure belli ac pacis*, for example, asserted that people in need had a natural right to the use of objects (particularly land) that others were not using, even if they were under another's territorial jurisdiction. By this statement alone, he justified much of the colonial activity of European settlement and occupation in the Americas and southern Asia. Grotius's legal interpretation also broadened the definition of just war to sanction European military action taken against indigenous peoples who resisted European settlement or hampered trade. According to Grotius, states were not restricted to defending themselves or responding in kind against an aggressor as reasons for precipitating conflict. Moreover, even if it was not directly affected, a state could initiate retribution against those who “violated the law of nature.” Such views, though not universally accepted, became the cornerstone of much of the colonial activity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and provided the justification for the European dispossession of indigenous peoples during colonial expansion.

Nicholas Rowe

See also Dutch Empire; Law; Theories of Imperialism

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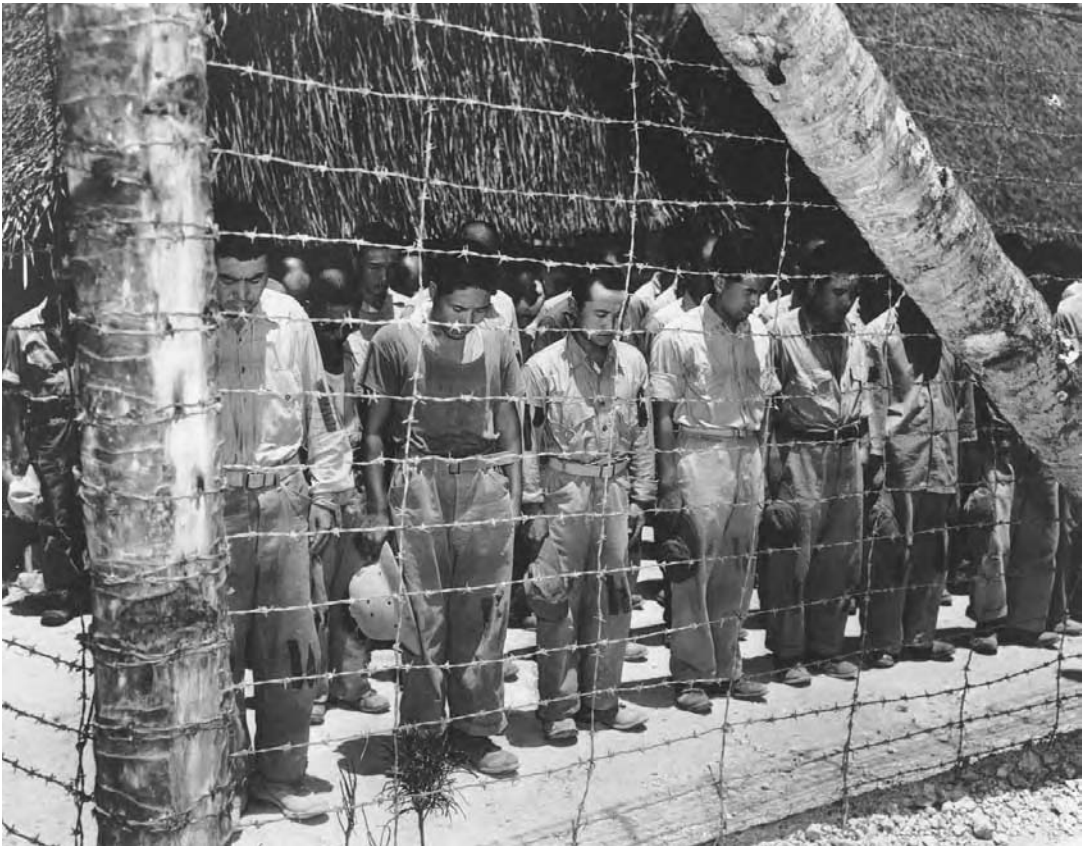
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Guam

Located in the Marianas Islands in the western Pacific, Guam is the largest, most populous, and southernmost island of the group, and it has the political status of an unincorporated, organized territory of the United States. Agana (also known as Hagatna) is the capital of the territory, which covers 209 square miles. English is the official language, and both Chamorro, the local language, and Japanese are also spoken. The indigenous inhabitants of the islands, the mainly Christian Chamorros, share the territory with Filipinos, whites, and Asians (primarily Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans). Since 1950, a person born in Guam is a U.S. citizen. The territory was a possession of Spain until acquired as a flag territory of the

United States in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War, when the Treaty of Paris ceded it in 1898. From 1898 to 1941, Guam was under U.S. naval administration.

During World War II, the Japanese occupied the Marianas Islands for two years until Japan's defeat returned the territory to the United States in August 1944. A U.S. naval base located at Apra Harbor served as a staging theater for air attacks on Japan. The U.S. secretary of the interior assumed administrative responsibility for the territory on August 1, 1950, replacing the secretary of the navy, and located the headquarters of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands there. Guam was also an important staging area for U.S. armed forces during the Vietnam War in the 1960s. In 1994, the U.S. Congress approved legislation providing for the transfer of 3,200 acres of land on Guam, appropriated by U.S. military forces after World War II, from federal to local control. In 1995, Brewer Field, a U.S. naval air



Japanese prisoners of war bow upon hearing Emperor Hirohito announce their country's surrender at the end of World War II. As part of their imperial expansion during World War II, Japan seized Guam from its American colonizers. (Library of Congress)

station, was returned to the government of Guam for civilian use.

Guam became an unincorporated organized territory of the United States under the Department of the Interior in 1950, when the Organic Act was passed by the U.S. Congress and approved by the president. The act also transferred jurisdiction for the island to the Department of the Interior and provided for a civilian governor appointed every four years by the U.S. president. In 1970, the island elected its first governor, and since 1972, a nonvoting delegate, elected every two years to the U.S. House of Representatives, has represented the territory in the U.S. Congress. The delegate votes in committee but not on the House floor. The act also provided for a fifteen-member, unicameral legislature that is directly elected every two years by men and women over the age of eighteen. Since 1970, elective power has been vested in a governor who is popularly elected every four years. The judiciary is appointed and includes a territorial court called a superior court, a supreme court, and a U.S. district court, which handles U.S. constitutional questions and other federal cases. Appeals are channeled through the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco and from there to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The main political status issue is Guam's desire to change from an unincorporated territory to that of a commonwealth territory. The Guam Commission on Self-Determination drafted the proposed Guam Commonwealth Act, which was approved in two 1987 plebiscites and has been under consideration by consecutive branches of Congress since then.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also Japanese Empire; League of Nations; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Northern Marianas Islands; Spanish Empire; United Nations; United States; World War II

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Guinea

Guinea, the name given by European explorers to the coastal tropical area of western Africa, was an important locus of European maritime trade be-

ginning in the fifteenth century. The Portuguese pioneered this trade, but by the mid-sixteenth century, the English, French, Dutch, and other Europeans participated in regional and transatlantic commerce in slaves, gold, and other commodities. Some coastal African peoples—such as the Fanti and Yoruba—benefited by gaining profit from the trade and familiarity with European languages, society, and government. Such groups often formed an elite social class and facilitated European administration in the colonial era. In the nineteenth century, economic and social changes in Europe led to the decline of the slave trade and increased demand for African agricultural products, especially palm oil. Export-oriented agriculture was more capital-intensive than the slave trade and thus required greater investment and oversight. This situation encouraged the formalization of European administrations throughout Guinea.

Thus, in 1849, France proclaimed the Rivières du Sud protectorate around trade posts in the Nuñez River area; this protectorate became the colony of French Guinea in 1895, part of French West Africa. Little development occurred in the colony before World War II. Despite limited post-war moves by the metropolitan government that granted some degree of self-determination, an independence movement formed in the 1950s behind Ahmed Sékou Touré, who rejected Félix Houphouët-Boigny's accommodationist principles. In 1958, the collapse of the French Fourth Republic led President Charles de Gaulle to promote a referendum in French West Africa in which the colonies were offered equal partnership with France in a greater French community. Only French Guinea rejected this referendum—thus souring relations with de Gaulle's France—and gained full independence in 1958.

The independent Republic of Guinea under President Touré remained steadfastly opposed to neocolonial control, and anticolonial leaders—including Kwame Nkrumah and Amílcar Cabral—fled to Guinea in the 1960s and 1970s. However, economic decline led Touré to seek international aid, even from France, before his death in 1984.

Chris S. Duvall

See also Cabral, Amílcar Lopes; French West Africa; Houphouët-Boigny, Félix; Nkrumah, Kwame; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Touré, Sékou

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Gurkhas

The history of the Gurkhas recalls a great chunk of Britain's colonial and military history: the siege of Delhi in 1857; World War I on the western front and in Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, and Palestine; on India's mountainous northwest frontier between the world wars; World War II in Africa, Burma, and Italy; and after 1945, colonial conflicts, including the Malayan emergency, Cyprus, and the 1982 Falklands War. In the Gurkhas, the British army still retains a vestige of the Indian army, which for much of the nineteenth and twentieth century provided the backbone for Britain's Eastern and Middle Eastern empire.

When not fighting, the Gurkhas have been based in Eastern territories, notably India until it attained independence, Malaya (Malaysia from 1963) until the 1970s, Hong Kong to 1997, and now Brunei. The latter, which gained full independence from Britain in 1984, still raises one Gurkha battalion of its own. It also pays for one British army Gurkha battalion to be stationed on its territory.

This long association started with the 1814–1816 war between British India and Nepal, a mountainous neighbor that also borders China and Tibet. Nepal remained an independent kingdom but was forced to cede the Provinces of Kumaon and Gharwal and to accept a British resident in its capital, Kathmandu. Despite this setback, Nepal's Gurkha troops were so impressive that the Indian army has recruited them ever since.

Their loyalty in the 1857 Indian Mutiny confirmed the value of the Gurkhas. There were ten regiments of Gurkhas, of two battalions each, by the eve of World War I, with over 100,000 serving in each world war. When India was granted independence in August 1947, it was agreed that the Indian army would keep most of the Gurkha battalions. Britain, overstretched by commitments across the world, secured the right to recruit up to eight battalions (15,000 men). The latter were incorporated into the British army as the Brigade of Gurkhas. The 1967–1968 British decisions to

withdraw from most bases east of Suez caused the Gurkhas' numbers to fall to 8,000 by 1971. After Hong Kong was turned over to China on June 30, 1997, the Brigade of Gurkhas was reorganized. Now called the Royal Gurkha Rifle Regiment and reduced to 3,400 men, it has just two battalions. One is based at its new headquarters in Hampshire, England; the other is normally in Brunei.

Karl A. Hack

See also India; Nepal; War and Warfare; World War I; World War II

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Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632)

During his reign as king of Sweden (1611–1632), Gustavus Adolphus was primarily known as the "Lion of the North," the Protestant military champion. Using his classical education, the king reorganized his army into shallow lines supported by artillery; this force successfully invaded Catholic Poland and then intervened in the Thirty Years' War. After scoring major victories, including the occupation of Pomerania, the surrender of Magdeburg (in 1631), and in the Battle of Breitenfeld (in 1632), Gustavus Adolphus was killed in battle at Lutzen in 1632, leaving his infant daughter, Cristina, as queen under the regency of Axel Oxensteerna.

Gustavus Adolphus had begun a process within the Swedish government that encouraged the foundation of New Sweden along the Delaware River in North America. In the 1620s, the king had organized waves of emigration from Finland into vast tracts of forest on the Norwegian-Swedish border, then extended this policy to conquered areas of the Baltic. Encouraging both industry and commerce, he invited Dutch investors such as Louis de Geer and William Usselinx by licensing them to conduct business as the Ships' Company, the Copper Company, and various mining and shipping firms. As patron of the University of Uppsala, the king patronized the training of Lutheran ministers, many of whom led congregations in New Sweden. As part of Gustavus Adolphus's

legacy, the regent Oxenstierna produced the 1634 Form of Government, a written constitution confirming both Sweden's Lutheranism as well as its commitment to the expansion of commerce and the increasing prosperity of the government.

By involving Sweden in the European wars, Gustavus Adolphus was responsible for the deaths of 50,000 of his subjects (out of a population of only 1 million), but the victories he achieved provided a rallying point for even such disparate Protestants as the Dutch, English, and Swedes settling the Delaware River area. Even

though his death at Lutzen cut short the king's own implementation of his trade and expansion policies, he had already set in motion the process by which Sweden would settle colonists in North America.

Margaret Sankey

See also Christianity; Swedish Empire

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H

Haile Selassie I (1892–1975)

In contemporary Ethiopia, no squares, hospitals, schools, or boulevards bear the name of Emperor Haile Selassie I. Had he died before the revolution of 1974, his name and his achievements would be celebrated to this day. Instead, the military clique that deposed him first vilified him as the cause of Ethiopia's many ills and then transformed him into a nonperson. His achievements were lost to a younger generation that learned history from highly politicized textbooks.

Born Tafari Makonnen, he was the son of Ras Makonnen, one of Menelik II's regional governors; on his father's death, the future ruler was singled out by Menelik for education and advancement. When Menelik died in 1913, Tafari fulfilled a pledge to support the designated successor, Iyasu I. But after the latter began a flirtation with Islam, Tafari participated in a successful 1916 revolt in which he was named regent for Zawditu, Menelik's daughter. He served for fourteen years as head of government and then ascended to throne in his own right, taking the name Haile Selassie.

Except for the period of the Italian war and occupation, from 1934 to 1941, Haile Selassie's reign was characterized by growth, development, optimism, and peace. As the architect of the modern state, he managed his country's entry into the world, in the process becoming a global figure with considerable anticolonial credentials. During the 1920s and 1930s, he modernized and centralized the govern-

ment through the introduction of uniform administration and legal structures and the appointment of Western-educated officials; he also reformed and reequipped the Ethiopian army and police by providing up-to-date training and weaponry. To pay development costs, Haile Selassie fostered capitalistic agriculture and an export trade in coffee, oil seeds, and cereal, in demand in the Middle East. On returning to Ethiopia in 1941 following the Italian colonial occupation, he moved rapidly to align himself with the United States, the world's main supplier of technology, capital, and weaponry. In addition, he immediately reverted Ethiopia to an import-export economy to garner enough funds to continue his policies of modernization.

Most notably, he built modern communications to tie the country together, a national economy to raise his subjects' standard of living, and a uniform national culture. He imposed Amharic, his own native tongue, on his heterogeneous subjects, arguing that a uniform national language was "the Mother of the Nation." He also introduced modern legal codes to ensure equal justice, new forms of taxation to standardize payments nationwide, parliamentary government through direct election of representatives, a national airline, and modern education.

From a few thousand students in the prewar state, the educational system grew to comprise hundreds of thousands students by 1974. A paternalistic leader, the emperor visited schools and

sampled the food students ate; he gave the youngsters gifts of clothing and fruit, he questioned them about their studies, and he spoke to them about the importance of their educations for the nation and for himself as their monarch. Besides seeing himself as the father of the nation, Haile Selassie viewed himself as the embodiment of Ethiopia's proud sovereignty and independence and as worldwide symbol of anticolonial struggle.

His national vision—a legacy from his father, Ras Makonnen (1854–1906), who administered Harerge Province in eastern Ethiopia for Emperor Menelik (r. 1889–1913)—encompassed an elite that governed a polyglot, often non-Christian population. The latter could assimilate into the power structure by acculturating to the Amhara—if not Christian—culture of the rulers. As the twentieth century became the age of ethnicity and minority rights, assimilation in Ethiopia became personally and then politically insulting. No amount of imperial paternalism could redress the cultural hurt felt by Ethiopia's nationalities, and Haile Selassie was unable to change his monomania about the importance of the Amharic language.

He continued to govern, as had his predecessors, by acting as the country's balance of power between different groups, a method that worked well in a customary government that mediated between the ruling classes and the masses. Modern administration, however, required institutions that permitted the development of competing political ideas and the transfer of power from generation to generation and from one set of elites to another. The emperor's limited Western education directed him toward change—but only in terms of enhancing imperial power and adding to the central government that acted in his name. In the 1960s and 1970s, with no institutionalized outlet for their political goals and ambitions, the newly educated agitated for any change that would free them from the political inertia of the emperor's no-party, paternalistic state. They adopted a simplistic and wrongheaded Marxist ideology as their catalyst for change and thereby mistook economic growth and the creation of capital in the countryside as the result of the ruling elites' crude exploitation of the peasantry.

By 1972, the emperor was a very old man who displayed signs of senility. He was tired of the new ideological politics and felt betrayed by

those he had educated and favored. There was strife in the Ogaden, Eritrea, Bale, and even Gojam over the question of ethnicity and political rights. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie wanted more power in government and administration. At the same time, the emperor's love affair with the United States appeared to be ending as Washington's strategic interests switched away from the Red Sea to the eastern Mediterranean, where Egypt and Israel were now U.S. allies. His imperial vision of Ethiopia was contradicted by the realities surrounding him, and the old emperor seemed to know his time was past. To the last, Haile Selassie nonetheless remained a humane Christian and a true Ethiopian patriot, unwilling to spill his compatriots' blood even for the sake of his empire.

Harold G. Marcus

See also Eritrea; Ethiopia; Italian Empire; Italo-Ethiopian Wars; Menelik II

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Haiti

Among the many colonies of the New World, Haiti was unique. The former French colony was the second nation in the Americas to gain political independence and the first black nation to break the shackles of colonial rule. Haiti's political independence was born out of the only successful slave rebellion in the New World.

Prior to its independence, Haiti was known as St. Domingue. In the middle and late eighteenth century, St. Domingue was not only the wealthiest colony of France but also one of the richest colonies in the world. Driven by slave labor and blessed with fertile soil and an ideal climate, St. Domingue generated large profits for France through its main export, sugar. It also produced, albeit on a much smaller scale, crops such as coffee, cocoa, indigo, tobacco, and cotton for export to France.

The Haitian Revolution was inextricably linked to the politics of the French Revolution. The ideologies and slogan of that revolution—“Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity”—struck a chord with all classes in St. Domingue but for different reasons and with often contradictory responses and unexpected results. In the end, the slogan proved to be too combustible for the tinderbox of the slave society. In 1791, the enslaved of the colony struck a blow for their own version of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. By 1804, the colony gained its political independence and renamed itself Haiti. The economic and social consequences of self-emancipation and political independence changed the course of Haitian history. Former slaves, who had labored on the plantations of wealthy plantation owners, later eked out their economic survival through subsistence farming. Hence, Haiti moved from being a plantation-based economy, reliant on slave labor, to an economy grounded in peasant farming.

Isolated for the better part of nineteenth century from legal commercial intercourse with the rest of the world, Haiti paid a heavy price for official recognition from other nations. It entered its period of political independence with a heavy indemnity for property loss, imposed by France, as the price for diplomatic recognition. With its infrastructure seriously damaged by the war of independence, the new nation was forced to assume an intolerable debt to pay the compensation. All of this contributed to the pattern of underdevelopment that haunted Haiti throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Civil war divided the new state into republics up to 1822 and also reinforced the race-color-caste division inherited from the slave period. These internal cleavages and the accompanying struggle for political and economic control of the minimal resources generated the instability that plagued the new nation. This set the stage for a new period of neocolonialism in the twentieth century.

Audra N. Diptee

See also French Empire; French Revolution; Hispaniola; L'Ouverture, François Dominique Toussaint; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Hammar skjöld, Dag (1905–1961)

Born into an aristocratic Swedish family with a tradition of public service, Dag Hammar skjöld was educated in economics and spent his early career in the Swedish Finance Ministry. In 1953, he succeeded Trygve Lie to become the second secretary-general of the United Nations. His primary achievements in that post included his persuasion of China to release captured U.S. pilots in 1955, the resolution of the Suez Canal crisis in 1956, and repeated efforts to broker Middle East conflicts and avoid war.

During Hammar skjöld's term, one of the principal tasks of the United Nations was to assist in the dismantling of the colonial world order. In 1960, the Belgian Congo secured independence. Fighting broke out along ethnic and regional lines, and Belgium sent troops. The democratically elected president of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba (who had the backing of the Soviet Union), requested military support from the United Nations to resist Belgian aggression; the United Nations responded by ordering Belgium to withdraw its forces and sending 20,000 UN troops. In the continuing civil war, Lumumba was assassinated by troops of the U.S.-supported dictator Joseph Mobutu, who seized power in a military coup and held it until his exile in 1998. UN involvement in the Congo discredited Hammar skjöld and the organization in the eyes of African leaders and the Soviet Union, and Nikita Khrushchev proposed that the office of UN secretary-general be abolished. Hammar skjöld did not have the opportunity to defend himself, however, for on September 7, 1961, his plane crashed in Katanga. This fatal accident, suspected to be sabotage, left the United Nations in disarray and raised questions about the role to be played by UN troops in peacekeeping missions thereafter.

Karen Oslund

See also Belgian Congo; Lumumba, Patrice; United Nations

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Hangzhou

Located in southeastern China, the city of Hangzhou is renowned both for its beautiful scenery, most notably the picturesque West Lake, and for its teas. Hangzhou was founded in 591 C.E. to replace an older settlement in the vicinity as the regional administrative center. Situated at the southern end of the Grand Canal, the major inland waterway for grain transportation, the city quickly rose to commercial prominence. The political, economic, and cultural development of Hangzhou reached its peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when—under the name of Lin'an—it was the capital of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), which controlled the southern half of China. In 1279, the Mongols conquered the city. Only after this event could Marco Polo have visited the city, which he referred to as Kinsay, a name probably derived from the Chinese word *jingshi* (capital). In spite of the devastation brought about by the Mongol conquest, Polo described Hangzhou as the “City of Heaven” and as a thriving commercial center. Though his description was grossly exaggerated, it is true that Hangzhou maintained its political and economic importance to a considerable degree.

In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits established a Christian congregation there, which declined after Christianity was outlawed by the imperial court in 1724. After the Opium Wars of the 1840s, missionary activities were resumed. A Presbyterian boys' school became Hangchow College in 1897 and attained the status of university in 1941. In the wake of the Sino-Japanese peace treaty of 1895, Hangzhou was made a treaty port. During World War II, it fell under Japanese control, and as early as 1937, Japanese troops looted and pillaged the city. After 1945, the Guomindang (Kuomintang) reestablished its rule until Communist troops entered the city in May 1949. In the People's Republic of China, Hangzhou continues to function as the capital of Zhejiang Province. In 1985, it had a population of 1.2 million.

Thoralf Klein

See also China; Opium Wars

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Hapsburg (Habsburg), House of

One of the most important and longest-ruling dynasties in European history, the House of Hapsburg reigned at various times over much of the continent, from the Balkans in the southeast to the Low Countries in the northwest. In addition, as monarchs of Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Hapsburgs ruled over a vast empire that included much of the Americas and such far-flung possessions as the Philippines.

The exact origins of the Hapsburg dynasty are not entirely clear, though by the early twelfth century, the Hapsburgs were an important ruling family in what is now southwestern Germany. Their emergence onto the continental stage, however, came in 1273 when Rudolf I was declared king of Germany and after he had acquired Austria, Bohemia, and other possessions in central Europe, through diplomacy and war, by the end of the decade. During the fifteenth century, the Hapsburgs established themselves as the dominant ruling family in the German-speaking lands of Central Europe through their successful resistance to incursions by the Muslim Turks.

Under Maximilian I in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the power of the Hapsburgs further increased as the house turned its ambitions westward and southward into the Low Countries, Burgundy, Italy, and Spain, acquiring the latter through a marriage alliance made by his son Philip. At the same time, another marriage alliance, with Maximilian's grandson Ferdinand, established Hapsburg hegemony in Hungary.

The Hapsburg dynasty reached its zenith in the first half of the sixteenth century. Under Charles V (also known as Charles I of Spain), the house controlled much of the Americas and became rich from the fabulous mineral treasures imported from across the Atlantic. Ultimately, much of this

wealth and power was dissipated under Charles V's son Philip II, who rose to take the Spanish Crown on his father's abdication in 1556; Philip spent a fortune trying to defeat Protestants in Germany and independent-minded nationalists in the Low Countries.

Meanwhile, in the east, the German Hapsburgs established absolute control over Austria, Bohemia, and, through the defeat of the Turks, Hungary as well, establishing a multinational empire in Central Europe and the Balkans that would last through World War I. But though the dynasty survived into the early twentieth century, it had become increasingly weakened much earlier. Defeated by the Dutch and then losing control of Spain in 1700, the Hapsburgs' power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was confined largely to Germany and Austria-Hungary.

The rise of the German state in the mid-nineteenth century ended Hapsburg influence in that realm, and under the long-serving but rather inept Francis Joseph (who ruled from 1848 to 1916), Austria-Hungary withered as a continental power. Further debilitating the Hapsburgs' power was the rise of various nationalisms in their realm in the nineteenth century. In 1867, the Hapsburgs were forced to concede autonomy to Hungary. But it was Serbian nationalism that ultimately set in motion the forces that would end the dynasty. In June 1914, a Serbian nationalist assassinated Hapsburg heir Franz Ferdinand, thereby precipitating World War I. With Austria-Hungary's defeat in 1918, the last Hapsburg monarch abdicated, and the dynasty came to an end.

James Ciment

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Charles V; Dutch Empire; Franz Joseph; Ottoman Empire; Philip II; Spanish Empire; World War I

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Harris, Sir John H. (1874–1940)

John Harris was a profound critic of important aspects of British colonial policy, especially concerning the treatment of indigenous peoples. As a young man, he was involved with nonconformist

religious movements and was recruited as a missionary to the Congo Free State. Appalled by conditions he observed there, Harris became involved with the Congo Reform Movement and later the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. From 1910, he served as secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society and in that capacity focused on a variety of colonial matters. He was a prolific public speaker and author of numerous books and countless articles concerning primarily colonial issues. His public involvement increased his pacifist sentiments, and as a result, he joined the Society of Friends. He was also active in Liberal politics, standing for Parliament on several occasions; he was elected as a member of Parliament for Hackney North in 1923 but was defeated in a reelection bid the next year.

Harris befriended many Africans and other colonial peoples whom he met in London, and he worked with the British government for their immediate benefit as well as their general interests. It was largely for these achievements and for his life's work for indigenous peoples everywhere that he was knighted in 1933. From that time forward, he fought for the abolition of slavery and counted as perhaps his most important achievement the adoption of the League of Nations Anti-Slavery Convention, for which he had worked tirelessly in Geneva and elsewhere.

Melvin E. Page

See also British Empire; Congo Free State; Liberal Party; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Harris, Wilson (1921–)

Wilson Harris was born in New Amsterdam, Guyana. He followed the path of many West Indian writers of the 1950s and 1960s and emigrated to the United Kingdom. A land surveyor by training, Harris is one of the most prolific and innovative novelists of our time. His first published work, *Palace of the Peacock* (1960), marked a new direction for the novel in English. His works represent in practice what Harris has called the "novel of fulfillment" and the "novel as painting." In a language that has, at times, been

called difficult for its imagistic and metaphoric nature, Harris explores the themes of colonial conquest and the postmodern hybridity of consciousness. The hybrid psyche struggles to find itself through its own assembly and reassembly in a multiracial society that is itself in the process of creation and re-creation. The struggles are parallel but often go in opposite directions. One of the ways in which Harris weaves a conciliatory metaphorical strand between the deprivations wrought by colonialism and the futures of post-colonial individuals and society is through the use of myth. Very seldom has any writer woven together—through a combination of intellectual and intuitive capacities—such apparently disparate myths into a vision of potential unity.

In addition to almost twenty novels, Wilson Harris has published four books of poems, collections of short stories, and three full-length critical books. These critical books contain some of the most complex and beautiful analyses of issues surrounding colonial and postcolonial literature ever written.

Daizal R. Samad

See also Literature

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Hausa

Hausaland today stretches between the two West African countries of Niger in the south and Nigeria in the north, the division the result of European colonial domination over the region between the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Britain and France colonized the Hausa population, which had been under the subjugation of the Fulani-led Sokoto caliphate. The Hausas had been

under alien domination since the early nineteenth century when the Fulani jihad—the holy war of Usman dan Fodio—led to the creation of successive emirates.

The Sokoto caliphate developed a society based on agricultural labor, a role that had traditionally been filled by free Hausa peasants. The same role was associated with the majority of Hausas who lived in estates or in small villages surrounding the major urban centers, such as Sokoto or Kano. Slavery played an increasingly important role in the economy by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, which resulted in many free Hausas becoming enslaved in huge estates. Since both ethnicities—the Fulanis and the Hausas—were Muslims, the Islamic religion was strengthened in the period. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed a period of European conquest of the region, and by 1906, the whole of the former caliphate was under alien administration.

The French and the British who ruled Hausaland employed different political methods in their colonial states. In the British sphere, religion and traditions were not affected because of the policy of indirect rule initiated by Frederick Lugard, one of the most famous British proconsuls in Africa. The British retained the former elite with the intention of ruling the population through them, by employing them as lower-level members of the administration. This policy allowed the Hausa chiefs and leaders to gain an important political role and acquire ample resources, since they were responsible for the use of some taxes. In French colonial territories, by contrast, the policy emphasized the centralized structure of the metropolis. It has been argued that the policy of assimilation, often associated with the French colonial state, weakened the traditional structure of Hausa society, and when compared to other Nigerian groups, the former Hausa society shows a much weaker cohesion. Today, some 40 million people belong to the Hausa ethnicity; 10 million of them live in Niger, and the rest live in northern Nigeria.

László Máthé-Shires

See also Islam; Lugard, Lord Frederick; Nigeria; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Havana

Founded in 1514 and relocated to its present site four years later, Havana was among the first Spanish settlements in Cuba. Spanish treasure fleets gathered in the city's port before sailing for Europe, and despite its fortifications, Havana was occupied by the French in 1537 and burned in 1555. In 1607, it became the island's capital and its administrative and military center. Yet threats from foreign powers did not cease, as the ten-month British occupation of the city in 1762 and 1763 demonstrated. Returned to Spain in exchange for Florida, Havana remained an important Spanish administrative center. Policies implemented in the 1800s by the Spanish Crown only strengthened its position, particularly in relation to the eastern part of the island.

It was during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that Havana emerged as a site of political tension and opposition. The explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in February 1898 in the city's harbor prompted the United States to enter Cuba's war of independence against Spain. In an independent Cuba, Havana remained the capital and the focus of political dissension, particularly among the city's university students. Demonstrations against dictators Gerardo Machado, Ramón Grau, and Fulgencio Batista, for example, were centered in Havana.

Charlotte A. Cosner

See also Batista, Fulgencio; Cuba; Spanish Empire

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Hawaii

Until 1778, the politically decentralized Hawaiian archipelago evaded contact with continental colo-

nizers. Britain's Capt. James Cook ended that isolation as his sailors (and others in later years) introduced epidemics and additional influences into the Polynesian society. King Kamehameha I unified the islands by 1810 into a monarchy that was recognized by the United States in 1826. The monarchy was weakened under his successors, with foreign merchants wanting a port of call and Christian missionaries seeking to proselytize. Land was first sold to non-Hawaiians in 1850, creating an opening for export-oriented plantation crops and migrant labor. Soon, non-Hawaiians attained government positions in the constitutional monarchy. Many of these influences led to a decline in the indigenous population, which by 1872 was reduced to 16 percent of its size ninety years earlier.

Seeking nontariff access to the U.S. sugar market and fearing that Queen Lydia Liliuokalani would empower native Hawaiians, the rebel Committee of Safety colluded with the U.S. minister plenipotentiary and arrested the queen on January 17, 1893. Although unsympathetic to the rebels, U.S. president Grover Cleveland failed to elicit congressional disapproval, and in 1894, the insurgents declared a republic over the archipelago. Ignoring petitions from 37,000 Hawaiians in 1897, President William McKinley signed the resolution of annexation during the Spanish-American War of 1898, with status as a U.S. territory following in 1900.

Since the 1930s, the United States has valued Hawaii for its naval and air bases. However, following World War II, the United Nations listed Hawaii as a non-self-governing territory, a status it retained until it became the fiftieth state of the United States after a 1959 plebiscite ballot excluded independence. Subsequently, a native Hawaiian sovereignty movement reemerged, contesting title to 1.8 million acres administered by the Hawaiian monarchy. Some organizations have been seeking the reclassification of Hawaii as a non-self-governing territory. A 1993 congressional apology (U.S. Congress 1993), signed by President William Clinton, acknowledged that "the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum."

Vincent Kelly Pollard



The last independent ruler of Hawaii, Queen Liliuokalani was forced from power by a clique of powerful American plantation owners in 1893. Five years later, the islands were annexed to the United States. (Library of Congress)

See also Cook, James; Liliuokalani, Queen; McKinley, William; United States

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Health, Public

Westerners often consider the Tropics—the Indian subcontinent, Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia—as areas of disease, malnutrition, and parasites. This attitude can be traced back to the early European expeditions to these regions, as Europeans often died from unknown tropical diseases. In fact, high mortality rates effectively delayed European settlement and colonizing in some tropical areas by hundreds of years.

However, contrary to the myth that the advent of Western medicine was an all-redeeming benefit

of colonialism, the health of the colonized peoples actually deteriorated greatly with the imposition of European colonial systems. Colonialism not only introduced new ailments but also destroyed local public health measures and ecological controls, resulting in the rapid spread of both new and old diseases. Colonialism also created conditions for malnutrition and disease through the European imposition of cash crops, forced labor, migration, taxation, colonial legislation, urban planning, and industrialization. Due in part to this history, many people in postcolonial states today, particularly those in rural areas, continue to have higher rates of malnutrition and disease as well as limited access to health care resources.

Europeans introduced contagious diseases such as measles, whooping cough, and smallpox from Europe; chiggers and syphilis from the Americas; and cholera, leprosy, and hookworm from the Indian subcontinent. The trade routes throughout Africa and Asia that preceded European colonialism by thousands of years, as well as

Islamic pilgrimages to Mecca, effectively exposed African and Asian populations to numerous diseases and enabled them to avoid the virgin soil epidemics that so drastically affected peoples in the Americas and Oceania. In these areas, the introduction of contagious and deadly pathogens weakened the populace and thereby their opposition to colonialism. Europeans were then able to establish their colonies and subject indigenous peoples with much greater ease. Population groups within the Americas, for instance, declined by as much as 90 percent in some areas within fifty years of European contact.

With the establishment of colonialism, European nations expected windfall profits from their colonies and thus placed a great demand on the land and peoples of the Tropics to produce raw materials. Hungry for labor and revenue, Europeans destroyed precolonial states, cleared forest land for plantations, and built roads, railway tracks, and mines, thereby disturbing the natural and controlled ecology of the indigenous peoples. The Gaza of Mozambique, for instance, had used ecological controls to minimize the threat posed by the tsetse fly that caused sleeping sickness, creating buffer zones between residential and farming areas and uncultivated areas that contained game. When the Portuguese destroyed these controls with the forced evacuation of Gazaland in 1889, sleeping sickness broke out in epic proportions.

Disease and famine often accompanied the early years of European colonialism, as Europeans requisitioned food, animals, and the labor of indigenous peoples through force of arms. Many colonies established plantations or coerced local populations to grow cash crops. Forced to replace fields of edible crops with cash crops such as cotton and sugarcane or made to work on plantations, the indigenous people derived little income from their efforts, as money disappeared to pay for taxes or the inflated price of goods and food. Decreases in the amount of land and labor available for food production, however, led to changes in agricultural practices and a decline in nutritional levels for the colonized people. Throughout Africa, for instance, labor-intensive but nutritious millet and sorghum crops gave way to labor-saving but less nutritious corn and cassava. Furthermore, game, which had been an important source of pro-

tein (particularly during times of famine), rapidly diminished during the early years of colonialism as a result of overhunting for sport and trade. When colonized people moved to urban areas in the twentieth century, nutritional levels fell even further, as many people removed from subsistence agriculture added refined white bread and soda to their diets. Consequently, colonialism not only made it harder for indigenous people to feed themselves by decreasing their access to land and labor; it also significantly lowered levels of nutrition, thereby increasing people's susceptibility to disease. It is not coincidental, for instance, that the use of 50,000 "volunteers" who provided 236,388 days of work along the Route du Tchad in 1912 coincided with frequent famines in the area that could be directly tied to the local population's inability to mobilize labor for food production.

Instrumental to the colonial endeavor to secure labor was the transfer of large groups of people, sometimes between continents and sometimes from homes to plantations, mines, factories, or urban areas hundreds or thousands of miles away. Many workers fell ill or died on the long journey to these new places of employment. Others succumbed to diseases on arrival due to the mixing of diverse population groups in conditions that were often overcrowded and unsanitary. In places such as Brazil, India, and Sri Lanka where European colonists tended to view labor as expendable, plantation owners did not make investments in basic sanitary measures or provide basic health care. Workers were often fed a subsistence diet of low nutritional value; they were also badly clothed and housed in poorly ventilated and cramped dwellings with no latrines or access to clean water. The increased density and mixing of people on plantations, in mines, in factories, and in urban areas not only increased exposure to new diseases and the likelihood of epidemics in these areas but also affected the health of communities away from these centers. This occurred as workers returned to their homes at the end of employment contracts or when employers sent ill workers home, where they often spread contagious diseases such as hookworm, tuberculosis, and pneumonia.

Despite the rapid decline of public health in European colonies, the earliest public health campaigns were directed at preserving the health of the colonists rather than the colonized. Theories of

miasma, the belief that disease spontaneously emerged from marshlands, led colonists in India, Africa, and the West Indies to build their houses on stilts at higher elevations and to leave doors and windows unscreened in order to maximize ventilation. In addition, they built “hill stations” in the mountains of the Tropics to mirror the cooler climes of Europe. When Europeans expressed interest in the health of the colonized, it was generally because they were worried about ill effects they themselves might suffer from contact with the indigenous people. Consequently, the colonized were often considered “unhygienic” and vectors of disease and contagion.

Only when the colonists’ own needs were not met did they consider or attempt to implement local public health measures and sanitary controls for the colonized. Thus, for example, efforts to improve public health were prompted by labor shortages in industrial areas such as South Africa in the early nineteenth century. Similarly, indigenous health became a matter of concern when Europeans found they could not recruit healthy soldiers from Africa and Asia to fight in World War I. And in South Africa, mining interests donated money to build hospitals and medical research institutes to study industrial afflictions such as tuberculosis and pneumonia and to examine the ailments of rural Africans, such as scurvy.

Public health measures implemented mostly after World War I included mandatory vaccination campaigns, fumigation, quarantining, hospitalization, and delousing, and they were not always embraced by the indigenous people. By this time, many had come to associate Europeans with the introduction of new diseases, a decline in health standards, poor diet, and war. In fact, many early public health campaigns failed not only as a result of a lack of supplies and batches of ineffective vaccination serums but also because of indigenous resistance.

By the 1940s, however, health improved in many areas due to sanitary reforms that ensured clean drinking water and proper waste disposal. Access to clean water greatly ameliorated health by decreasing gastrointestinal diseases, and proper waste disposal decreased incidents of fecal-borne diseases such as cholera and hookworm. Improvements in biomedicine also meant that doctors and medical missionaries were better able to treat

many of the tropical diseases that afflicted the colonized people. Cities built hospitals and universities, giving urban people access to biomedicine, immunizations, antimalarials, antibiotics, and surgical interventions. Access to clean water, proper waste disposal, and biomedicine, however, tended to be restricted to urban areas and was often subject to political and economic maneuvering. Therefore, many peoples in both rural and urban areas of European colonies found themselves without adequate sanitary measures and access to basic health care services—a trend still reflected in many postcolonial states today.

Karen Flint

See also Labor; Medicine

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Henry, Prince (Henry the Navigator) (1394–1460)

Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed Henry the Navigator, was one of the sons of the Portuguese king João II and became the dominant maritime figure of his age. He has been considered by many historians to be the father of Europe’s expansion across the seas. His efforts led Portugal to become the preeminent nation in the European overseas explorations of the fifteenth century.

In 1415, Prince Henry accompanied the Portuguese expedition to present-day Morocco to conquer the Muslim city of Ceuta. On his return from Ceuta, Henry was made governor of the southern Portuguese coastal region of the Algarve. There, he established a center for the study of navigation at Sagres, on the Cape of St. Vincent (the southwestern-most point of the European continent). At Sagres, Prince Henry brought together the best mathematicians, astronomers, mapmakers, sea captains, and pilots to teach and exchange the most current information on the art of navigation. A new and innovative type of ship was cre-

ated at Sagres—the caravel, which was smaller and more maneuverable than previous vessels. New techniques in cartography were also developed, and navigational instruments were improved. From Sagres, Prince Henry planned and directed the daring oceangoing expeditions that were to take Portuguese explorers into the then unknown waters of the Atlantic.

Prince Henry was motivated by religious as well as commercial interests. He wanted to spread Christianity as well find the African gold supply. One of his goals was to locate the legendary Prester John, believed to be a powerful Christian king in Africa who could help the Portuguese in their fight against Islam. In addition, Prince Henry wanted to explore the lands that were beyond Cape Bojador—a place that, at the time, was considered to be the end of the inhabited world. He achieved this goal in 1434, when one of his navigators, Gil Eanes, rounded the cape. The achievements of Prince Henry at Sagres and the expeditions that he organized made possible the remarkable achievements of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, such as the discovery of Brazil and the establishment of the maritime trade route to India by Vasco da Gama.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Brazil; Ceuta and Melilla; da Gama, Vasco; Exploration; India; Portuguese Empire; Prester John

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Herero Revolt (Herero-German War) (1904–1907)

In the nineteenth century, the Herero, a pastoral people who dominated central Namibia, clashed with the Nama, another pastoral people to the south, in a number of wars; the most bitterly fought of these wars occurred from 1863 to 1870 and from 1880 to 1892. In the 1890s, the Herero increasingly came under pressure from the German settlers who encroached on their lands and demanded their labor. The Germans did not expect the Herero, whom they regarded as allies, to turn against them, but the Herero leadership grew more and more upset with the behavior of the Germans. In January 1904, Samuel Maherero, who had be-

come chief in 1890, took advantage of the absence of the bulk of the German soldiers in the south of the territory and issued an order to his people to fight the Europeans. In the first attack, some 150 Germans were killed. The town of Okahandja was then besieged, but a German force was able to relieve it.

A large contingent of German reinforcements was rushed to South West Africa, but they were inexperienced, and for some months, the Herero were able to roam central Namibia at will. The Nama and other groups joined in the war against the Germans on the Herero side. But in May, more German reinforcements arrived, until there were 20,000 German troops in the country. In June, a tough new commander, Lothar von Trotha, took command; he issued an order to annihilate the Herero. The decisive battle took place at the Waterberg River on August 11, 1904, after which the Germans pursued the remnants of the Herero into the Omaheke Desert. As a result of the war and the genocide that followed, the Herero population, estimated at 80,000 before the conflict, fell to only some 20,000, and many of the surviving Herero sought refuge in Bechuanaland (now Botswana).

Christopher Saunders

See also Atrocities; German Empire; South West Africa; War and Warfare

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Herzl, Theodore (1860–1904)

In December 1894, Theodore Herzl, a Jewish journalist who favored cultural assimilation, was sent to cover the Alfred Dreyfus trial in Paris, in which a Jewish officer in the French military was accused of treason. The vilification of Dreyfus by the anti-Semitic French press catalyzed Herzl's conversion to Zionism. He immediately began work on *The Jewish State* (1896), a book in which he elaborated his concepts of political Zionism. He proposed that the Jewish problem could only be solved if and when the Jews established a Jewish homeland, *Eretz Israel*. To work toward this goal, Herzl proposed establishing an international organization to collect funds to purchase land as a haven for world Jewry. The established nation

would be neutral, peace-seeking, and secular. Although Herzl acknowledged that Palestine, as the historical homeland of the Jews, would be optimal, he was also open to proposals for other geographic locations, including Argentina and Uganda. Enthusiasm for Herzl's ideas led to the First Zionist Conference in Basel, Switzerland, in the fall of 1897. Between 1897 and 1902, six Zionist conferences met, establishing the Jewish National Fund. Herzl personally spoke with many national leaders, including Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, the Ottoman sultan, and Czar Nicholas II of Russia, to gain support for his new movement. These talks were failures, but Herzl's ideas took root and prompted a movement of Jewish settlers to Palestine. There, they formed the nucleus for the future state of Israel, but they also came into conflict with British colonial authorities, despite the Balfour Declaration. Ultimately, the Zionist cause would be realized with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Balfour Declaration; Israel; Judaism; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; Zionism

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Hidalgo, Padre Miguel (1753–1811)

Credited for beginning Mexico's War of Independence from Spain, Miguel Hidalgo came of age at a time when *criollos*, Spaniards born in the colonies, struggled against the limits placed on them by *peninsulares*, Spaniards born on the Iberian Peninsula. In 1778, Hidalgo was ordained a priest, one of the few professional positions available to *criollos*, and he spent the first years of his career as a college instructor and later as rector at San Nicolás in Valladolid. In 1792, he resigned his post and began to work as a parish priest first in Colima, then in San Felipe, and finally, in 1803, in the town of Dolores. It was as a parish priest that he developed a reputation for social activism, working to bring economic self-sufficiency to his parishioners.

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth were times of un-

rest in Mexico. Rural areas were depressed from shifts in the economy, and in 1808 and 1809, poor weather conditions caused food shortages. In addition, the economic policies of the Bourbon reforms had seriously injured the church and small property owners. Finally, in 1808, Napoleon's forces invaded Spain and imprisoned Ferdinand VII. The invasion of Spain gave *criollos* in Mexico an opportunity to move for political power, and throughout the colony, they began to organize political groups called "literary clubs." While a priest at Dolores, Hidalgo joined the literary club of Querétaro, and, working with the members of the club, he developed a plan to take power from the *peninsulares*.

On September 16, Miguel Hidalgo went to the tower at Dolores, announced the revolt, and called people from all races and social classes to join him. The rebels quickly took several towns in the surrounding area, where Hidalgo issued decrees ending slavery and Indian tributes. He quickly won the support of mixed-race and indigenous peoples in the towns he took. Most of Mexico's *criollos*, however, feared a race and class war and so sided with the loyalists, seriously weakening the revolt. In March 1811, betrayed by a fellow revolutionary, Miguel Hidalgo was captured and executed. At the time of his death, he had little reason to believe the revolt would continue. But indeed, it went on for another decade, and is today considered the beginning of the Mexican War of Independence.

Linda Heidenreich

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Mexico; Spanish Empire

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Hinduism

One of the oldest living religious traditions, known among its practitioners as *sanatana dharma* (the eternal dharma), Hinduism has its roots in both the Indus Valley culture (c. 3000 B.C.E.) and the Vedic religions of the Aryans (c. 1500 B.C.E.), as well as various local traditions.

No founder is associated with this ancient and polytheistic religion. Its primary source is the

Vedas, of Indo-European origin, which were transmitted orally for centuries until finally being committed to writing in the Iron Age. The four Vedas (Rig Veda, Sama Veda, Yajur Veda, and Atharva Veda) are considered to be eternal (*sanatana*) and to have been received by seers (*rsis*) through a kind of holy intuition. Over the centuries, particularly during the early Iron Age in the Ganges kingdoms, study of the Vedas generated a commentary tradition, the Brahmanas and the Aranyakas. By the fifth century B.C.E., a transition had been made from the Indo-European Vedic cult to early Hinduism. Accompanying this evolution was a societal change as well, from the traditional, heroic warrior society of early Indo-Europeans to a caste system dominated by the priestly class (Brahmans), with a concern for both ritual practice and ritual purity. This complex and elaborate system of ritual and practice is referred to by scholars as Brahmanical religion. The language of the ritual system, Sanskrit, was believed to be a reflection and a reinforcement of the cosmos; ritual constantly sustained and re-created the universe.

As with other religious traditions of India, Hinduism accepts the ideas of samsara (the cycle of rebirth), karma, and liberation through enlightenment, conceived of within the context of its own tradition. Similarly, religious life is best described as adherence to the dharma (what is appropriate), with a view toward either a better rebirth in the next cycle of souls or, ideally, *moksa* (release, casually thought of as enlightenment). The Brahmanas and the Aranyakas developed the idea of a fundamental or essential “self,” which transcended each physical reexistence of samsara. This idea reaches its apotheosis with the Upanishads and the connection of the atman (the individual Self) with the Brahman (the cosmic Absolute). Although the atman is occupied with the desires and concerns of the phenomenal world, it will continue to be reborn in samsara. This rebirth may be accomplished at many levels, including heavens and hells, and through many forms, including animals and humans. Rebirth is determined by karma, an iron law of moral order. Release from rebirth in the phenomenal world entails a merging of the atman with Brahman.

Enlightenment, or *moksa*, can be achieved in three ways, illustrated by the image of many paths to the top of the mountain: the way of works (*kar-*

mamarga), the way of knowledge (*jnanamarga*), and the way of devotion to God (*bhaktimarga*). In conjunction with this, a Hindu may choose to pass through four stages of life (*asrama*), during which he or she both attends to responsibilities and enjoys pleasures but lets go of these things in old age, as death approaches.

The Hindu pantheon is complex but rests on a triad of deities—Siva, Vishnu, and Sakti—and their avatars. Siva (Shiva) is considered the oldest of Indian deities, probably pre-Aryan and Indus Valley in his origins. Worshipers of Vishnu (with his avatar Krishna) form the most popular devotional community, whereas Sakti, the goddess who is seen by followers as a divine mother, incorporates many of the aspects and functions of Siva.

For many centuries, Hindus were required to practice their religion under foreign domination, for they were conquered by the forces of Islam and then by the British. Hindu revival during the Raj occurred under the leadership of Ram Mohan Roy and was an important force working for freedom from British imperial rule. After independence was granted to India in the latter half of the twentieth century, Hinduism there became at least partially involved with the politics of the subcontinent, with the emergence of political parties with religious goals. Secular politics and regional aberrations notwithstanding, Hinduism’s historical tolerance of religious diversity has continued to the present day and is an important model for the modern world. The incorporation of Buddhist and Jain ideas, such as vegetarianism and *ahimsa* (noninjury to living beings), into Hindu practice has provided models of moral behavior for many individuals in non-Hindu societies. Hindu communities exist in all English-speaking countries and former British colonies and contribute in significant and often profound ways to the cultures of those countries.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also British Empire; Buddhism; India; Jainism; Religion

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Hirohito, Emperor (Showa Emperor) (1901–1989)

Emperor Hirohito reigned from 1926 until his death in 1989, a turbulent period that witnessed Japan's militarist aggression against its Asian neighbors and the West, its devastating defeat in the Pacific War (1931–1945), and its spectacular postwar economic growth.

Despite an authoritarian Meiji Constitution vesting sovereignty in a sacred emperor, by the 1920s Japan had become a parliamentary democracy under which the majority political party or coalition nominated the prime minister and the cabinet; it also pursued a cooperative foreign policy with the Western powers and China. However, worsening economic conditions at home, Chinese nationalism and Western racist immigration legislation directed against Japan, and Japanese political and economic competition with the West in Asia paved the way for a breakdown of parliamentary democracy and a rising militarism in the name of emperor-centered nationalism in the



Emperor Hirohito reviews troops during his coronation. Hirohito would later preside over Japan during its great imperial expansion into mainland Asia and the Pacific in the first half of the twentieth century and its crushing defeat in World War II. (Library of Congress)

1930s. The Pacific War began with Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931, followed by its imperial expansion into north China and the outbreak of full hostilities between China and Japan in 1937.

Confronted with a military stalemate in the China theater and economic strangulation by U.S. embargoes, Japan chose to go to war against the United States and Britain in 1941, and it quickly occupied Western colonies in Southeast Asia under the guise of liberating them from Western colonialism. But by August 1945, the Japanese were faced with imminent defeat after U.S. atomic bombs destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviets declared war. In a dramatic radio broadcast to the nation, Hirohito accepted unconditional surrender to end the war.

During the American occupation under Gen. Douglas MacArthur, it was decided not to try the emperor as a war criminal but to transform him from a divine sovereign to a human symbol of the state through the U.S.-imposed Constitution of 1946. As a democratic constitutional state, Japan prospered from an open world economy and U.S. military protection, and by the late 1960s, it emerged as an economic superpower through the hard work of its people.

Hirohito's moral responsibility for the Pacific War remains a most controversial issue. As the emperor himself and his Japanese and U.S. defenders saw it, he was a peace-loving monarch who was required by the constitution to accept the advice of his cabinet and hence was not accountable for actions taken in his name. His critics, however, charge that he was morally responsible for his inaction. Recent reappraisals have even argued that he was, in fact, a ruler of real authority who made important military decisions and was thus directly accountable for Japanese imperial ambitions under his rule.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Japanese Empire; World War II

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Hispanola (Haiti)

During his first transatlantic voyage in 1492, Christopher Columbus made landfall on the island known to its Taino (or Arawak) inhabitants as

Hayti, which the admiral renamed Hispañola (or Hispaniola, meaning “Little Spanish Island”). The Tainos received the visitors warmly, and when the *Santa Maria* struck a reef near Cape Haitien on Christmas Eve, the local *cacique* (chief), Guacanagarí, consoled Columbus and brightened his countenance with gifts of gold. Consequently, the admiral resolved to leave some thirty crewmen on the island, and he used the salvage from the wreck to erect a small fort christened La Navidad—the first outpost of the Spanish American Empire. The “settlers,” however, made themselves so obnoxious with their demands for gold and women that by the time Columbus returned in 1493, he found the fort in ashes and every colonist dead. Guiding his fleet of 1,200 adventurers to another site, Columbus founded the city of Isabel and began enslaving the so-called cannibals and conquering the independent chiefdoms.

Columbus proved to be a better navigator than administrator, and as the promised gold mines proved elusive or unproductive, some Spanish colonists, under the leadership of Francisco Roldán, revolted. To pacify Roldán’s rebels, Columbus conceded them the right to make *repartimientos de indios* (allocations of Indian groups) to individual settlers in a system of virtual slavery. Disturbed by reports of maladministration and anarchy, the Crown sent Francisco de Bobadilla, a judge, to investigate the situation in 1500. Bobadilla promptly assumed command, arrested Columbus and his brother, and sent them back to Spain in chains. Two years later, Fray Nicolás de Ovando was sent to govern the island. Although the Spanish population swelled to 8,000 under his administration, the Indian population declined precipitously as imported epidemics, bloody “pacification” campaigns, draconian tribute exactions, and the institutionalization of the repartimiento system took their toll. Attempts to replace the dwindling workforce by enslaving the Indians of nearby islands merely succeeded in depopulating those islands as well.

Although Hispañola (or Santo Domingo; St. Domingue under later French rule) became the proving ground and jumping off point for the early conquests, the island also was the site of the first contemporary critique of Spanish conquest and exploitation. In 1511, the Dominican monk Antonio de Montesino preached a fiery sermon denouncing the colonial injustices, and Bar-

tolomé de Las Casas, a repentant *encomendero* (landlord who used forced Indian labor), became a tireless convert to the cause of Indian freedom. King Ferdinand responded by promulgating the Laws of Burgos in 1512, but the regulations were never enforced. Hieronymite monks were sent to reform the administration in 1516, and though they nullified absentee repartimientos, their attempts to gather the Indians into free villages failed dismally and did nothing to stem the tide of Indian decline. Only their recommendation that West African slaves be imported to relieve the dwindling Indians of the burdens of forced labor was well received. As placer mines dried up in the early 1520s and the economy shifted to cattle raising and agricultural production, African slaves were imported (and smuggled) into the colony to raise, cut, and process sugarcane in the twenty-four mills established on the island by 1523.

Neither the Africans nor the Indians accepted enslavement with resignation. Many fled to the mountains and established Maroon communities. In the 1530s, for example, an Indian *cacique* named Enrique led his people into the mountains and waged a fifteen-year guerrilla war that cost the Spaniards dearly and forced the Crown to negotiate a peace. But by 1550, the struggle was a lost cause as the numerous indigenous population had been reduced by war, slavery, exploitation, and epidemic disease to a mere 150 souls. The discovery of gold-rich Indian empires on the mainland created a gold-rush exodus that nearly depopulated Hispañola of its Spanish settlers as well, and the island’s status within the Spanish Empire waned.

In the mid-seventeenth century, French colonists established a settlement on Tortuga and steadily encroached on the remote northwest corner of the island with virtual impunity. In 1697, Spain surrendered sovereignty of the western half of Hispañola to France in the Treaty of Ryswick, and in 1795, the rest of the island was surrendered to the revolutionary regime in France.

Francis X. Luca

See also Arawak; Columbus, Christopher; French Empire; Haiti; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Empire

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Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945)

Adolf Hitler's response to Germany's geopolitical problem was simple. For Germany to grow and expand, it had to have Lebensraum, or living space. This living space would come from eastward expansion within Europe, at the expense of the peoples occupying those areas, and not from colonies overseas. In keeping with his racial vision, he asserted that the "superior" Aryan-German people (*Volk*) would not weaken themselves by scattering across the globe. Instead, they would forcibly conquer and resettle the "inferior" Slavs and other groups living in Eastern Europe, creating a great German empire (*Mitteleuropa*) from the Low Countries of northwestern Europe to the Ural Mountains in Russia. Peoples that were seen as valuable to their German conquerors would be used as slaves; all others, Jews in particular, would be forced farther east, relocated in Africa, or liquidated altogether.

Hitler's ideas for German expansion cannot be properly envisioned without addressing his racial framework. His Weltanschauung (worldview) derived from a fanatical German conservative nationalism combined with a rabid anti-Semitism. According to Hitler (and some other conservatives), Germany had been defeated in World War I because "alien Jews" and other inferior groups had worked to undermine the German war machine. Purging these unwanted elements from German society, by whatever means necessary, would save "genetically superior" Aryan-Germans and allow them to command a Central European empire. Hitler believed that Jewish financiers were manipulating an increasingly "negrofied" France and therefore posed a racial threat to Germany. Additionally, a Bolshevik-led Russia was threatening Germany from the east. His solution was to have a purifying war against Germany's enemies, both internal and external, and gain German living space in the ancestral lands of the Germanic people—Eastern Europe.

Hitler was highly critical of imperial Germany's drive for overseas colonial acquisitions and believed the continuance of such a policy would have

inevitably resulted in a major confrontation with Britain. Additionally, an overseas colonial empire would have forced Germany into dependence on exportation and shipping in the face of British domination of the world's oceans. Indeed, German colonial expansion under Otto von Bismarck had been tolerated to the point that it did not threaten the English, but when the Germans began to construct a sizable navy, the British reacted with considerable alarm, which helped precipitate World War I. By the 1920s, Hitler believed that the English would regard the French as a greater threat, due to their colonial holdings, and would thus be tolerant of Germanic expansion on the continent. He thought that the British would realize the benefits of an alliance with a strong Germany to help offset the threat of the growing U.S. capitalist machine, especially if that alliance meant a weakened France and an insignificant Russia. In reality, the British were completely unwilling to acquiesce to German domination in Eastern Europe. Their policy of appeasement toward Hitler during the 1930s was motivated by the strong desire to avoid another world war, and colonial rivalries had little influence. Yet war—ending in devastating defeat—was Hitler's and Nazi Germany's fate in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

With the sounds of Soviet bombardment on the outskirts of his Berlin chancellery and his aspirations for racial purity and the "thousand-year Reich" collapsing around him, Adolf Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Anti-Semitism; Bolsheviks; German Empire; Nazism; Racism; World War II

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Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969)

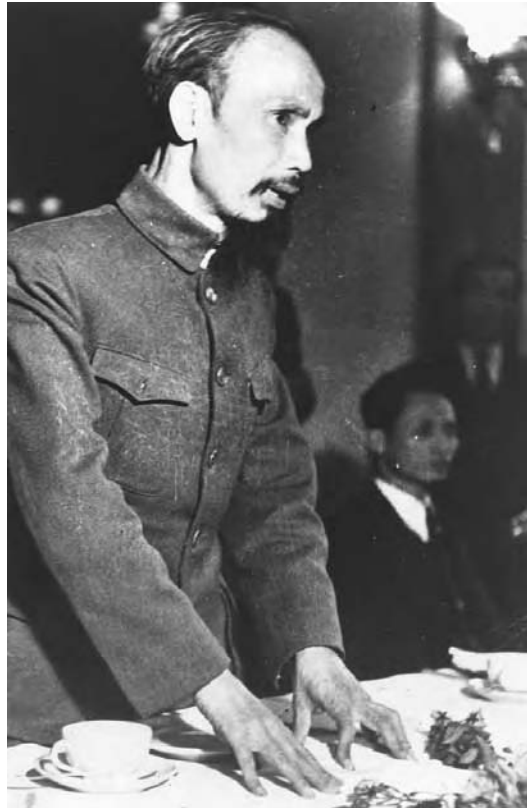
Ho Chi Minh was born in the former province of Annam in central Vietnam in 1890. After receiving a French education in Vietnam, Ho arrived in Paris in 1911. Over the next decade, his travels also took him to various places in France, Great Britain, and

the United States. He became acquainted with the ideas of Karl Marx and the Communists at this time. His activities on behalf of Vietnam's independence began in 1917; two years later, he presented a petition calling for Vietnam's autonomy to the Allied leaders at the Versailles Peace Conference, but they rejected it. His experience at the conference convinced him that he needed to pursue more radical methods to achieve his goals.

In 1920, Ho participated in the Tours Conference that founded the French Communist Party. Three years later, he went to the Soviet Union for training at the headquarters of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow. Between 1924 and 1931, Ho participated in various Communist movements in Southeast Asia and Europe and founded the Indochinese Communist Party. His revolutionary activities eventually led to his arrest by the British in 1931. He was released from jail a year later and sojourned in the Soviet Union for a second time. In 1938, after several uneventful years, Ho went to China and assisted the Communist forces there in their struggle against the Japanese invaders. In 1941, he returned to Vietnam for the first time in over thirty years and founded a Communist-led nationalist movement, the Viet Minh, to fight the Japanese and to lead his country to total independence.

In 1945, Ho was elected Vietnam's provisional president. On September 2, 1945, a few weeks after the Japanese surrender in World War II, Ho declared Vietnam's independence. The French authorities had other plans for their Indochinese colonies, however, and did not want to abandon their hold on Vietnam. They therefore evicted the Viet Minh from the southern city of Saigon and began to negotiate a political compromise with Ho. A provisional agreement was reached between Ho and Jean Sainteny, France's main negotiator, in March 1946, but the two parties continued to wrangle over the details of the arrangements for nearly nine months. An attack on Hanoi in December 1946 by the Viet Minh clearly signaled that the two parties could not reach a lasting agreement.

Ho then led the Viet Minh in a guerrilla conflict against French troops on Vietnam's difficult terrain. For the most part, his forces took refuge in the mountainous areas of northern Vietnam between 1947 and 1954. At this time, Ho gained an almost mythical fame and popularity among his



Revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh, who had just led his Viet Minh forces in a successful anticolonial war against the French, speaks at the 1954 Geneva Conference, which ended the war and divided Vietnam into northern and southern halves. (Library of Congress)

troops and much of northern Vietnam's civilian population. His government officially returned to power in July 1954 after the Geneva Accords divided the country into a southern and a northern zone, led, respectively, by governments in Saigon and Hanoi.

Not surprisingly, Ho and his allies controlled North Vietnam, entering the city of Hanoi in October. He now turned most of his efforts to constructing a Communist state in the north by collectivizing agriculture and developing industry. Excessive zeal on the part of many officials, however, eventually led to bloodshed and tarnished Ho's reputation even among some of his supporters. But he soon found a new cause to motivate his troops and his people, thanks to South Vietnam's continued refusal to work with Ho's government or participate in elections to restore the country's

unity. By 1959, military conflict resumed in Vietnam, when guerrillas in the south, aided by Ho's forces, attacked the U.S.-supported regime in Saigon. These military actions eventually led to the Vietnam War in the 1960s. By 1964 to 1965, however, Ho's deteriorating health forced him to play an increasingly ceremonial role, leaving his country's destiny in the hands of other Communist leaders and officers. He died in Hanoi in 1969.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Cold War; Communism; French Empire; Viet Minh; Vietnam; World War II

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Hobson, John (1858–1940)

John Atkinson Hobson, a British social theorist and economist, was educated at Oxford University (1876–1880) and became a schoolteacher and university professor. Inherited wealth then allowed him to devote his life to writing and lecturing. He coauthored *The Physiology of Industry* (1889), *The Economics of Distribution* (1900), and *The Industrial System* (1909), in which he developed his theory of underconsumption, whereby he blamed oversaving by the rich for the low level of wages and the consequent insufficient spending power of the majority. He became associated with such radical journals as the *Nation*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Ethical World*, and *Progressive Review*. In 1894, he was one of the founders of the radical discussion group Rainbow Circle. Six years later, he became a lecturer for the South Place Ethical Society, and over the next four decades, he published hundreds of articles and over fifty books and pamphlets. In *The Social Problem* (1901) and *The Crisis of Liberalism* (1909), he argued for social reform, the redistribution of wealth, and the introduction of a social welfare program.

His most famous book is *Imperialism: A Study* (1902), in which he argued that capitalists parasitically used imperial ventures to make profits. He suggested that instead of investing their excess profits in the empire, capitalists should pay better wages to workers. This argument led Vladimir

Lenin to argue that imperialism was a natural consequence of capitalism.

Hobson was a reporter during the South African (or Boer) War (1899–1902) and wrote *The War in South Africa* (1900), blaming international financiers for the conflict, and *The Psychology of Jingoism* (1901), in which he said that the press goaded people into imperialistic fervor. His espousal of free trade with some form of world government led him to write *Problems of a New World* (1921) and *Democracy and a Changing Civilization* (1934). He also wrote an autobiography, *Confessions of an Economic Heretic* (1938).

Roger D. Long

See also Boer War; British Empire; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Theories of Imperialism

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Home Rule (Ireland)

The term *home rule* in the present context refers to a movement and later legislation designed to achieve limited self-government for the Irish within the United Kingdom. After a series of rebellions, culminating in the United Irishmen's rebellion in 1798, the Irish Protestant Parliament voted itself out of existence in favor of a constitutional union with Great Britain from January 1, 1801. Although some Irish Catholics initially supported the Union, ongoing discrimination against them even after Catholic emancipation in 1829 resulted in the development of the Irish Repeal Association, whose members were determined to work for an end to the Union. It was not until after the disastrous Irish famine that started in 1848 and the Fenian Risings of 1867 that the supporters of Irish self-government found an ally in the British Liberal Party prime minister William Gladstone. Gladstone became convinced that self-government reform was necessary to deal with what became known in Britain as the Irish Question. Some authors have argued that this was a calculated attempt to overcome internal Liberal Party disunity and save Gladstone's leadership from the clutches of the rival Liberal politician Joseph Chamberlain.

Whatever his motivation, Gladstone, with the support of the Irish Home Rule Party that held the balance of power in the House of Commons, introduced the first Home Rule (Government of Ireland) Bill into Parliament in 1886. This was the first time the nebulous concept of home rule was given a definite form. The bill was designed to allow Ireland limited self-government of Irish affairs, with two Irish houses of parliament and an end to Irish representation at Westminster. The British government would retain control over national expenditures and foreign and defense policies. The British Conservative Party, however, perceived home rule as a destruction of the principle of the United Kingdom and joined forces with Ulster unionists to oppose the bill.

From this point until 1922, when Ireland became a self-governing dominion of Britain, Ireland's future was a political football in British politics. In the predominantly Protestant Ulster Province in the northeast of Ireland, support for liberalism died away, and the Ulster unionist movement campaigned tirelessly to avoid becoming subject to a Dublin-based, predominantly Catholic government. The first home rule bill was defeated by a House of Lords veto, as was the second bill in 1893.

It was not until December 1909 that the British Liberal Party prime minister Herbert Asquith was ready to reintroduce the issue of Irish home rule. Irish parliamentary party leader John Redmond promised his party's support for other Liberal legislation in return for a guarantee that the House of Lords veto would be limited to prevent it from again stopping passage of Irish home rule legislation. This was achieved in 1911, and the third Irish home rule bill was introduced in April 1912. Immediately, an amendment to exclude four of the original nine counties of Ulster was introduced and supported by the British Unionist Party (as the Conservative Party had become known). The Irish Home Rule Act was passed in September 1914, despite unionist attempts to defer it, and the Liberal Party agreed to suspend its operation for six months or until the end of World War I. By the time the war was over, however, the issue of home rule in southern Ireland had become redundant because of a shift away from constitutional nationalism to armed nationalism. This resulted in the demise of popular support for the Irish Parlia-



Irish politician John Edward Redmond speaks out in 1900 for Home Rule for his country. The southern part of Ireland would ultimately achieve independence from Britain after World War I. (Hulton Archive)

mentary Party, a boycott of Westminster by Irish members of Parliament who declared Irish independence in 1919, and the subsequent Anglo-Irish War of 1919 to 1921. In the meantime, the British government returned to the issue of Irish home rule in 1919, and the Government of Ireland Act, which introduced separate parliaments in northern and southern Ireland and the joint Council of Ireland, was passed in December 1920, partitioning six of the original nine Ulster counties from the rest of Ireland. Although it was not until 1927 that the southern Irish provisions of the Government of Ireland Act were formally abolished, home rule, which the Northern Irish unionists had fought so hard against, was only ever really implemented in Northern Ireland.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also British Empire; Chamberlain, Joseph; Gladstone, William Ewart; Ireland; Liberal Party; Northern Ireland

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Hong Kong

Hong Kong was a barren, rocky island when it was ceded to Britain under the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, but its deepwater harbor, sheltered from typhoons, made it an attractive base for British commercial activities in China. As a free port, Hong Kong soon emerged as a major depot for opium smuggled into China and for Chinese contract laborers sent overseas. The end of the Second Opium War in 1860 added the Kowloon peninsula to the crown colony, and in 1898, Britain gained a ninety-nine-year lease of the New Territories.

With the expansion of Sino-Western trade in the wake of improvements in communications in the late nineteenth century, Hong Kong became a major entrepôt through which a significant percentage of Chinese imports and exports passed. An influx of immigrants and capital from mainland China preceded and followed the Communist revolution of 1949 and ushered in an era of industrialization and increasing economic diversification. Growth was rapid from the 1970s onward, and Hong Kong became a leading international financial center that surpassed Britain in per capita domestic product in the early 1990s. Since the onset of economic reform in China beginning around 1980, the economies of Hong Kong and China have become increasingly interlinked: Hong Kong exports and direct investment in China have continued to climb and fuel Chinese development.

The commonly held myth about the economic success of Hong Kong suggests that the laissez-faire free trade policy of the colonial government, along with the rule of law and an efficient and relatively uncorrupt bureaucracy, created a positive environment for economic growth. In reality, economic development also depended on the active collaboration, entrepreneurship, and networks of Chinese merchants and industrialists. Moreover, after 1949, China supplied the colony with inex-

pensive foodstuffs, raw materials, water, and other essentials. As China came under the economic blockade of the United States, Hong Kong became its main source of foreign exchange, and China guaranteed its stability by refraining from taking it over.

The colonial basis of the Hong Kong government also made its contributions to economic and political development highly ambivalent: the state did pour a lot of resources into infrastructure, public housing, and social services, and it promoted exports from the late 1960s. But from the beginning, it actively advanced the interests of the British mercantile and banking elites, though some wealthy Chinese businesspeople were later added to the favored group. Direct subsidy and tariff protection to promote industry (largely in Chinese hands) were rejected as inimical to free trade and against the interests of the British hongs in Hong Kong and industries in Britain. Court proceedings were conducted in English, foreign to the majority of Chinese residents (who constituted 98 percent of the population), and much of the legislation discriminated against the Chinese and was directed against grassroots movements. The bureaucracy was dominated at the top by British expatriates, and the Legislative Council was composed of members appointed by the colonial administration. Not until after the signing of the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration on the Future of Hong Kong did the colonial government begin to promote direct elections to the legislature.

On July 1, 1997, China assumed sovereignty over Hong Kong and its 6.3 million people. According to its Basic Law, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region would retain its capitalist economy and much political autonomy (except in foreign policy and defense) for a period of fifty years, under the principle of "one country, two systems."

Robert Y. Eng

See also British Empire; China; Nanking, Treaty of; Opium Wars

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Houphouët-Boigny, Félix (c. 1905–1993)

Félix Houphouët-Boigny, president of the Republic of the Ivory Coast (from 1960 to 1993), was born in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, into a family of coffee-growing Baule chiefs. He completed medical studies in Dakar and on returning home practiced bush, or folk, medicine. A plantation owner himself, he became politically active to combat race-based pricing and forced labor policies imposed by France. In 1946, he was elected deputy to the French National Assembly on the ticket of the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI). Early on, he lobbied successfully to outlaw forced labor, an achievement that won him broad support throughout Africa.

At first, the PDCI was affiliated with the French Communist Party, alone then in its unequivocal opposition to colonialism. However, when the Left lost its influence in Paris, Houphouët-Boigny broke with the Communists and continued to work closely with the French government to bring an end to colonialism. He was most influential in his role of president of the African Democratic Assembly (RDA). Serious disagreements arose between African leaders within the RDA when Charles de Gaulle offered African colonies a choice between membership in the new French Community and immediate independence. Sékou Touré of Guinea militantly advocated immediate independence; Léopold Sédar Senghor wanted to avoid Balkanization and sought creation of a federation of African states, which Houphouët-Boigny opposed because he feared that the Ivory Coast would have to subsidize poorer neighbors. However, the RDA was the single most important African organization in the transition to independence. Houphouët-Boigny campaigned for the French Community, which prevailed in all colonies except Guinea.

As the only black member of the Constituent Assembly, Houphouët-Boigny had persuaded de Gaulle to add a codicil to the new French constitution authorizing declarations of independence by African states subsequent to approval of the referendum. All former colonies availed themselves of

the opportunity in 1960. After independence, elected president of the Ivory Coast seven consecutive times (1960–1990), Houphouët-Boigny proved to be a skillful politician. He overcame political and ethnic opposition to his one-party rule and developed consensus, thus achieving a political stability that attracted foreign loans.

Houphouët-Boigny remains a controversial figure. Some Ivorians credit him with transforming their country into a modern nation and eulogize him as a man of peace, yet others accuse him of having been a lackey of France, intent only on his own glorification.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Decolonization; de Gaulle, Charles; French Empire; French West Africa; Senghor, Léopold Sédar; Touré, Sékou

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Howe, Sir William (1729–1814)

William Howe was a typical eighteenth-century British military commander. His family had ties through his mother to King George I, and he and his two brothers were placed by their family in the military establishment at an early age. His brother Richard was a naval officer and his older brother (killed at Ticonderoga during the French and Indian War) was in the army. Howe served under James Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, leading the charge onto the Plains of Abraham, and on returning home, he was elected to Parliament from Nottingham, a position he held from 1759 until 1780. A Whig, Howe opposed the British coercion of the American colonies and publicly announced that he would refuse a command against them, a statement he later retracted when ordered to replace Gen. Thomas Gage as commander of the British forces in Boston. Howe arrived in time to lead his men personally in an assault on the rebel position on Breed's (Bunker) Hill in 1775, but in March 1776, he was forced to evacuate Boston after the rebels used the guns seized at Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and Henry Knox to force the British out of the harbor.

Over the next two years, Howe engaged George Washington and the rebel army four times, at

Long Island, Brandywine, White Plains, and Germantown. Long Island was a tremendous success for his troops, made possible by poor planning on the part of the Americans, but Howe was reluctant to follow up his success and pursue the retreating rebels. Brandywine was a less successful effort but still a victory, again hindered by a reluctance to prosecute, whereas White Plains and Germantown were fought to draws. Howe captured Philadelphia in 1777, after moving from New York via the Chesapeake Bay, and wintered there, earning much criticism for his extravagant parties and excess. He also drew fire for not assisting John Burgoyne's march south from Canada to Albany, although he had no official orders to do so. Disenchanted by the progress of the war, Howe asked to be relieved in November 1777 and was replaced by Sir Henry Clinton the following spring.

Knighted by George III for his victory at Long Island, Howe was promoted to full general in 1793 and became Fifth Viscount Howe on the death of his brother Richard. During the Napoleonic Wars, Howe was governor of Plymouth and commanded the northern and southern districts of England's defense. He was a popular officer, but Howe's political support of the rebels may have hindered his willingness to vigorously fight them, as he hoped for a negotiated settlement rather than a military suppression. Howe died, leaving no direct descendants, in 1814.

Margaret Sankey

See also American Revolution; British Empire; Seven Years' War; War and Warfare

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Hudson, Henry (c. 1570s–1611)

Henry Hudson, an English navigator and explorer, sailed out of Bristol, England, on May 1, 1607, on his first voyage. Sailing on behalf of the English Moscovy Company, he explored the east coast of Greenland and Spitzbergen. The company sent Hudson out again in 1608 to seek a northeast passage to the Orient, but on that voyage, he found it impossible to get through the ice pack.

Hudson's third voyage, however, made him famous. Sailing for the Dutch East India Company,

he departed Amsterdam early in the spring of 1609 on the *Halve Maen* (Half Moon), once again seeking a northeast passage. As before, Hudson was stopped by the ice pack, but he decided to ignore his orders and sailed westward for America. After suffering through a series of Atlantic storms, he reached the coast of Newfoundland without a foremast. The *Half Moon* was repaired on the Maine coast, and Hudson sailed south of Chesapeake Bay and then into Delaware Bay and Delaware River, but he quickly concluded that that was not the route to China. He coasted up the New Jersey shore, entered lower New York Bay, and in September 1609 sailed slowly up the river that was to bear his name. He explored the region, returning to England in October. Hudson was detained on his arrival at Dartmouth and forbidden to sail again in other than English employ. His journals, however, were sent on to Amsterdam, and an account of the voyage was subsequently published.

English adventurers financed his last voyage. Sailing in the *Discovery* in April 1610, Hudson sighted the coast of Greenland in June, passed the



This late-nineteenth-century painting depicts Henry Hudson, his son, and one of several other members of his crew set adrift in 1610 by mutineers in the bay that came to bear his name. Hudson led an early-seventeenth-century expedition to find the fabled and elusive Northwest Passage to Asia. (Library of Congress)

strait that bears his name by August 2, and the next day observed “a Sea to the Westward” (Hudson Bay), which he explored. The crew suffered terribly during that winter, and several died. The captain was seized at the instigation of the deposed mate Robert Juet, and on June 23, 1611, Hudson, his son, and seven others died when they were set adrift in a small boat without any supplies. Though he explored farther than any of his predecessors, Hudson actually discovered neither the bay, nor the strait, nor the river that would be named for him. His expeditions, although accomplishing very little, did spur some additional English interest in the region.

Henry H. Goldman

See also British Empire; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; Exploration

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Hudson’s Bay Company

The Hudson’s Bay Company—originally chartered by King Charles II in 1670—controlled one-third of the present-day Canadian territory. The area was designated Rupert’s Land, and it encompassed most of north Ontario and northern Quebec, all of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, the southern half of Alberta, and a large part of the Northwest Territories. With its beginnings as a simple fur-trading enterprise, the company is one of the oldest firms still active in the world. It evolved into a trading and exploration company that reached as far as the west coast of Canada and the United States, south to Oregon, north to the Arctic, and east to Ungava Bay, with subsidiaries in Chile, Hawaii, California, and Siberia. However, the road to becoming Canada’s oldest corporation and one of its largest retailers was not entirely smooth.

The company’s first battles occurred with the French who wanted the company out of Canadian territory. French and English warships battled for ownership of company trading posts. The company finally won out with the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, which validated its right to keep its settlements. Later rivals emerged as the North West Company, composed mostly of Scottish-Canadian traders from Montreal, pushed north to the Arctic and in 1793 west to the Pacific. Later, in 1821, the

Hudson’s Bay Company absorbed the North West Company, thus ending any land title disputes. The next fifty years were some of the company’s best as it explored and traded vigorously throughout the west and north and spread south in a large area from the sources of the Missouri River to the San Francisco Bay.

People viewed the company as a monopoly, which was distasteful to many who were opposed to its misuse of power. A parliamentary inquiry in 1857 observed that Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba—known as the Fertile Belt—were suitable for settlement and therefore should be surrendered to Canada. This declaration marked the beginning of the end of the company’s monopoly. Under the terms of the Deed of Surrender of 1869, the company kept its charter but gave up ownership of its Rupert’s Land territory. For this surrender, it received cash and 7 million acres in the Fertile Belt, which it gradually sold over the next eighty-five years.

By 1912, the company found that it needed a fresh look for its retailing operation and consequently developed a chain of department stores in Canada. This approach led to its emergence as one of Canada’s leading retail organizations. Rebounding from the interruption of World War I, company expansion continued in 1923. By 1970, downtown department stores were constructed in every major city in western Canada, and the company headed east, where it expanded into the suburbs of prominent Canadian cities. Several major acquisitions followed, a trend that continued through the twentieth century. Thus, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the Hudson’s Bay Company was a far cry from the simple fur-trading operation that began in 1670 as an extension of British colonial expansion.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Canada; Quebec; Utrecht, Peace of

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Huguenots

From 1555 to 1565, the Huguenots (the name given to French Protestants) tried to establish a

colony that would serve as a refuge in America. In 1555, the Catholic Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon (c. 1510–1571), viceroy of America, established a colony in the bay of Guanabara (the future bay of Rio de Janeiro). His aim was to create a refuge for all the victims of religious persecution. This ecumenical enterprise brought settlers, especially Protestants, together, and one of its main sponsors was Gaspard de Chatillon, the comte de Coligny (1519–1572), who was director of the overseas affairs of the kingdom. The aim of this colony was also to control, commercially and militarily, a region that was at the junction of the Portuguese and Spanish Empires. However, the religious disputes of the time soon divided the settlers, and in 1560, the Portuguese destroyed the French settlement, marking the end of “France Antarctique.”

This failure did not discourage Coligny. He planned to establish a second colony, which would both disrupt Spanish shipping and provide a home for the Huguenots. In 1562, a group of Protestants led by Jean Ribault and René de Goulaine de Laudonnière established a settlement in Florida, on an island named Port-Royal. This first settlement came, however, to a sudden end,

and the colony was abandoned soon after. In 1564 and 1565, Laudonnière and Ribault founded Fort Caroline on the Saint John River with about a thousand settlers, almost exclusively Protestants. The Spaniards were hostile to this French colony, which was threatening the route to the Indies and was, moreover, considered heretical. Consequently, in September 1565, the colonial governor, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, destroyed the colony and killed almost all the settlers—not because they were French, according to Menéndez, but because they were enemies of God. After this last failure, the Huguenot party relinquished its colonial project. Meanwhile, the need for a Huguenot refuge was rendered less pressing in 1598 when the Edict of Nantes established religious tolerance in France. But it was not until 1627, when the Crown forbade the emigration of the Huguenots to America, that the Huguenot colonial dream vanished.

Saliha Belmessous

See also Christianity; French Empire

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Iceland

Iceland, an independent republic since 1944, was part of the Danish kingdom from 1380. After the self-governing settlement period in the ninth century, the island fell under Danish domination through the Union of Kalmar Treaty in 1380. Until the seventeenth century, however, Icelanders retained much governance over their own affairs. In 1602, a monopoly trade on fish (the island's primary export) was established, and the Copenhagen government began to exercise more direct control. During the eighteenth century, the island went into economic decline after a period of bad weather, illness, and famine, and local leaders started to agitate for free trade and more local control. In a series of liberalizing measures in Denmark, the monopoly trade was abolished in 1854, and parliamentary representation was granted to Iceland, along with the other provinces, in 1839.

These measures did not entirely satisfy the Icelandic nationalists, who argued, based largely on the heritage of the Icelandic medieval saga literature, that Icelanders were a distinct people with a history and culture independent of mainland Scandinavia and therefore deserving of statehood. After a long, legalistic, but nonviolent struggle, the nationalists were successful. The island was granted home rule in 1903, and a 1918 contract provided for a twenty-five-year transition period to full independence. This treaty expired while Denmark was occupied by Germany during World

War II, and the Icelanders (with the encouragement of the United States, which believed the island to be of global strategic importance) declared independence, which was acknowledged but poorly accepted by Copenhagen. With enormous amounts of U.S. and British aid, Iceland modernized rapidly after the war.

Karen Oslund

See also Danish Empire

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Igbo

The Igbo people speak the Igbo language and occupy most of the Bight of Biafran hinterland in southeastern Nigeria. Following British proclamation of a protectorate over the Niger district on June 5, 1885, Igbo land became part of the British Empire. The British government granted the Royal Niger Company a royal charter to administer the territories of the Oil River Protectorate in 1886. For effective administration, the British government appointed Maj. Claude Macdonald as the high commissioner and consul-general of the Oil River Protectorate in 1891, which was renamed the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893. From 1891, Macdonald established treaties of protection with the Akwete community. Many treaties

followed between British administrative officers and Igbo villages into the 1890s. In an attempt to open the Igbo hinterland and stop internal slavery, the British attacked the Aro, who dominated trade and commerce in Igboland in 1901. Sporadic attacks on Igbo villages continued until 1917, all of which subdued initial resistance to British imperialism.

On December 31, 1899, the British government revoked the charter granted to the Royal Niger Company to administer the area. On January 1, 1900, the Southern Nigeria Protectorate was proclaimed, with Sir Ralph Moor as high commissioner. Until 1905, the administration of Igboland was based on the realities of the Oil River coast, but the amalgamation of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate with the Protectorate of Lagos in 1906 affected the administrative structure of Igboland. Lagos established effective control and authority over Igbo land. From 1914, Fredrick Lugard, governor-general of Nigeria, amalgamated the Northern and Southern Provinces. Following the amalgamation, Igboland was given political and administrative unity within the new provincial system under a resident administrator. Under indirect rule, Africans were used as administrative assistants in the native court system.

Administrative reforms followed Lugard's tenure, giving more power to local chiefs. However, the imposition of indirect rule on the Igbo proved abortive. The new regime did not fit with Igbo traditional political systems. Ultimately, the Igbo rejection of British administration can be traced to the value they attached to independence and democratic ideals. When direct taxation was imposed in 1928, the Igbo hated it because it amounted to tribute and drained their pockets. When it was erroneously believed that women would be taxed, widespread revolts ensued throughout most of Igboland in the now famous Igbo Women's War of 1929. The women's stiff opposition to British rule led to changes in the administration of Igboland. Opposition to British rule continued in Igbo land until independence was attained in 1960. In short, Igboland may be described as a society in which the British system of indirect rule did not succeed.

Chima J. Korieh

See also British Empire; Lugard, Lord Frederick; Nigeria

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Imperial British East Africa Company

Chartered in the midst of the scramble for Africa, the Imperial British East Africa Company was designed to both protect British strategic interests and profit through the private administration of the northern East African coast. Scottish shipping magnate William Mackinnon organized the company. Mackinnon had made his fortune in colonial Indian trade and transport, but during the 1870s, he shifted his attention to East and Central Africa, funding Christian missions, antislavery efforts, and geographic expeditions. Of course, he combined his humanitarian interests with commercial investments in African transport and political support for a greater British imperial presence there. In 1887, Mackinnon obtained a lease concession of the sultan of Zanzibar's customhouses on the Kenya coast, and after assembling a politically well-connected list of subscribers back in Great Britain, he obtained a charter for the company in 1888.

The British Foreign Office was never enthusiastic about Mackinnon's scheme. Yet East Africa skirted the periphery of British strategic interests in the Indian Ocean and Nile Basin. A rival German chartered company, the Deutsche Ostafrika Gesellschaft, had laid claim to territory in the interior and was concurrently negotiating with the sultan of Zanzibar. Thus, British leaders supported the Imperial British East Africa Company insofar as it served as a check on growing German influence in the region. Investors took a longer view. The administration of the coast was a necessary first step, but their goal was to advance British

commercial interests in the interior. According to Mackinnon's prospectus, the company's capital was to be invested in the organization of caravan routes and the eventual construction of a railway to Lake Victoria.

Within five years, however, the company foundered. Customs revenues proved insufficient to support the most minimal administration. Moreover, military campaigns on the Somali coast, as well as the dispatch of a garrison to the Buganda Kingdom on Lake Victoria, drained much of the company's working capital. There was little profit in land transport, and Mackinnon failed to secure needed concessions and additional investment for railway construction rapidly enough to keep the company afloat. The company withdrew from Uganda in 1893, and Great Britain assumed the protectorate there in the next year. The remainder of the company's claim in East Africa was transferred to formal British control in 1895.

Laird Jones

See also British Empire; Kenya; Uganda

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Incas

Dating the origin of the Inca Empire is a subject of debate among anthropologists. One theory is that imperial consolidation began as early as 500 C.E. along the Pacific coast and that such consolidation was not achieved through war. Over the next 400 to 500 years, the theory holds, the empire grew to encompass many mountain people, and this early stage was marked by spectacular achievements in architecture, ceramics, and textile arts. Others contend that the consolidation of the Inca Empire did not begin until around 1250 and that it was established through war making. According to this theory, the empire is estimated to have covered approximately 120,000 square miles. A third theory argues that the consolidation happened as late as 1430, when the Inca king Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui defeated the Chanca and established the central power of the Inca Empire in the Cuzco Valley. This empire is said to have covered about 300,000 square miles (more than the area of Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and France combined).

No matter what theory of its early origins is correct, the Inca Empire at the time of European contact in the early 1500s was the largest of the empires of the Americas, including under its aegis most of what is now Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, along with parts of Chile, Columbia, and Argentina. Its capital city of Cuzco boasted a population of about 400,000. The empire, although consolidated partly through war, was not held together militarily. Instead, it commanded the respect of its members by being organized politically to ensure the health and well-being of each individual. At the time of Spanish contact, the empire was in the midst of a "civil war," with two brothers struggling to attain ultimate power. Atahuallpa, the favorite (though illegitimate) son of the late emperor Inca Hunan Capuche, defeated his brother and was still consolidating his control when Francisco Pizarro invaded his territory with 150 men in 1533. Atahuallpa was waiting for Pizarro's arrival in his fortress city of Cajamarca with 6,000 men, as Pizarro claimed that his visit was based on friendship. Atahuallpa accepted this claim and went to Pizarro's camp, whereon he was immediately seized and held for ransom (a room full of gold). After much of the ransom had been paid, Pizarro had Atahuallpa executed (on August 29, 1533), and he assumed the mantle of Inca emperor himself.

The Inca never regained political control of their former territory. Today, however, they continue to pursue their traditional and ceremonial way of life—as far as possible given the confines of modern political systems.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Americans, Native; Atahuallpa; Conquistadores; Pizarro, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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India

The Republic of India, with over 1 million inhabitants, is the dominant state in South Asia. The British invasion and colonization of India began with the creation of the British East India Company in 1600 and the establishment of a trading

post at Surat, Gujerat, in 1613. By 1619, trading posts had also been established at Agra, Ahmedabad, and Broach. Bombay became a British territory in 1661, when it was given in dowry to King Charles II by the Portuguese. In 1669, it was taken over by the East India Company, and in 1687, Bombay replaced Surat as the site of the company's headquarters. On the east coast, the British set up a trading post at Masulipatnam in 1611 and at Armagaon in 1626. In 1640, they built Fort St. George at Madras. British traders also settled at Cuttack, Orissa, in 1633 but moved to the Calcutta area in 1651; in 1690, the city of Calcutta was founded by Job Charnock. The British continued to confine themselves to trade in India until the mid-eighteenth century, when the emasculation of the Mughal Empire and rivalry with France, which had trading posts in India, caused them to exercise political authority and to make India into the "jewel in the crown" of their imperial possessions.

The British Empire in India is associated with the deeds of Robert Clive (1725–1774), who defeated the French in south India in wars that were part of the worldwide conflict between the British and the French. He also established British hegemony in Bengal and was the founder of the Indian army. After the Battle of Plassey on June 23, 1757, he served as governor of Bengal and commander in chief of British forces in India (1765–1767). His successors further extended British power in India, so that by 1849, almost all of the country was under the direct or indirect control of the British.

In 1773, the Regulating Act began the process of British government control of the East India Company. The Regulating Act of 1784 established a board of control and a committee of secrecy in London, although the British government did not assume direct responsibility for governing India until 1859. Up to 1947, India was the direct responsibility of the British government, through a viceroy. During this period, India was brought firmly into the world economy through the development of plantations, ports, roads, and railways. Western learning was fostered, with three universities established in 1857, and the Indian army became part of the imperial forces. The British also introduced new administrative, legal, and political structures, beginning in 1861 with the Imperial Legislative Council, which the Indian Councils Act

expanded in 1892. High courts were established in 1861 in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In 1865, district boards were created, and in 1883, elected municipal boards were formed. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 created provincial councils and increased Indian representation. The Government of India Act of 1919 introduced dual responsibility (both British and Indian) for governing India, which was extended considerably in the Government of India Act of 1935.

With the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the All-India Muslim League in 1906, Indians began to develop associations that became organized political parties in the 1930s. Opposition to British rule increased dramatically after World War I with the activities of Mohandas Gandhi. One effect of the introduction of an electoral system in India was that it allowed the Muslim League to build and document support for its claim that the Muslims of India demanded Pakistan as a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. World War II destroyed British power in the world, and within ten years of the end of the war, most of Britain's colonies had become independent. Accordingly, India was partitioned into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan on August 14, 1947.

Roger D. Long

See also Bengal; British East India Company, British Empire; Calcutta; Clive, Robert; Gandhi, Mohandas; Hinduism; Mountbatten, Earl; New Delhi; Pakistan; Roy, Manabendra Nath; Ranjit Singh

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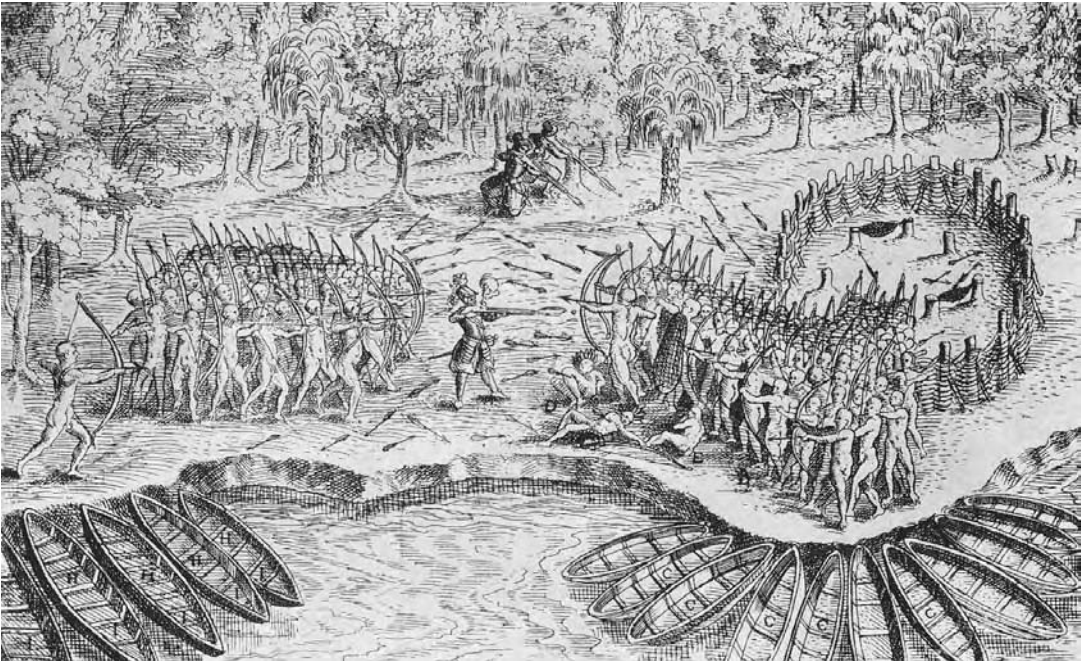
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Indian Wars

Warfare was central to imperial endeavors and cross-cultural interactions in North America. Military conflicts paced colonial relations for 350 years, beginning with Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's subjugation of the Zuni and Pueblo in the



A French soldier fires an arquebus during the Battle of Ticonderoga in 1609. The battle between the Huron and Iroquois was one of the first in North America that involved European troops. (Library of Congress)

Southwest in 1540 and drawing to a close three and a half centuries later with the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. Mutual misunderstandings and competing political agendas facilitated armed struggles between Native Americans and Europeans and, later, Euramericans. Of greater importance, the use of military force was fundamental to policies of subjugation and appropriation, underscoring both the historical imbalances and the injustices of the colonization of Native America.

Although a near constant feature of colonial enterprises in North America, escalating as more Europeans and Euramericans occupied more and more territory closer to indigenous communities, warfare with and against indigenous peoples displayed great variation. Excluding local disputes and minor struggles that never became full-scale conflicts, three forms of cross-cultural warfare may be identified in the historical record. First, Native Americans, particularly before 1815, allied themselves with Europeans to fight historical enemies, advance political and economic interests, or control territory. For instance, during the Beaver Wars (1638–1684), the Iroquois waged an intermittent campaign against traditional adversaries,

the Huron and Algonquin, and their European ally, the French, securing their influence in the Northeast for much of the next century. Second, military force was central to the colonizing strategies of the Europeans and, later, the Euramericans. Individuals and institutions engaged in war to relocate, pacify, and even exterminate indigenous communities. Tragic examples include massacres by U.S. troops at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee; early conflicts in New England, such as the Pequot War, the Indian removal, and the Second and Third Seminole Wars; and the extended campaigns against the Lakota on the Great Plains and the Apache in the Southwest. Finally, armed struggle proved to be an effective means through which Indian nations resisted colonization and defended themselves. Among the almost countless instances are the Natchez Revolt, Little Turtle's War, Black Hawk War, and Red Cloud's War.

Colonialism altered indigenous military conceptions and strategies as well. It introduced novel technologies (the gun and the horse); frequently forced indigenous peoples to defend their communities, lands, and livelihoods in the face of external invasions; and offered novel political and economic opportunities for those aligned with the

colonizers. As a consequence, throughout Native America, political and economic motivations displaced the previous socioreligious foundations of conflict; on the battlefield, taking life competed with securing honor; and overkill scenarios undermined the previous emphasis on capture-oriented skirmishes. As indigenous groups were displaced, as they sought to exploit new resources as in the fur trade, or as they forged alliances with colonial powers, the number of conflicts between indigenous groups increased. In some cases, the disruptions associated with colonization even encouraged certain nations, among them the Iroquois and the Lakota, to expand both their territory and their influence.

C. Richard King

See also Iroquois Federation; New England

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Industrial Revolution

Colonialism has been a feature of the modern world since the fifteenth century. With it came encounters that saw the settlement of the colonizers on the coasts of distant shores. The Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century fundamentally altered the relations between the “centers,” primarily Britain, and the “periphery.” It intensified the interaction, furthering the penetration of the colonial societies. It created opportunity for the industrialists and those with whom they did business, and it created hardship for labor and exploited the transatlantic slave trade. The Industrial Revolution intensified the commercial and then the political connections and intensified the exploitation of human and material resources.

The Industrial Revolution began in the 1780s, when the invention of certain machines (such as James Watt’s steam engine in 1784) unleashed the productive powers of society—primarily British society at that point. (Other northwest European countries and the United States followed at a later date.) The seemingly limitless possibilities of economic growth necessitated dramatic changes in terms of agriculture, urbanization, patterns of work, and labor relations within the “home” society. Abroad, it implied a transformation of the rela-

tionship between Britain and colonial areas and had a dramatic and often negative effect on colonial economies. If the effects of the Industrial Revolution were to rapidly increase the connections within Britain, especially by rail, its effects abroad would increase the transoceanic traffic that fed the revolution with raw materials and sustained it with profits from the sales of various commodities, especially cotton.

By the late eighteenth century, mercantile development and colonialism ensured that the primary concern of the British government was economic development, the rapid increase of which pushed Britain into a transitional period toward industrial revolution and thus industrial colonialism, which remained a feature of the world economy until the late nineteenth century.

The Industrial Revolution brought together the inventors and the entrepreneurs that sought to maximize their gain on investment by searching for the most profitable markets and the cheapest sources of supply. Eric Hobsbawm (1975) wrote that it was British technical know-how that spurred the revolution. Other states copied the British and gained from their invention and expertise. If Britain did not have this opportunity, he argued, it did have a good economy and “a state aggressive enough to capture the markets of its competitors.” Thus, the end of the Napoleonic era also witnessed the “last and decisive phase of a century’s Anglo-French duel.” By the mid-eighteenth century, Britain had consolidated its hold on India, after the Battle of Plessey in 1757, and Canada in the 1760s. France lost out on both occasions. The only threat to Britain was the nascent potential of the United States, which was not fully realized until after the American Civil War. Hence, during the nineteenth century, Britain ruled the waves and became the center of the world economy.

The intensity of the colonial relationship grew as a result of the cotton industry. The centrality of the commodity not only affected British interests and diversified them as time progressed, it also dramatically affected the lives of those caught up in the local industries and the atrocious slave trade that fed the colonial activity and the profits of the industrialists. Thus, Britain’s pursuit of cotton took it from India, then to the southern states of the United States, and on to Egypt while the

Americans were engaged in civil war. Beyond the local impact, the British state had to adapt and build navies and plant outposts to sustain and protect the industry.

The cotton industry thus grew simultaneously with slavery. The northern and western cities that initiated the revolution also became the focus of the British slave trade. The produce and the profits were used to buy the slaves and perpetuate the triangular relationship that took cheap goods to Africa, transported slaves across the Atlantic to labor, and carried cotton back to Britain.

The rapidly increasing production transformed the relationship of the metropole and the colony. Once a source of raw materials, the colonies increasingly became important as a marketplace. The growth in the colonial markets was exceeding the growth in the domestic and European markets by the mid-nineteenth century. Hobsbawm argued that the commercial interests “systematically deindustrialized” India and reversed the trend of world history. Britain hitherto had been a net importer of Asian produce, but it now became a net exporter to Asia.

Colonialism provided further opportunity for British economic growth. The demand for more cotton meant that the colonial administrators of the East India Company and later (after 1857) the British state could directly rule over the territory, increase the areas under cultivation, exploit the supply of cheap labor and slaves, and create the necessary colonial conditions, including colonial police forces, to suppress local revolt or disturbances.

The colonies also facilitated the process by becoming the sources of cheap food imported into Europe. With the inexpensive supply of foodstuffs, European wages could be kept lower than if the nation had to rely on locally cultivated supplies. Thus, in terms of sources of raw materials, food supply, and cheap labor and slaves, and as new expanded markets, the colonies became vital to sustained European growth. A key outcome of the Industrial Revolution was that as competition increased among the European states by the late nineteenth century, the acquisition of territory (as opposed to just markets), people, and produce became essential.

Colonialism was justified by ideologies predicated on racism, civilization, and the efficient use of resources. It alleviated domestic tensions as Eu-

ropean countries and later the United States sought to overcome domestic recession through foreign expansion. The conquest of Africa in the late nineteenth century was facilitated by the industrialization of transport, communications, and warfare.

David Ryan

See also British East India Company; British Empire; Cotton; Economics; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Transportation

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Inquisition

One of the main goals of Ferdinand and Isabella, the king and queen of Spain, was to create a homogeneous population possessing religion and culture but free of *Judaizantes* (Jews) and *Moriscos* (Moors), who were seen as heretics and discordant constituents. Consequently, the Catholic majesties established the Holy Office of the Inquisition in 1478, a council given the task of enforcing the uniformity of religious practice in the Spanish world. Following their lead, Portugal established the Holy Office in 1536 with the same goals in mind for the Portuguese world. The Inquisition was originally intended to investigate the sincerity of *conversos*, Christian converts who had been accused of being Jews and Muslims. The aims, however, changed drastically as the Inquisition became overzealous in its charges. As a result, what ensued resembled more of a witch-hunt than a religious inquiry. During the Inquisition, Jews and Muslims had only three options: to be exiled, to be killed by the Inquisition tribunals, or to convert to Christianity. Many converted, but that did not keep them safe from the watchful eyes of the Holy Office. Those who were not killed, tortured, or executed fled to locales throughout Europe, Africa, and the New World. By 1508, news traveled to the two Iberian powers that the New World was rife with “Hebrew Christians.” As a result, the Holy Office spread its tyranny throughout the colonies as well. Tribunals developed across the Spanish mainland, the Spanish West Indies, and the Philippines. No tribunals

were formed in Portuguese Brazil, however, as Brazilian prisoners were tried in Portugal. By the early 1500s, the Inquisition expanded its attacks beyond the Jews and Muslims, specifically targeting Protestants in the Portuguese and Spanish worlds. The tribunals gained more power as autonomous authorities, free from the rules of the monarchy and state. Eventually, anything deemed “illegal” or “conspicuous” was brought before the tribunals, such as acts of suspected witchcraft by African slaves, gypsies, or allegedly adulterous wives. The Inquisition also expanded outside the New World into European areas under Spanish control. Spain established tribunals in Sicily in 1517 but was unable to do so in Naples and Milan. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V introduced the Inquisition into the Netherlands in 1522 in an attack against the Protestants, but he failed to eradicate Protestantism.

By 1665, however, the tribunals were unable to successfully complete their goals. Protestantism proved to be too resilient, and the witch-hunt in the colonies subsided. The Inquisition slowed in its attacks, serving more as a political advisory to the Iberian thrones than a defender of Catholicism. The damage was already done, however, as thousands lost their lives throughout the Spanish and Portuguese worlds simply because they were not Catholic.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Charles V; Christianity; Ferdinand and Isabella; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire

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International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) came into existence in December 1945 as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944. The IMF was established to oversee the post-1945 international financial system. It operates as a specialized agency linked to but independent from the United Nations. Its main objectives are the promotion of economic growth, market economics, and free trade. It monitors the economic performance of

countries around the world and provides reserve facilities for member governments when they are confronted with balance-of-payments problems. Member governments can automatically draw funds equal to their membership quotas.

Decision making and policy formulation at the IMF are based on a weighted voting system. The total number of votes a particular government has is directly related to the amount of capital it contributes to the IMF. Historically, this has meant that the United States has controlled 20 percent of the votes, and Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Japan together have controlled at least another 20 percent. The IMF is administered by an executive board, made up of twenty-four representatives from member countries, that handles daily operations. The managing director is selected by the executive board. Since the early days of the IMF, it has been customary for the managing director to be a European and for the head of the World Bank to be a U.S. citizen. The IMF is governed by a board of governors that meets annually and is composed of one representative from each member country.

The financial support the IMF provides to member governments comes with conditions (“conditionality”), and the organization’s articles of agreement make clear that a member government is obliged to meet the terms of the particular standby arrangement. This usually involves following an IMF-mandated austerity program, focused on inflation reduction, currency devaluation, cuts to public spending, and the elimination of export subsidies. Now known as structural adjustment programs, these arrangements involve IMF assistance at a time of crisis or financial instability in exchange for a range of reforms oriented toward privatization, deregulation, and trade liberalization. In the 1990s, the IMF also sought to link its lending to “good governance.” This approach makes the extension of funds dependent on the government in question demonstrating improvements in the taxation system and judiciary, in education and health, and in the enhancement of private property rights and greater transparency in government financial operations.

Mark T. Berger

See also Bretton Woods Conference; North-South Conflict; Third World

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Iran

Known as Persia until 1935 and one of the world's oldest civilizations, dating back to 2700 B.C.E., Iran experienced outside domination throughout much of its history, including Greek, Arab, Mongol, and Ottoman conquests. It achieved a degree of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire in the late seventeenth century with the Qajar dynasty, which grew weak by the twentieth century as Persia became increasingly subject to European pressure. The discovery of oil heightened Persia's importance but also added to its vulnerability. The 1909 establishment of the Anglo-Persian (later Anglo-Iranian) Oil Company (APOC) resulted in British domination of the oil industry and provoked nationalist reaction. The subsequent Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 made Persia a virtual protectorate, giving Britain immense military, political, and economic power and further weakening the Qajar state. Thereafter, the British backed Col. Reza Khan's successful military insurrection in 1921.

Khan (1878–1944), known as Reza Shah Pahlavi during his tenure as emperor (1926–1941), launched a campaign of reform modeled on the Kemalist revolution in neighboring Turkey. In 1932, he attempted to change the terms of the oil concession, which was heavily tilted in favor of Britain. The controversy that resulted reached the League of Nations in 1933, which conceded little to Persia. With World War II, the Great Powers grew increasingly interested in Iran, resulting in the Anglo-Soviet intervention of August 1941 and leading to the forced expulsion of Reza Shah for seeking German assistance to counter British and Soviet designs on Iran. His son, Muhammad Reza (1919–1980), began his reign as Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1942–1979) and was a virtual British puppet, facing an increasingly restive secular and religious nationalism that ultimately culminated in the nationalization of the Iranian oil industry in 1951. The shah fled into exile in 1953, but British and U.S. officials aided in the overthrow of the Iranian nationalist premier Mohammed Mossadegh and brought the shah back from exile. Ongo-

ing resentment of foreign interference in Iran ultimately helped fuel the final overthrow of the shah in 1979, as well as the subsequent Islamic revolution that dominates Iranian politics to this day.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Islam; Mossadegh, Mohammed; Ottoman Empire; Petroleum; Shah of Iran; Turkey

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Iraq

With a rich tradition of ancient indigenous civilizations but also a long history of foreign domination, the region that would become most of modern Iraq was, as part of the Ottoman Empire after 1638, three distinct provinces: Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul. During World War I (1914–1918), the region came under British control in stages, with some support from local Arabs who believed, based on hard evidence, that Britain would ultimately allow self-rule. On such assumptions, the Arab revolt of June 1916 was launched, yet the Anglo-French Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916 had already hinted at a formal partition of the region among the Allied victors. Ignoring many local conditions, a League of Nations mandate for Iraq was established under British administration in 1920.

The British had succeeded in repressing local resistance and installing the Hashemite emir Feisal ibn Hussein (1885–1933), a Sunni, as King Feisal I (1921–1933). Yet even Feisal acknowledged the state's artificial nature and lack of history as a cohesive entity—its arbitrary borders, Shiite majority, substantial Kurdish minority, and various provincial and tribal differences. Furthermore, the pro-British and Sunni ruling elite was increasingly out of step with local aspirations. After significant oil reserves were discovered in 1927, Britain secured long-term military ties and a favorable concession for Iraqi oil. British troops remained when the mandate ended in 1932 and crushed a nationalist coup d'état during World War II. Anti-British feeling continued to grow after the war, and a violent coup in 1958 eliminated the ruling Hashemite dynasty and pro-British government, establishing a republic and ending Britain's influence.

Modern Iraq remains acutely sensitive to external interference of any kind. A series of repressive regimes have failed to resolve persistent ethnoreligious, socioeconomic, and developmental problems. Ongoing political instability, disputed borders, and problematic access to the Persian Gulf has led to regional conflicts with Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey and also with outside powers such as the United States and its allies.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Iran; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire;

Sykes-Picot Treaty; Turkey

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Ireland

Ireland was an early British colony and one of the few European nations to achieve independence as late as 1922. Prior to English colonization, Ireland was invaded and ruled for long periods by the Vikings (from the eighth to the eleventh centuries) and by the Normans (from the twelfth to the fourteenth). After the decline of the Norman empire throughout the British Isles and the consolidation of English power over Scotland and Wales, Ireland was again the object of colonial desire. Previously, Ireland had become, over time, a lordship attached to the English Crown, after Diarmait Mac Murchada became Henry II's vassal in 1166 in a bid to reclaim his kingdom of Leinster. From that time forward, various English rulers settled in Ireland, and many married into Irish ruling families. As a result, an Anglo-Irish community developed that supported English rule but maintained certain Irish traditions.

In this period, English control in Ireland was maintained by a lord deputy, whose position and control became stronger after Elizabeth I's active colonization of Ireland and the subsequent bloody regime of Oliver Cromwell, the governor of Ireland, in the 1650s. From 1610 onward, the counties of Ulster in northeast Ireland were settled, or "planted," with Scottish and English settlers on land confiscated after the crushing of Hugh O'Neill's counterattack against English rule. An Irish parliament, consisting mainly of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy (English elite in Ireland), operated fitfully throughout that century and the next,

until it was finally disbanded with the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland in 1800.

English colonial policy during these two centuries aimed to crush Irish language and culture in a deliberate, though haphazardly implemented, effort to Anglicize Ireland. Through a succession of penal laws from 1695 to 1728, Catholic rights to education, to bear arms, to own horses and land, to hold public office, and to vote were restricted. It was not until 1829 that most of these restrictions were repealed. There were, however, certain more positive effects of English colonial policy. From the 1740s until the 1820s, Ireland experienced a long period of economic expansion, during which the agricultural output rose; the manufacturing sector grew; banking, transport, and towns developed; and a wealthy group of Catholic middle-class traders emerged. Despite the terrible tragedy of the famine in the 1840s and the inadequate British response to it, the union between Britain and Ireland assisted the development of the Irish economy to a certain extent.

The history of Irish resistance to English rule after O'Neill's demise consists of an ongoing series of uprisings of varying magnitudes, followed by periods of harsher British repression and then a resurgent nationalism. The key uprisings included the Ulster Rebellion in 1641, the United Irish Rebellion in 1798, the Robert Emmet Rising in 1803, the William Smith O'Brien Rising in 1848, the Fenian Risings of 1867, and the Easter Rising of 1916. In addition to this physical force tradition, there was a parallel constitutional nationalist movement, which was particularly active in the early decades of the nineteenth century, when Daniel O'Connell led parliamentary agitation for Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the union of Britain and Ireland. From the late 1870s to the early 1890s, Charles Stewart Parnell led the campaign for home rule in Ireland. Along with this growth in political nationalism, a strong cultural nationalist movement emerged in Ireland, dedicated to the revival of the Irish language and culture.

Meanwhile, in the staunchly British Ulster Province, the Protestant majority formed unionist parties. Various Irish home rule bills were passed by the House of Commons but rejected by the House of Lords, particularly because of Ulster unionist activism and alliance with the British

Conservative Party. By the time the Home Rule Bill was passed, with an amendment excluding the Ulster Province but suspended by the eruption of World War I, Irish nationalism had grown increasingly militant. And after the harsh British reaction to the Easter Rising of 1916, the Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone) party was able to win many Irish Westminster seats and set up a provisional Irish government. Female nationalists such as Maud Gonne, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, and Constance Markievicz played an active role in both the cultural nationalist and physical force nationalist movements. From 1920 until mid-1921, a guerrilla war was fought between Irish nationalists and British troops and irregulars, called the Black and Tans, and after a truce was declared, the controversial Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed. This treaty partitioned Ireland into the Irish Free State in the south and west and a semiautonomous Ulster Province, which remained part of the United Kingdom but had its own parliament. It also sparked a civil war in the Irish Free State, which lasted until 1924. The Irish Free State remained an uneasy member of the British Commonwealth until it finally became a republic in 1949.

Being in a relatively unique position as a European former colony, Ireland emerged as a champion of the decolonization process, particularly at the United Nations from the late 1950s until the 1960s. Ireland was able to use its own anticolonial struggle to win the trust and respect of many leaders in African, Asian, and Latin American countries who were fighting for their own independence during this period. Because it was also a European country having strong ties with some of the colonial powers, particularly France, Ireland was able to adopt a brokering role in decolonization issues. Further, it earned a reputation as an internationally acceptable contributor to UN peacekeeping missions, many of which were located in newly independent countries that were still dealing with the legacies of colonialism.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also British Empire; Conservative Party; Cromwell, Oliver; Home Rule

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Iron and Steel

Although many colonized regions—parts of North Africa, for example—had localized iron industries in the medieval period and earlier, the iron and steel industry was not developed more broadly for several reasons, including: limited markets within the colonies; the European colonial powers' overriding interest in their colonies as markets for manufactured goods, not as competitive producers; and various technological and geographic difficulties. The major exception in this regard was India, where the late eighteenth century saw an increased interest in promoting domestic iron production, initially for export and later for import substitution.

The East India Company supported a very unsuccessful enterprise at Porto Novo, south of Madras, in the 1820s, but it persisted, particularly as the growth of railways and other public works increased demand. A more modern plant, the Bengal Iron Works Company, was established in 1874, but after being refused a government guarantee on private investment, it closed in five years and was taken over a decade later by the Bengal Iron and Steel Company (BISCO). Less than highly successful, BISCO did produce pig and cast iron almost entirely for the colonial government and later failed in its attempt to produce steel for the private market. These enterprises were generally inadequately planned and undercapitalized.

In sharp contrast was the Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), formed in 1907 by J. N. Tata, a man from a noted Bombay trading family who organized carefully and knew his market. When British investors refused to back a company run by an Indian, the Bombay business and financial community quickly provided the necessary capital. TISCO began producing iron in 1911 and steel the following year.

In the interwar period, South Africa, in part to provide substitutes for imports but largely for political reasons, also began to develop an iron and steel industry. Similarly, in postcolonial countries, political considerations have often made it appear desirable to develop an uneconomic iron and steel industry. But many of these have proven to be financial

drains on underdeveloped Third World economies. Demands for fiscal restraint made by the International Monetary Fund and other international lending institutions has forced governments to close down many of these plants. Still, some former colonized countries, such as Brazil and South Korea, have created internationally competitive steel industries.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Economics; India; Industrial Revolution; International Monetary Fund; South Africa

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Iroquois Federation

The Haudenasaunee (meaning "people of the long house"), or the Iroquois Federation, is not a tribe but a collection of indigenous peoples who forged a political and economic union. The Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onodaga, Seneca, and later the Tuscarora composed the confederacy. Together, they crafted an autochthonous democratic nation guided by "the great law of peace." The Six Nations lived in an expansive territory, stretching from southern Canada through northern Pennsylvania, situated between the French to the north and briefly the Dutch and then the British to the south. The size, sophistication, and location of the confederacy made it a formidable presence throughout the colonial period.

The Haudenasaunee played a fundamental role in shaping colonial relations in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the course of these relations dramatically altered the fabric of indigenous life. Through their active participation in the fur trade, they cultivated relatively good relations with the Dutch and later the British, and with the acquisition of firearms, they extended their political influence over the Ohio Valley to the west. More adversarial relations characterized their interactions with the French, who had allied with the Algonquin peoples, traditional enemies of the Iroquois. An active participant in early conflicts such as the Beaver Wars, the confederacy later sought to maintain political neutrality, serving as a buffer between the

British and the French and a mediator between the Europeans and indigenous peoples. Although individuals and communities took sides in Queen Anne's War and King George's War, most Haudenasaunee opted out of these conflicts. Later, in the French and Indian War, the Iroquois divided their allegiances between the European powers. Importantly, the French withdrawal undermined the role and significance of the Iroquois Federation. During the Revolutionary War, most of the Six Nations remained loyal to the British, and following the American victory, even those who had supported the rebels lost much of their land and sovereignty. The War of Independence left in its wake disease, depopulation, dislocation, and social disintegration, prefiguring the ultimate fate of the Haudenasaunee under European colonialism. At the same time, it marked the beginning of a phase of colonialism in which the Iroquois would struggle with the institutions and ills of American empire to survive and, more recently, revive as a people.

C. Richard King

See also American Revolution; Americans, Native; Indian Wars; Seven Years' War

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Islam

Muslims comprise almost a fifth of the world's population. They do not, of course, form a monolithic entity; rather, they are divided between a Sunni majority and a Shiite minority of about 12 percent. The differences between these groups go back to the early days of Islam, and the Shiites themselves are divided into several various traditions. But there are also other differences, including the complex and changing interaction between the teachings of Islam and local cultures and histories. The nation with the world's largest Muslim population is to be found not in Islam's historical heartland but on its southeastern frontier—Indonesia. To the west, the old Islamic world extends to the Atlantic, in Morocco and Senegal.

Many, though not all, of these Islamic lands have been through a colonial or quasi-colonial experience. The main exceptions are Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, and the Arabian Peninsula (with the

exception of the coastal sheikhdoms of Aden, Oman, Kuwait, and Qatar, which were British protectorates or quasi protectorates). Some modern nations, such as Senegal and Algeria, are former colonies, whereas others, such as Morocco, were protectorates. (There was often little practical difference, but the latter implied a greater role for traditional institutions.) After World War I, Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq became British mandates, and Syria and Lebanon French ones. The Sudan, for all practical purposes a British colony, was officially a condominium (ruled in theory by Egypt and Britain). British interests in Egypt derived essentially from the strategic importance of the Suez Canal. Egypt was never a colony, but its extensive foreign debts paved the way, in the 1880s, to a situation in which real power was in British hands. Egypt was granted a qualified independence in 1922, with four important limitations that were a lasting source of friction. The status of the Indian subcontinent was different yet; in 1876, Benjamin Disraeli declared Queen Victoria empress of India.

To the complex interplay between traditional institutions and Islam was added the variable of the culture of the ruling power, often French or British, but Italian in Libya and Dutch in Indonesia.

In 1799, Napoleon's forces invaded Egypt, then a Mamluk state, nominally part of the Ottoman domain, and one of the world's two great surviving Islamic empires, with its capital at Istanbul (the other was the Mughal Empire, on the Indian subcontinent). The French occupation proved a brief one. Although this was not the first occasion on which Christian forces had defeated a Muslim state, it had profound symbolic meaning in the Islamic world. It was a dramatic demonstration of the military power and technological superiority of industrial Europe. In the century that followed, the creation of the conquest states usually called colonies offered a profound and disquieting challenge, to which Muslims responded in a variety of ways.

A very widespread response was to fight against the colonizing power—Dipa Negara's jihad against the Dutch in Indonesia and the 1857 war that British colonialists called the Indian Mutiny are examples. The latter was fought by supporters of the last Mughal emperor and led to his deposition. Colonial rulers lived in the (unfounded) fear of pan-Islamic conspiracies and insurrections, but

Islamic loyalties did not necessarily lead to concerted action.

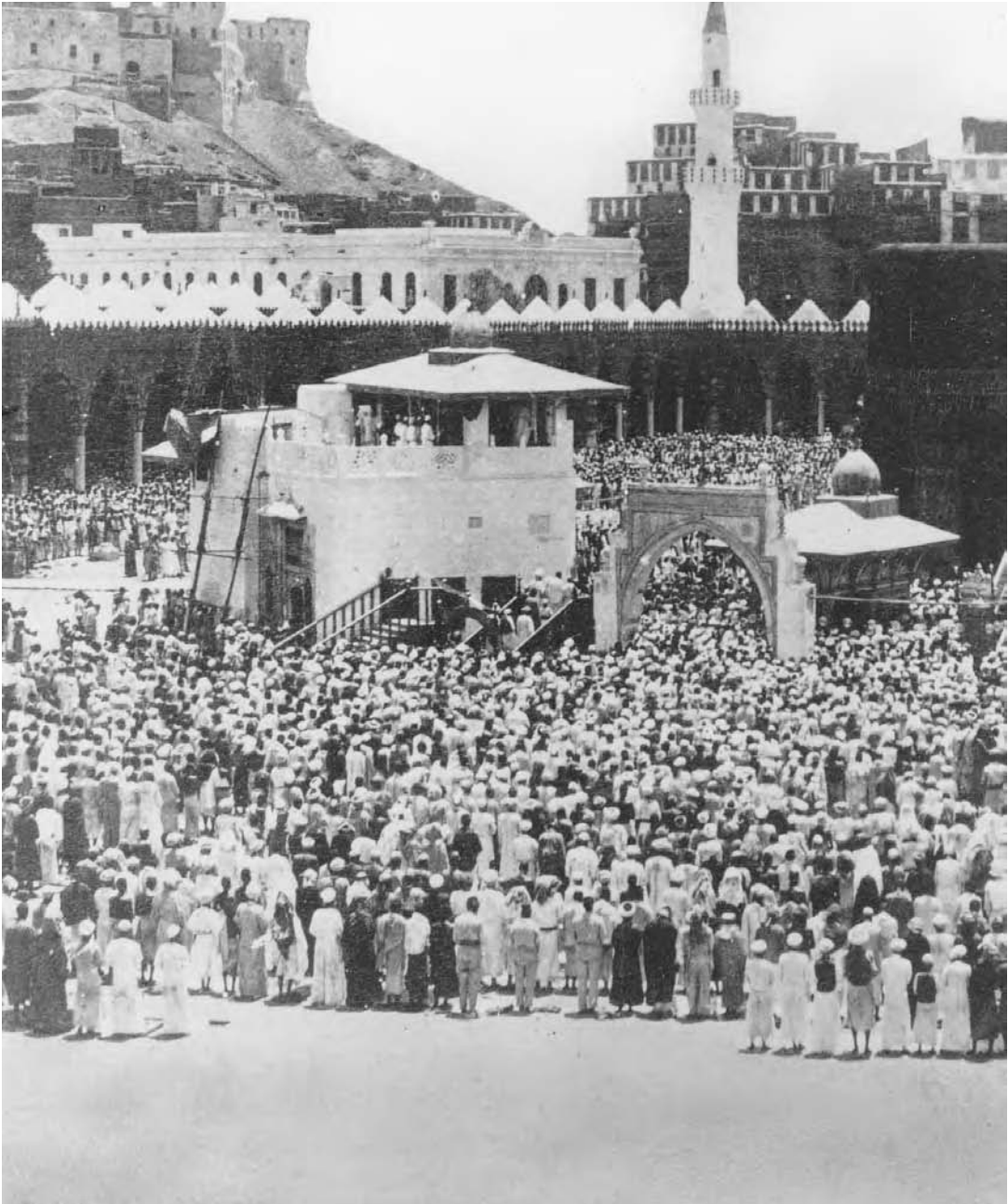
The French conquest of Algeria began with the capture of Algiers in 1830. Abd al-Qadir, like many resistance leaders, was a sheikh of a Sufi brotherhood, in this case the Qadiriya. He responded to French encroachment by creating a new state in western Algeria, run on Islamic lines; it lasted for some years, but was finally defeated in 1847. The Sanusiyya, another Sufi order, was founded by a scholar-saint from northwestern Algeria who died in 1859. His followers established lodges in the desert, which were used by those involved in Saharan trade. Later, the Sanusiyya opposed the Italian occupation of Libya. In World War II, they fought on the Allied side. The Grand Sanusi's descendant, Idris, the head of the Sanusiyya, became the first and last king of Libya; he was overthrown by Mu'ammar Gadhafi in 1969, eighteen years after independence.

Such Mahdism, or religious nationalism, is central to Shia Islam, but among Sunni Muslims, it has tended to flourish only on the margins of the Islamic world. The Mahdi is the Awaited One who will restore the world to justice and whose coming heralds the Endtime. Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdullah was a Sufi sheikh, living in what is now the Republic of Sudan, who claimed to be the Mahdi, awaited at the end of an (Islamic) century—he made his proclamation in 1298 A.H. (November 1882). The movement he founded survived his death in 1885. He did not set out to create a modern nation; he believed that his mission was international, and his successor attempted to invade both Ethiopia and Egypt. The Mahdist state, however, had much the same boundaries as modern Sudan. By the time he died, that state had a well-developed organization, a system of taxation, and its own mint. It survived until British conquest in 1898. The Mahdi's claims created problems then and later for Sudanese who admired his patriotism and piety but could not accept him as the Mahdi. They remember him as *mujaddid*, a Renewer of Islam, and as a patriot, Abu'l Istiqlal, Father of Independence.

Muhammad Hassan, whom the British called the Mad Mullah, led a similar, continued struggle against colonial rule in the desert interior of Somalia. He rose to prominence in 1899 and was finally defeated in 1920. He is also remembered as

Somalia's greatest poet. He, too, was a Sufi sheikh and hoped that the creation of such a brotherhood could unite Somalia's disunited and warring clans. All these leaders recognized the value of modern weapons but did not embrace Western education or modernization in general.

An alternative model was created in the mountains of the Rif, in Spanish Morocco, in the 1920s, under the leadership of Abd el-krim, a well-educated man who had worked for the Spanish. In 1921, asked what he was seeking, he replied, "A country with a government and a flag." This Berber republic



Worshippers praying around the holy Ka'bah during the Hajj, or annual Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca on the Arabian peninsula, in the 1880s. The city's remoteness meant that Ottoman imperial control applied only lightly to the region, which is now part of Saudi Arabia. (Library of Congress)

in Morocco fell to overwhelming force in 1926. But elsewhere after World War I, several new independent Islamic nations were established. The Ottoman Empire was in decline in the nineteenth century; it lost its provinces in the west—Romania and Serbia in 1828; Greece in 1830; and Bosnia, Cyprus, and Bulgaria in 1878. Despite this, as colonialism expanded, many Muslims looked to the Ottoman sultan for leadership. In 1914, the sultan declared a jihad against the Allies. His defeat led to his deposition and the end of the sultanate. The military leader, Kemal Ataturk, the architect of modern Turkey, created a modern independent state, with its core ideology not in Islam but in Turkish identity. Its secularism was symbolized by its adoption of the Roman alphabet rather than Arabic script. Persia (later Iran) succeeded in maintaining its independence against both British and Russian threats under a dynamic soldier who became Reza Shah Pahlavi, founding a dynasty that ended with the Ayatullah Khomeini's revolution in 1979. By 1926, Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud had succeeded in uniting most of the Arabian Peninsula and founded a dynasty. His name is preserved in the country's name, Saudi Arabia. The orthodoxy and conservatism of Saudi Arabia's rulers contrast with the relative secularism of Turkey's leaders.

Military and political encounters comprised only one dimension of the interactions between Islam and the West. Intellectuals experienced the technological and military superiority of Europe both as a threat and a challenge, to which they responded in different ways. Some believed that modern technology and European liberal values were inherently incompatible with their Islamic inheritance. Others thought differently. Khayr-al-Din, prime minister of Tunisia in the 1870s, urged Muslims to absorb what was of value in Western life and thought.

Perhaps the greatest and certainly the most influential of the intellectuals who tried to reconcile Islam with modernity was Jamal ad-din al-Afghani (1839–1898). He believed that Muslims should master the technology of the Western world while simultaneously seeking spiritual renewal by returning to their own religious roots. The movement he founded was called the Salafiyya (from *salaf*, or ancestor). Its members sought to distinguish the core of Islamic belief

from later accretions. They were hostile to the Sufi orders and wanted to combine it with the best of Western education.

Al-Afghani's disciple, Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), who expounded his teachings at Cairo's great mosque-university, has been called "modern Africa's most important intellectual." Al-Afghani's vision was an international one—he hoped that the Ottoman sultan could realize it. Muhammad Abduh, however, thought in nationalist terms. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Salafiyya was a major force in protonationalist movements in Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, but it was unable to generate mass support and was eclipsed by more radical parties, with greater popular appeal. In time, the Salafiyya became identified with a conservative "fundamentalism."

The same pattern is evident in Indonesia. In 1911, the Muhammadiyah movement was founded in the Javanese city Jogjakarta by Ahmad Dahlan and others who had studied in Cairo under Muhammad Abduh's disciples; it emphasized education and social reform. The first major nationalist movement was Sarekat Islam (1912); its leaders looked to Islam as a unifying ideology in an archipelago of immense linguistic and ethnic diversity.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) was persuaded of the futility of armed resistance by the failure of the Indian Mutiny. He founded the Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, modeled on Cambridge, so that Muslims could acquire a Western education and compete with Hindus for positions in government and elsewhere. Al-Afghani denounced him as an Anglophile.

In British India, the poet Muhammad Iqbal, who had studied at Cambridge and Munich, was an influential advocate of an independent state for India's Muslims. He died in 1938, and it was Mohammad Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, who was, in practical terms, the founder of Pakistan.

International boundaries, among the most significant and enduring consequences of the colonial experience, have also been involved in the colonial legacies of Islam. The Republic of Sudan consisted of an Arabic-speaking and Muslim north and a south whose peoples, such as the Dinka, were either traditionalist or Christian. This has led to endemic civil war. In Nigeria, the polarity is less clear—many (southern) Yoruba are Muslims; in central Nigeria, on the southern

frontier of the Muslim north, clashes between Christians and Muslims have become endemic.

So-called Islamic fundamentalism (the label is unsatisfactory, though used here for convenience) is largely a phenomenon of the postcolonial era. Radical Islamists challenge Muslim governments in Egypt, Algeria, and elsewhere because of their failures to translate Islamic ideals into practice. To some extent, Islamic fundamentalism has inherited the same kind of aspirations that once surrounded nationalism. It was hoped that independence would lead to a better life; the continuing experience of poverty and unemployment was profoundly disillusioning. The first of Africa's so-called fundamentalist Islamic movements was the Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna in 1928. Its subsequent growth reflected popular dissatisfaction with elite politics and also the hardships inflicted by a worldwide economic depression. Those in its extremist wing—though not Banna himself—advocated secrecy and terrorism.

Iqbal hoped that a Muslim state would be able to put Islamic ideals of the just society into practice, and many others have shared this aspiration. Human realities always fall short of the ideal, but the issues with which Islamic intellectuals wrestled, the interaction between a religion shaped in the remote past, and the challenges of a changing and largely secular world are of enduring significance.

Elizabeth Isichei

See also Algeria; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Dutch East Indies; Education; Egypt; India; Jinnah, Mohammad Ali; Mahdi, Muhammed al-; Pakistan; Quran; Religion; Turkey

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Isolationism

Isolationism has been a powerful influence, especially in U.S. diplomacy since the Declaration of Independence was issued in 1776. However, dis-

tinctions need to be made between isolationism and unilateralism, and it must be clear that notions of isolation were primarily confined to the level of politics and involvement in European wars. Commercial trade and cultural influence and the pursuit of Open Door economic conditions rarely prevented the United States from expanding. By the late 1950s, the revisionist historian William Appleman Williams characterized U.S. isolationism as a “legend.”

In 1776, Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*, argued that there ought to be “no partial connection with any part” of Europe and that it was in America’s interest to “steer clear of European contentions.” Later, President George Washington warned in his farewell address to “steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” and Thomas Jefferson warned against “entangling alliances.” But isolationism was aimed at other powers—by and large, European—and thus did not prevent the rapid border colonization of the United States through the first half of the nineteenth century. In what perhaps was his most famous speech, delivered in 1821, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams argued that the United States should set an example to the world but that “she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator of her own.” By 1823, in a message that was later known as a doctrine, President James Monroe warned the European powers against further colonization in the Western Hemisphere and said that, in return, the United States would stay out of affairs that only concerned Europe. Hence, isolationism imparted a powerful set of values and beliefs throughout the history of U.S. diplomacy.

Fundamentally, isolationism was intended to preserve U.S. freedom of action and the ability to act unilaterally. Cultural and commercial exchange were constant features of U.S. diplomacy, however. The isolationist sentiment expressed itself most vociferously either just prior to periods of U.S. expansion and engagement or following World War I. The Senate rejected membership in the League of Nations in 1919 because Article 10 mandated international responses to armed aggression.

During the 1930s, the isolationists sought to preserve U.S. unilateralism and prevented inter-

vention in European affairs. They were less concerned about getting involved in Asia. Following the conclusions of the Nye Committee investigations into the origins of U.S. involvement in World War I, which found that the arms industry was influential in that regard, the isolationists were able to pass the Neutrality Act of 1935. According to that act, should war occur in Europe, the United States could not ship weapons to the belligerent powers. The act was updated the following year to prevent U.S. involvement in the Spanish civil war. However, in 1937, economic necessities during the Great Depression allowed foreign powers to purchase munitions if they paid cash and collected the munitions themselves. The following year, President Franklin Roosevelt began pulling the United States out of the depression with an order to build battleships. Despite secret involvement in the Atlantic war, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor finally drew the United States out of isolation.

By the end of World War II, the United States had a second chance at world leadership, and isolationism declined but never disappeared from the politics of U.S. diplomacy. The United States joined multilateral institutions such as the United Nations and security pacts such as the Rio Treaty (1947) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (1949).

David Ryan

See also Bryan, William Jennings; Jefferson, Thomas; League of Nations; Manifest Destiny; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Pearl Harbor; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United Nations; United States; Washington, George; World War I; World War II

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Israel

Founded as a Jewish state in 1948 in roughly 70 percent of the territory of the old British mandate of Palestine, Israel occupies a small area on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, flanked by Lebanon to the north, Jordan and Syria to the east, and Egypt to the south. Although Jews see the creation of Israel as the culmination of the nationalist Zionist dream, Palestinians and Arabs generally

have seen the country as a European-style, colonialist interloper in the region and have fought numerous wars with it since its creation.

Since their exile from the region under the Roman Empire in the first century C.E., Jews have made a return to Israel a central tenet of their faith. In the late nineteenth century, an Austrian Jewish journalist named Theodore Herzl first proposed the idea of creating a modern Jewish state in Palestine. During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, a trickle of Jews moved into Palestine, which was then a province of the Ottoman Empire.

With the collapse of that empire in World War I, Britain took control of the territory with a League of Nations mandate. In 1917, British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour issued a declaration calling for the creation of a “National Home for the Jewish People” in Palestine. At the same time, he said this entity should not “prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities.” As Jews—fleeing Nazi Europe—poured into Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s, conflicts between Arabs and Jews rose, even as the British announced various plans to either divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab states or create one state with equal rights for all. In 1948, the British abandoned Palestine as Jews and Arabs went to war to determine its future.

For most Jews, Israel was the culmination of a 2,000-year-old spiritual quest and a half-century Zionist effort. Moreover, in the wake of the Holocaust, Jews saw their only security was having a strong state of their own. For Palestinians—many of whom fled the country on its birth—and for Arabs generally, the establishment of Israel represented a twentieth-century version of the Crusades, when Europeans forcefully imposed themselves on Arab territory. Ironically, early Jewish immigration to Israel was soon supplemented by Jews from the Middle East and North Africa fleeing an increasingly hostile atmosphere in the Arab world caused by the creation of Israel.

Arab perceptions of Israel as a colonial interloper were made more acute by the Sinai War of 1956—in which Israel sided with Britain and France as those two waning colonial powers attacked Egypt in an effort to reassert their control over the Suez Canal—and the Six-Day War of 1967, when Israel seized Egyptian, Jordanian, and

Syrian territory. In the years since, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights while establishing de facto jurisdiction over much of the West Bank through the building of vast settlements.

A Palestinian uprising in 1987 led to peace efforts that would have presumably resulted in a Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories of Gaza and the West Bank. Thus far, that has not come about, as a new round of fighting—beginning in 2000—engulfed the territories.

James Ciment

See also Judaism; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; Sinai War; Zionism

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Istanbul

Istanbul, known in earlier times as Byzantium and Constantinople, was a capital of the Ottoman Empire and then of the Turkish Republic (until 1923). The city is largely a product of the millennia-long interaction between Eastern Europe and Asia, and it represents a unique mixture of the Eastern European and Asian cultures. Originally founded by the Greeks in 667 B.C., the ancient city became a strategically important seaport due to its position on the Bosphorus, the 32-kilometer (20-mile) strait that connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara and separates Asia from Europe.

Emperor Constantine the First selected it as the capital of the Byzantine Empire in 324 C.E. Gradually, Constantinople became the largest and most prosperous city in Europe, benefiting from its strategic location and a vibrant trade. However, the city could never recover from destruction brought by the Fourth Crusade in 1203 and 1204. In 1453, Constantinople was taken over by the Turks.

For many centuries, the city was a spiritual and political center of the Orthodox Church and the Byzantium Empire. In the early days, it was situated entirely on the European side and was encircled by a wall. The ancient part of the city was home to numerous Greek Orthodox churches, palaces, and public buildings, with monuments that survived from the Byzantium past. One of the most magnificent monuments and symbols of the city is the Orthodox Church, which was built in the

sixth century and converted into the Great Hagia Sophia Mosque in the fifteenth century. In 1509, a devastating earthquake seriously damaged many parts of the city. After the earthquake, the Turkish sultans ordered that the city be replanned, and they built numerous public buildings, including magnificent mosques, palaces, public baths, and gardens.

Constantinople experienced a new wave of considerable changes during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the Turkish attempt to catch up with the West and to modernize the country. The city became a home for modern factories, including textile, weaponry, shipbuilding, and other industries, and it was significantly expanding into new areas across the Bosphorus. In June 1883, a railroad, the renowned *Oriental Express*, connected Constantinople with Paris via Vienna. Yet the empire could not cope with the rise of separatism in its numerous provinces and pressure from European superpowers, and it collapsed after World War I.

After the war, Britain, France, and Italy occupied the city, from 1918 until 1923. In 1923, the Turkish republican government established Ankara as the capital of the secular Turkish Republic, but Constantinople (known as Istanbul from 1930) has remained a major industrial, financial, and cultural city of the republic. By the end of the twentieth century, it had grown into the third largest city in Europe.

Rafis F. Abazov

See also Byzantine Empire; Ottoman Empire; Turkey

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Italian Empire

Achieving nationhood in 1861, Italy thereafter redirected its energies to empire, driven in part by memories of Rome's past greatness and domination of Europe. After concluding its unification in 1871 with the acquisition of Venezia and the Papal States, Italy turned irredentist, focusing on the ingathering of Italian-speaking peoples in Austria, Trieste, the Balkans, and eastern Anatolia—areas

once ruled from Rome. As a consequence of the Italo-Turkish War (1912), Italy gained the Dodecanese Islands, and according to secret World War I negotiations, it was to receive coastal territory in southwestern Anatolia. Italy's claim to the latter was never made effective, but it did preserve its hold on the Dodecanese (despite Greek objections) until it was defeated in World War II. Italy's interest in Austria was discouraged by Adolf Hitler's occupation of that country in 1938. Benito Mussolini invaded and conquered Albania in 1939 before advancing against Greece, where his military forces suffered an embarrassing defeat.

Italy's African interests were stirred, in part, by Germany's domination in Europe, leaving no Italian role. Italians had been active in Africa in the nineteenth century as explorers, missionaries, and trade concessionaires. Italian colonial ambitions evidenced a strong desire to build empire as a reflection of national greatness and supposed commitment to "the civilizing mission." An industrializing northern Italy needed Africa's raw materials and potential markets. Italian nationalists voiced concern about the outflow of Italian emigrants to the United States, Canada, Argentina, and Australia and suggested Italy resettle them instead in the colonies, where they could better serve the home country. Italy eventually claimed three African possessions: Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya. Its several campaigns to subjugate Ethiopia failed miserably.

Italy's initial African venture came in the 1860s with a missionary and commercial presence at Massawa and later at Aseb on the Red Sea coast. From there, the Italians pushed into the Eritrean highlands, a move forestalled by the Ethiopians at the Battle of Dogali in 1887. But Ethiopia, distracted by the Mahdist, or religious-nationalist, threat in the west, ultimately left Eritrea undefended and open to Italian occupation. Emperor Menelik II, following a victory over the Italians at Adwa in 1896, abandoned the opportunity to reclaim Eritrea for Ethiopia, uncertain of Italy's reaction. Eritrea served as springboard for Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1896 and again in 1935, and on both occasions, significant numbers of Eritrean colonial troops were utilized. Eritrea was probably the most fully developed of Italy's colonies, and a significant number of Italian emigrants were settled there. The Fascist proscription against misce-

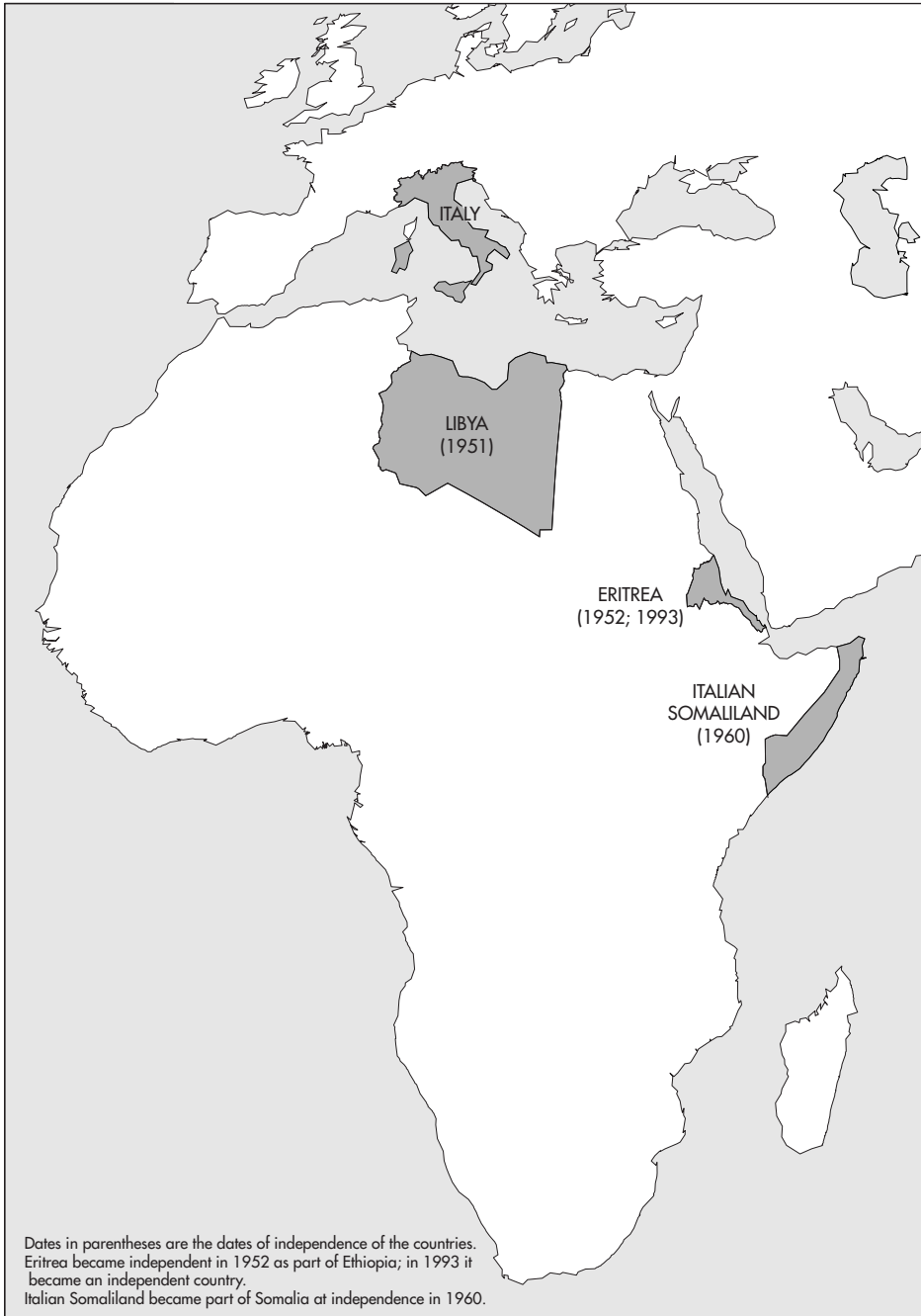
genation in the colony largely failed, as it did in Italy's other colonies.

Following Italy's defeat in 1941, Eritrea came under British military administration until 1952, when the United Nations approved its federation with Ethiopia, a union opposed by some Eritrean groups. In 1962, Emperor Haile Selassie unilaterally ended the federation, annexing the region to Ethiopia and consequently provoking a thirty-year Eritrean struggle to win independence.

Italy's Somaliland colony along the Indian Ocean coast emerged in three phases. In 1888 and 1889, Italy claimed the Majeerteen region, signing treaties of protection with several Somali clan leaders. Later, the Banaadir coast was added, and in 1925, the British handed over Somali territory that had been part of their East African protectorate. As in Eritrea, Italian expansion inland was contested by Ethiopia's emperor Menelik II, who occupied much of the Ogadeen region, blocking Italian moves in that direction. Disagreement over the boundary separating the two states and confrontation over access to wells and grazing lands led, predictably, to military skirmishes, with the most significant incident at Walwal in 1934 providing a pretext for Italy's invasion of Ethiopia shortly thereafter. During that 1935–1941 war, Italy united its colonial Somalis with those of the Ethiopian Ogadeen, governing them within a single administrative unit and unwittingly cultivating a nascent Somali nationalism. With Italy's defeat, a British military administration governed Somaliland until 1949, when it was returned to Italy as a UN mandate for ten years. In 1960, Italian control ended as the British and Italian Somali areas were united into the independent nation of Somalia.

Although initially more interested in Tunisia than in Libya, Italy settled for the latter, grudgingly accepting French claims to Tunisia. To secure its colony, it invaded Libya in 1911, wresting it from the Ottomans. Although Turkish garrisons offered stiff resistance, the Ottoman state was preoccupied with the threat of a Balkans war and negotiated cession. Italian forces occupied Libyan coastal towns, but they had less success in controlling interior regions, where they encountered resistance from the local Arab-Berber populations, particularly followers associated with the Sanusi (an Islamic brotherhood) in Cyrenaica. Resistance emerged also in Tripolitania, a region less unified

ITALIAN EMPIRE



and more suspicious of Sanusi leadership. During World War I, the Sanusis courted the Allies, hoping to use the opportunity to defeat Italy, but instead saw Italy's colonization internationally recognized. Under the Italian Fascists, the Second Italo-Sanusi War ensued, with the Sanusi leader, Umar al-Mukhtar, mobilizing his followers. Libya was not fully pacified until 1931. Italy struggled for twenty years before consolidating its rule, and the wars proved to be among the most devastating and brutal in the African colonial era.

Italy viewed Libya as its "Fourth Shore," like an Italian province; it settled as many as 150,000 émigrés there and invested heavily in basic economic infrastructure, more to serve the needs of the settlers and the home country than the indigenes. During World War II, Sanusi leaders again aided the Allies, and Libya became a focal point of the North African campaigns—an effort to defeat Germany's Erwin Rommel and safeguard Egypt and the Suez Canal. With Italy's defeat, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were placed under British military occupation, with the interior Fezzan under French control. The United Nations decided Libya's future, and in the absence of any Great Power consensus, Libya was granted independence in 1951 as a federal monarchy, with the Sanusi leader, Sayid Idris as Sanusi, as monarch—a settlement accepted only grudgingly by all regions of the country.

Charles W. McClellan

See also Adwa, Battle of; Austro-Hungarian Empire; Eritrea; Ethiopia; Haile Selassie I; Italo-Ethiopian Wars; Libya; Menelik II; Somalia

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Italo-Ethiopian Wars

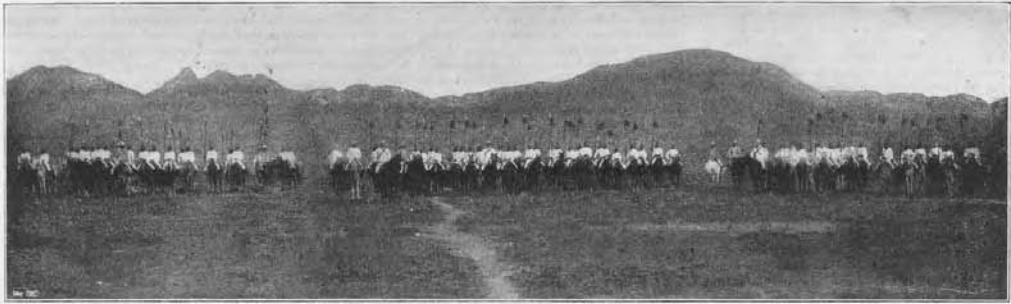
Ethiopia engaged Italy in two major wars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Italy viewed Ethiopia as an essential link between its Eritrean and Somaliland colonies, the core of a

projected large East African empire, and as a region abundant in fertile soil and resources, suitable for extensive European settlement.

In 1887, the Ethiopians defeated a small Italian force at Dogali, as it attempted to establish a presence in the Eritrean highlands from its base at Massawa. The Italians used a later opportunity, the Mahdist invasion of Ethiopia, to secure Eritrea while the Ethiopians were otherwise preoccupied. Emperor Menelik II combated the Italians at Adwa in 1896 as Italy endeavored to realize its claim to an Ethiopian protectorate based on the notorious and duplicitous Treaty of Wuchale (1889). Again, the Italians suffered a humiliating defeat.

Reacting to its failure to dominate Ethiopia economically and magnifying a minor border incident at Walwal in the Ogadeen in 1934, Italy again invaded Ethiopia from Eritrea and Somaliland in 1935, using overwhelming force and a full array of modern weapons and technology, including tanks, airplanes, bombs, and poison gas. With his appeal to the League of Nations dismissed and Ethiopian forces battered in conventional warfare, Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia, opted for exile in Britain, and Italian forces occupied the country. The emperor used the opportunity to continue to lobby for international support and waged an effective propaganda campaign. The Ethiopians subsequently turned to guerrilla warfare, employing surprise attacks, captured arms, and ammunition and mobilizing civilian support to keep the overextended Italians off guard and weaken their commitment. The aerial distribution of leaflets bolstered guerrilla loyalty while demoralizing Italian and colonial troops, who were encouraged to defect. By 1934, as Italy joined in World War II, the Italians invested less in the Ethiopian campaign and relied more heavily on their colonial levies. Italy's invasion of neighboring British and French colonies ensured that, by 1940, the guerrillas were joined by Allied troops from Britain, South Africa, France, Belgium, and their various colonies to liberate Ethiopia, allowing the return of the emperor to Addis Ababa in May 1941. The Italo-Ethiopian War marked one of the last efforts by a European power to colonize Africa while simultaneously marking the beginning of the anticolonial struggle that would sweep Africa in the postwar period.

After the war, relations with Italy remained strained as Ethiopia struggled with the repatriation



NATIVE CAVALRY COMMANDED BY ITALIAN OFFICERS.

Photo Dr. S. W. Johnson, R.N.



ITALIAN OFFICERS.

Photo Nativi, Massau.

Those who were killed in the Battle of Adowa are indicated by numbers.



GENERAL BARATIERI AT A SERVICE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF DOGALI.

Photo Dr. S. W. Johnson, R.N.

Several images depict Italian and Ethiopian troops during the Italo-Ethiopian War of the 1890s. In 1896, an Ethiopian army would defeat a smaller Italian force at the Battle of Adwa, in one of the worst defeats for European colonial forces in Africa in the nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

of Italian soldiers, endeavored to have Italian officials tried before war tribunals, worked to get reparations paid, and pressed for the return of national treasures looted by the Italians during the war.

Charles W. McClellan

See also Adwa, Battle of; Eritrea; Ethiopia; Haile Selassie I; Italian Empire; Menelik II; Somalia; World War II

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Ivan IV (1530–1584)

Ivan IV of Russia (Ivan the Terrible) began Russia's great territorial expansion and made domestic changes that facilitated future imperialist claims. He placed the peasantry in a service system, which led to gradual enserfment. As burdens on the peasants increased, many fled to Russia's borderlands, where they eventually formed Cossack armies. These groups later played a key role in expanding and pacifying Russia's borders.

Utilizing new European weaponry and expertise, Ivan turned his armies against the Tatar princes who ruled the rich southern khanates of Crimea, Astrakhan, and Kazan. These khanates controlled the rich international trade routes between Central Asia, the Urals, and Russia. Ivan defeated Kazan in 1552, breaking the back of the Tatars in the Middle Volga region and opening the way for the annexation of Astrakhan in 1554. Ivan was less successful with the Crimean khanate that blocked Russia's access to the Black Sea. Although he was unable to conquer it, his military successes set the stage for Catherine the Great's acquisitions of this key region.

Ivan also attempted to increase Russia's holdings on the Baltic Sea. There, he was less successful. His greatest contribution to Russian territorial expansion, however, was his initiation of the conquest of Siberia. In 1558, Novgorod merchant Grigory Stroganov secured several state

land concessions east of Moscow, some of which extended beyond the Urals. Stroganov chose a Cossack, Ermak Timofeyev (known as Yermak), to lead an expedition into the unexplored eastern territories. Yermak defeated the Tatar armies there and established trade connections, which laid the groundwork for future Russian acquisitions in Siberia.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Catherine the Great; Russian Empire

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Ivory

Ivory has long been an important component of African trading networks. Because the tusks of East African elephants are soft and easy to carve, they had been highly sought by Indian craftspeople for at least 1,000 years before the nineteenth century. European and American demand for items such as combs, piano keys, and billiard balls pushed the southeast African ivory trade to new and unforeseen levels in the nineteenth century. West African ivory, which was of a harder consistency, was also heavily exported and made into knife handles, among other things, although the East African system eclipsed it as the century progressed. Indeed, ivory became a profitable primary export during this period, particularly in East Africa and Zanzibar.

The ivory was harvested by specialized groups of elephant hunters in the interior, who then traded the tusks to merchants. These merchants used the long-established East African Unyamwezi caravan trading network to transport the ivory to the coast for export. As the century progressed and elephant populations declined, the hunting region expanded farther and farther into the eastern Congo region as hunters tried to find new sources of ivory. This "moving frontier" of ivory trading was concomitant with the trade in slaves, fostering the development of an inland system of trading posts, provisioning stops, and tolls dominated by Arab and Swahili intermediaries. It also promoted warfare and raiding between communities as

competing traders attempted to influence local leaders to increase the amounts of ivory and slaves supplied to the caravans. The entrepôt island of Zanzibar, controlled by Omani sultans and later by British imperialists, played a key role in regulating the trade through the imposition of tariffs. In this way, the ivory trade helped Arab entrepreneurs accumulate enough wealth to establish clove planta-

tions, and it facilitated the growth of a class of wealthy landowners on Zanzibar itself as well as along the coast of Tanganyika.

Michelle Moyd

See also Oman; Tanganyika; Zanzibar

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J

Jainism

Jainism is an Indian philosophical and religious movement founded in the fifth century B.C.E. It is still a viable and important tradition, although encompassing only a very small minority of the Indian religious community (less than 0.5 percent). Its impact over the centuries has been enormous, however, and it continues to exercise great influence. The founder of the Jain religion, Vardhamana (c. 540–c. 468 B.C.E.)—referred to as Nigantha Nataputta in Buddhist scripture—was an aristocratic member of the warrior clan of the Jnatikas. He was born in the city of Bihar in the area of modern Nepal. He left home at thirty to seek enlightenment, practiced austerities for twelve years, and attained enlightenment and liberation. He is considered the twenty-fourth *Tirthankara* (Ford-maker, or one who has found a way to cross over to spiritual perfection) of the Jain tradition, each of whom renews the tradition in his age of the world. He became known as the Mahavira, “The Great Hero,” and was considered a “completed soul” and a “spiritual conqueror” (*jina*). Jain religion has its origins in Indus Valley culture before the appearance of the Aryans and Vedic religion. The career of the Mahavira is considered to be a reaction against Vedic practices and the rise of Upanishadic Hinduism.

Jain cosmology is complex and extensive, its universe having dimensions approaching those theorized by modern astronomers. Jain religious

practice eschewed the ritualism of Vedic religion and developed its own unique doctrines of the cycle of rebirth (*samsara*), karma, and release from *samsara*. Fundamental to Jain religion is the notion that there is a living entity—a *jiva*, or “life-monad,”—in each person. These *jivas* are also present in all material things, from gods to rocks, and are bright and intelligent. These life-monads are trapped in *samsara* through the actions of karma, conceived as a very fine form of matter, produced in varying degrees by different types of actions. Release of the *jiva* from *samsara* can be accomplished by the dissipation of accumulated karma. Central to the dissipation of karma and critical to Jain religious practice is the doctrine of *ahimsa*, or nonviolence toward any living being in any of the five classes of living things. Wicked acts result in the accumulation of heavy and infelicitous karma, which in turn results in more rebirths. Suffering and penance can cleanse one of karma already acquired. Adherence to the practice of *ahimsa* further reduces the acquisition of karma.

Jainism spread during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya (c. 317–293 B.C.E.). An early schism in the community resulted in the development of the two major sects: the Digambaras (The Sky-Clad) and the Svetambaras (The White-Clad). The Digambaras rejected all possessions, including clothing. The Svetambaras adopted white clothing and were less rigorous in their practice. Both sects still exist, with the Svetambaras

being in the majority. Although there are distinct differences between the two sects over issues of ascetic practices and the popular use of images of Jain saints, both communities are essentially in agreement in regard to fundamental matters of philosophy and doctrine. The Jain community in India traditionally encouraged learning and constructed important libraries, preserving both Jain learning and the writings of other religious communities. Interaction between Jain intellectuals and other Indian traditions has made the Jains an important factor in the development of a greater Indian culture, including literature, art, sculpture, and architecture.

In the period of the British Raj, the teaching of the Jains had perhaps its most profound and important impact. The Jain doctrine of ahimsa, along with the teachings of Henry David Thoreau on civil disobedience, were embodied in the person and career of Mohandas Gandhi, influenced by the life and work of Jain layman Raychandbhai Metha. The Jain commitment to education, its concern for all life, and its simple, sustainable lifestyle have had an enormous impact on Indian society and have begun to affect or complement similar thinking in Western countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, which have small but important Jain communities.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also British Empire; Buddhism; Gandhi, Mohandas; Hinduism; India; Religion

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Jakarta

Jakarta is Indonesia's capital, located at the mouth of the Ciliwung River on Java's northwest coast. Its beginnings go back to the twelfth century, when Jakarta, then known as Sunda Kelapa, was controlled by the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Pajajaran. With its excellent harbor, Sunda Kelapa remained an important entrepôt for the spice trade into the early modern period. Competition for international trade was fierce in the sixteenth century, and the position of the Hindu-Javanese port was threatened by neighboring Muslim states, particularly Banten to the west of Sunda Kelapa. Seek-

ing powerful allies, Sunda Kelapa agreed in 1522 to allow the newly arrived Portuguese to build a fort there, but the Sultanate of Banten defeated the Portuguese, made Sunda Kelapa a vassal state, and renamed it Jayakarta. Dutch merchants working under the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, had their eyes on Jayakarta as a center for their Asian trading empire, and in 1619, they beat out rival English and Indonesian fleets and seized Jayakarta, renaming it Batavia after their ancestral Germanic tribespeople in the Netherlands, the Batavians. The VOC quickly erected city walls and a strong fort, ever fearful of Javanese reprisals, and only later began settling outside its walls.

Although the city of Batavia was Dutch, its inhabitants were mostly non-Dutch; for example, of the 27,068 Batavian residents listed in 1673, only 2,024 were European. Asian slaves were the largest group in VOC Batavia, and Chinese, Arabs, Indonesians, Asian Christians, and Eurasians also figured prominently in the period. Batavia was a melting pot, and Chinese, European, and Indonesian culture began to assume distinctly Batavian hybrid forms there. Coffee plantations, Chinese sugarcane fields, and large country estates spread out from Batavia in the eighteenth century as Batavia proper, like the VOC itself, went into decline. Situated on marshy, malarial terrain, old Batavia gained a reputation as a graveyard for Europeans. The Netherlands took over the colony from the VOC in the nineteenth century, and Batavia's environs continued to grow, including new port facilities in 1886. By 1900, the population of Batavia stood at 116,000 (down from 173,000 in 1779); from 1900 until World War II, it increased to a half million, with Europeans and Eurasians making up less than 5 percent of the inhabitants.

Drastic change came for Batavia when the Japanese invaded and took the city in 1942; they interned the Europeans and renamed the city Jakarta after its earlier appellation, Jayakarta. Events moved quickly between 1945 and 1949 as Jakarta fell into Indonesian hands for a few months after the Japanese surrender, then came under British Allied and Dutch control, and was finally handed over permanently to the newly independent Indonesia in December 1949.

Eric A. Jones

See also Dutch East India Company; Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire

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James, C. L. R. (1901–1989)

Cyril Lionel Robert James, usually known as C. L. R. James, was born on the Caribbean island of Trinidad. He was a writer, political activist, historian, and intellectual Marxist. By the 1930s, he had established himself as a leading participant in the pan-Africanist, Trotskyist, and Caribbean independence movements. James's life was dedicated to the study of the colonial condition and to activism—aimed at emancipation from colonialism and neocolonialism. It is this thought and action that would see C. L. R. James emerge not only as one of the leading Marxist intellectuals of the twentieth century but also as among those in the forefront of anticolonial struggles in the Caribbean and Africa and in Afro-America working-class struggles.

James received his early formal education at Queen's Royal College in Trinidad, a secondary school modeled on the British public school system. This education prepared him and fellow colonials to be part of the British middle class. However, it was James's informal education that prepared him for his roles as political activist and intellectual. He acquired this education by observing village life and games of cricket through the window of his humble home and by the tutoring provided by his mother and aunts. This early part of his life is examined in his semiautobiographical classic, *Beyond a Boundary* (1963).

James left Trinidad for England in 1932. He lived there until 1938 and made a living by writing for newspapers on cricket—a sport that was one of his lifelong passions. Though he never attended a university, he became a leading Marxist thinker and historian. His most influential work, *The Black Jacobins* (1938), was written while he was in England. In this work, James analyzed the Haitian Revolution (1791), led by François Toussaint L'Ouverture, as a model of revolutionary struggle.

In 1938, James went to the United States and stayed there until he was deported to Britain in 1953. While in the United States, he became active in left-wing politics. He worked in anti-Stalinist Marxist circles and became associated with the in-

dependent Socialist Worker's Party (SWP). In 1940, he left the SWP to join the new Worker's Party. During this period, James helped to organize black sharecroppers in the southern states and emerged as a leading Trotskyite theoretician. He saw socialism as a vehicle for pan-Africanism and believed that people of African heritage could be the engine that drove successful social change and that this was especially so for African Americans.

Five years after his return to England in 1958, James was invited by Eric Williams, the chief minister of Trinidad and Tobago, to help in the nationalist movement symbolized by Williams's political party, the People's National Movement (PNM). These two individuals had a long history together. Williams was James's student, protégé, political ally, and political enemy—in that order. James returned to Trinidad to work for West Indian political independence but left Trinidad in 1961 after falling out with Williams because of differences in political opinion and ideology. He spent his last years in England, where he lectured and wrote historical articles and essays on Caribbean politics and culture.

Audra Diptee

See also British Empire; British West Indies; Education; Haiti; L'Ouverture, François Dominique Toussaint; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Williams, Eric

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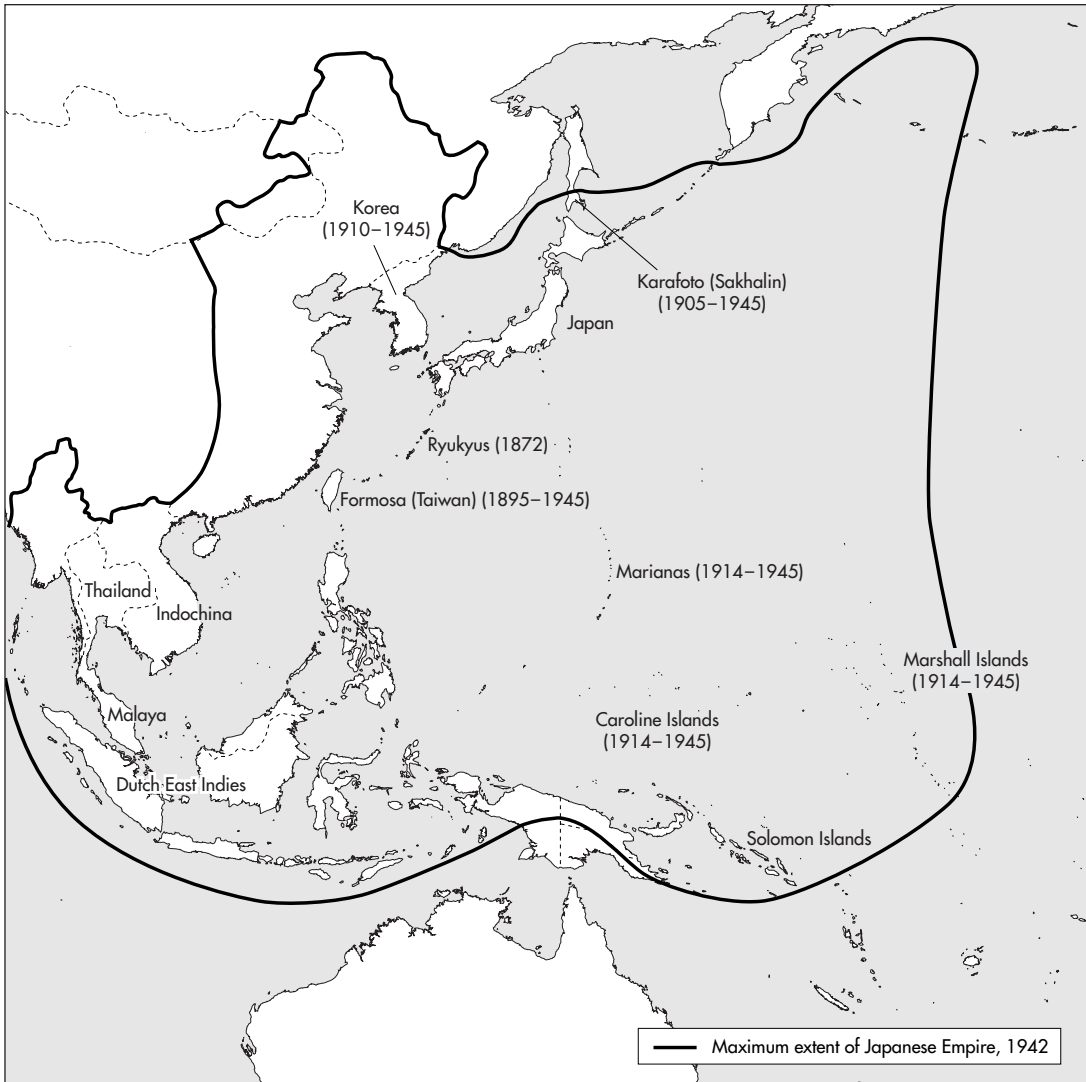
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Japanese Empire

Except for its invasions of Korea in the 1590s, Japan was not an expansionist power in premodern times. Within a generation of America's forced incorporation of Japan into the capitalist world economy in the 1850s, however, Japan began

JAPANESE EMPIRE





Russian troops pass through Mukden, Manchuria, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. The war—the first in which a non-European country defeated a European one—thrust Japan onto the world stage as a major power. (Library of Congress)

building an empire of its own, one it lost with its defeat in World War II in 1945.

With Japan's sovereignty diminished by a series of unequal treaties and with the Western powers becoming increasingly dominant in Asia, the new leaders who launched Japan on a course of state building and industrialization after the overthrow of feudalism in 1868 saw emulation of Western imperialism as the best way to prevent Japan from becoming a colonial outpost itself. In other words, Japanese imperialism began as a reactive and defensive enterprise. Control of neighboring areas (especially Korea) kept the Japanese out of the

hands of powers that might be a threat to their country's security, but Japan's colonies were also important as sources of food and raw materials and as markets for Japanese manufactures.

Unlike the European powers' far-flung colonial possessions, Japan's empire was regional in scope. After incorporating Hokkaido to the north and Okinawa (the formerly independent Ryukyu Kingdom) to the south as internal colonies in 1869 and 1874, respectively, Japan turned its attention to Korea, forcing that nation to accept trade and diplomatic relations in the 1876 Kanghai Treaty, which set the stage for similar treaties between

Korea and the Western powers. Japan was slow to follow up on its gains, due to samurai rebellions and other problems at home and Chinese competition for influence in Korea. With its victory in the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War, however, Japan eliminated Chinese influence in Korea and won control of Taiwan. Russia's defeat in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War then eliminated the last obstacle to Japanese control of Korea, which Tokyo formally annexed in 1910, and gave Japan a foothold in Manchuria as well.

Japan integrated its formal colonies, Taiwan and Korea, much more closely into the metropolitan economy than the European powers did with most of their own colonial possessions. This was partly because of the greater proximity of Japan's colonies, leading to lower transportation costs and rapid communications, as well as the shared cultivation of rice. Japan also administered its colonies much more intensively and made far greater use of colonial labor in the home economy, especially during World War II. The regional nature of the empire also meant that claims of Japanese superiority competed in official discourse with claims of cultural affinity between the people of Japan and the nations it occupied.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Japan expanded its empire through military conquest, setting up a puppet regime in Manchuria in 1932, occupying other parts of China, and then seizing much of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. In the wartime Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, envisioned as a self-sufficient regional economy under Japanese leadership, northern Korea and Manchuria were developed as industrial bases for aggression in Asia, whereas Japan's possessions in Southeast Asia and the Pacific were harshly exploited as sources of raw material and labor. Throughout the wartime empire, at least 15 million Asians were pressed into forced labor for varying periods, often under brutally exploitative conditions, including some 200,000 young women, mostly from Korea, coerced into sexual slavery for the Japanese military.

Japan's colonial policies of exploiting the many while allowing small local elites to prosper resulted in social and economic polarization that continued long past Japan's defeat in August 1945. Korea, for example, was left a powder keg of class tensions that exploded in the Korean War. Japan's

often brutal colonial policies, combined with a lack of remorse over those policies as expressed by many leading postwar Japanese politicians, have also left tremendous bitterness and mistrust toward Japan in much of Asia. Popular hostility on both sides, however, has not prevented close economic ties between the Japanese and many of their former colonies, a number of which remain structurally dependent on Japan.

W. Donald Smith

See also Korea; Okinawa; Russo-Japanese War; Taiwan; World War II

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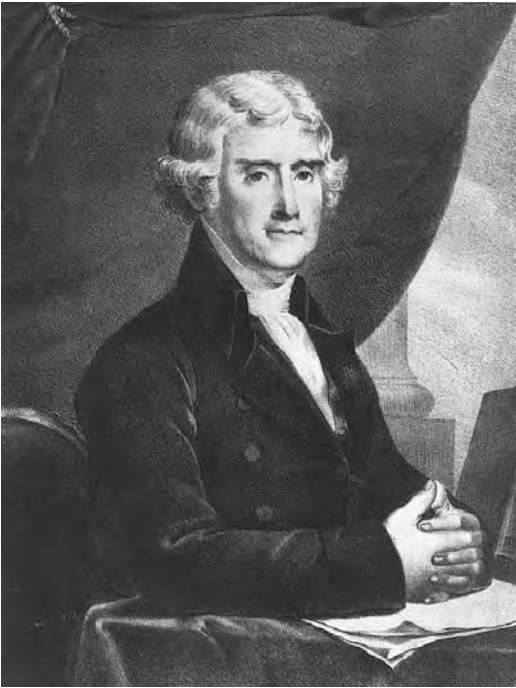
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Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826)

Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, shaped the formulation and conduct of early U.S. foreign policy more than any other American statesman of his time. As the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, Jefferson made important contributions to America's self-definition as a nation. He served as minister to France, as secretary of state during the first administration of George Washington, and as president from 1801 to 1809.

Jefferson interpreted the United States as a chosen country, an experiment in liberty that radically differed in terms of the doctrines and workings of European statecraft. He advocated America's role as a model for the world. Convinced that the republic would spread across the continent, Jefferson laid the foundations for U.S. expansion throughout the nineteenth century.

His ideology of national aggrandizement was based on the conviction that territorial expansion was necessary for the survival of the republic. Americans were creating a new society and needed space for the agrarian re-creation of future generations. Jefferson saw the British, French, Spanish, and Native Americans as obstacles to the process of creating an "empire of liberty." In practical terms, he envisioned an American empire that stretched all across the continent to the Pacific, encompassing Florida, Cuba, and a canal in



Thomas Jefferson—shown here as president of the United States in the early nineteenth century—powerfully evoked the right of self-government. The language of his 1776 Declaration of Independence would inspire revolutionaries throughout the world over the next two centuries. (Library of Congress)

Central America. The realization of most of those goals was left to his successors, but Jefferson laid the groundwork for America’s rise to world-power status through the Louisiana Purchase.

In 1803, the United States set out to purchase New Orleans from France and ended up, after brief negotiations, with the purchase of the entire Louisiana Territory for \$15 million. With that move, Jefferson had added 828,000 square miles to the country and thus doubled the national territory. As the new acquisitions were inhabited by indigenous cultures, the president initially envisioned this territory as Indian land for the absorption of the eastern tribes.

The empire of liberty had dire consequences for those who lived in the trans-Mississippi West. Between 1812 and the 1840s, the remaining eastern tribes were relocated to the newly acquired territories. As the century progressed, their land was successively reduced and their freedom limited to reservations. Continuous warfare accompanied the destruction of the Indian nations.

Despite Jefferson’s abhorrence for war, his ideological core convictions and his insistence on the destiny of the United States to expand had identified the Indians as impediments to the realization of “natural freedom.” Massive westward migration supported a climate in which the Indians’ military actions could cause temporary delays but could not prevent their ultimate defeat. The Jeffersonian legacy infused the expansionist ideology of manifest destiny with a long-lasting justification for the violent colonization of the American West.

Frank Schumacher

See also Louisiana Purchase; Manifest Destiny; United States; Washington, George

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Jesuits (Society of Jesus)

The Jesuits, or the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic order of religious men, was founded in the first half of the sixteenth century by St. Ignatius of Loyola, a former Spanish soldier who had experienced a religious conversion while convalescing from a battle wound. The Jesuits followed the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and other Catholic imperial powers as they established colonies, particularly in Latin America but also in North America, Africa, and Asia, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Although they emphasized conversion and education in their missionary work, the Jesuits also provided health care and welfare, particularly to Native Americans in Central and South America.

The Jesuit order was officially brought into being by Pope Paul III in 1540. Facing twin challenges to the church—from the Reformation in Europe and the need to convert vast numbers of peoples in lands being conquered by Europeans overseas—the pope created the Jesuits as an intellectual and activist vanguard for the spread of Roman Catholic doctrine and institutions. The

pope was also prompted into taking this action by the Catholic monarchs of Portugal and Spain, who believed that the establishment of Catholicism in their newly conquered lands was both a duty in and of itself and a means to secure loyalty to the Crown among its new subjects.

To assure the success of the order in these missions, a number of traditional practices were dropped so that society members could be more mobile, more accessible to potential converts, more adaptable to alien societies and environments, and more capable of providing nontraditional services to host peoples. At the same time, Jesuits swore absolute loyalty to the church in Rome. The society grew by leaps and bounds in its first years. By the time Ignatius died in 1556, there were over 1,000 members working in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. By the early 1600s, that number had climbed to over 10,000, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, it had doubled.

Among the most important of the early Jesuits was San Francisco Xavier (later known as St. Francis Xavier), who established missions and proselytized in India in 1542, as well as in the East Indies and Japan. A former soldier, like many other members of the highly disciplined order, Xavier was first sent to Portuguese colonies in India, where he lived among the poor and converted thousands to Catholicism. He then went on to the East Indies, Japan, and finally China, where he died of fever in 1552. Altogether, it is estimated he made over 30,000 conversions in his decade in Asia.

Still, despite Xavier's success, the Jesuits had their most profound impact in the Americas, even though they were the last of the major Catholic orders to arrive there, setting up their first mission in 1572. And though other orders succumbed to worldly diversions, including the keeping of concubines and the making of huge fortunes, the vast majority of Jesuits remained celibate and kept to their vows of poverty. Because of their discipline and their willingness to live in the same impoverished conditions as the Native Americans they ministered to, society members were often sent on the harshest and toughest assignments, particularly among warrior peoples.

Ironically, it was the very attributes of the Jesuits that caused their downfall in the Americas. Their fierce devotion to and protection of Native

Americans angered wealthy landowners in Latin America, and their unwavering loyalty to the pope was seen as subversive by monarchs in Europe. In 1773, the royal houses of France, Spain, and Portugal pressured Pope Clement XIV to abolish the order.

Still, the order filled very real health, education, and welfare needs in Latin America and elsewhere. In 1814, Pope Pius VII reestablished the Jesuits, who went on to become the largest male order within the Catholic Church, with especially large contingents in Asia and Africa.

James Ciment

See also Americans, Native; Christianity; Portuguese Empire; Religion; Spanish Empire

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Jinnah, Mohammad Ali (1876–1948)

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, born in Karachi, India (now in Pakistan), is known as the founder of Pakistan and as the Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader). He was the son of a hide merchant and, after early schooling in Karachi, was sent to London in 1892 to learn business. Instead, he studied law and was called to the bar in 1896. On his return to India, he practiced law and over time became exceedingly successful and wealthy. He was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council, where he served from 1910 to 1919, and to the Indian Legislative Assembly, serving from 1924 to 1930 and 1935 to 1947. He had married before leaving India, but his wife died while he was in London. He married his second wife, Ruttienbai Petit, in 1918, and they had one daughter, Dina, born in 1919. After the death of his second wife in 1929, his sister Fatima looked after him until his death.

Jinnah was a Muslim and in 1916 was called the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity, but by the late 1920s, he began to believe that Muslim interests and the Muslim way of life would not be safe in an independent India dominated by a Hindu majority. In 1936, he reorganized the All-India Muslim League, which had been founded in 1906, and was its president until 1947. On March 23, 1940, the Muslim League moved the Pakistan Res-

olution, which demanded separate Muslim states for the Muslims in the northwest and northeast of India. Over the next seven years, he organized the league and the Muslim politicians of India and campaigned ceaselessly for the new state of Pakistan. On August 14, 1947, India became independent and was partitioned into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan, with Jinnah becoming the first governor-general of Pakistan.

Roger D. Long

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; India; Pakistan

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Johannesburg

Johannesburg is South Africa's largest city, part of a greater metropolitan region that is roughly 1,386 square kilometers (535 square miles) in size, home to approximately 2.5 million people, and producer of 11 percent of the country's gross domestic product. Throughout its existence, it has been the heart of the country's financial industry, a breeding ground for resistance politics, and a vibrant cultural center.

The city grew as a result of settlement after the discovery of gold in 1886. Its initial inhabitants were miners, black and white, who flocked to the area in pursuit of wealth. Independent mining soon gave way to control by large business concerns that profited from cheap black labor. Within ten years, the city's population numbered 100,000. After the Boer War of 1899–1902, extensive black and white settlement gave Johannesburg a more stable population and a permanent nature. Initially, most inhabitants—apart from the black miners housed in insalubrious compounds—lived together in crowded inner-city slums around the fringes of the center, whereas mining magnates lived on ridges to the north of the city. Residential segregation developed later. During the 1930s and 1940s, under racial segregation, and later under apartheid, black inhabitants were moved out of Johannesburg to freehold areas such as Alexandra to the north or the newly developed Soweto (South-Western Township). Standards of living in the townships were uniformly low, especially compared to those of the af-

fluent white suburbs. During the 1960s, mining lost its dominance in the Johannesburg economy and was replaced by investment in industry and commerce. From 1970 onward, especially with the Soweto Riots of 1976, the city became a focal point for black protest. The 1980s were characterized by growth in population and the financial sector. Greater Johannesburg's population is currently diverse; almost 70 percent black, it includes many migrants from throughout southern Africa, drawn to the city because of its economic potential. Since the early 1990s, the increase of crime in the city center has sent business concerns, including the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (the twelfth largest in the world), north to the developing alternative center of Sandton.

Natasha Erlank

See also Boer War; British Empire; Gold; South Africa

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Johnston, Sir Henry "Harry" Hamilton (1858–1927)

A British naturalist, explorer, linguist, diplomat, and administrator, Harry Johnston was privately educated and had wide-ranging interests. He first went to Africa in 1879 to study botany and to paint in Tunis. Captivated by the continent, he joined private expeditions to Angola and then the Congo Basin, where he met Henry Morton Stanley. Spurred on by Stanley, he solicited Royal Society support for an expedition to the Kilimanjaro region of East Africa; there, in addition to his naturalist activities, he signed treaties with local political leaders, which were later used to establish the British East African Protectorate.

In 1885, he was appointed to the British Foreign Office and initially served as vice-consul of the British protectorate over the Niger Delta and the Cameroons. As acting counsel, he was instrumental in eliminating African opposition to British trade in the region. He then joined a British team negotiating southern African spheres of influence with Portugal, and in 1889, he became British consul in Mozambique. There, Johnston served as an agent of the British South Africa

(BSA) Company in south-central Africa, beginning a long association with Cecil Rhodes. In an effort to halt slave-trade activities in the interior, he signed treaties with local leaders and extended British protection over areas along the Shire River and Lake Nyasa.

In 1891, he became the first consul-general and commissioner of British Central Africa, established a civil administration with taxing authority, and continued to represent Rhodes's BSA Company by supporting the alienation of African lands. He also engaged in campaigns to suppress continuing conflicts associated with the slave trade and to extend British authority over additional African peoples. He left southern Africa in ill health and returned to Tunis as British consul in 1897. Two years later, he was assigned as a special commissioner to Uganda, where he negotiated a detailed agreement with African leaders aligned with differing religious factions to establish a British protectorate administration. He left the Foreign Office in 1902 and returned to Britain, where he engaged in writing, lecturing, and private business activities over the last twenty-five years of his life.

His two-volume *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* (1919–1922) was probably his most important work, although he published more than thirty other books, including scientific studies, popular histories, novels, and his autobiography. He also maintained a political interest in British colonial policies, particularly in Africa, even though he was twice defeated for election to Parliament. His writing and lecturing in the later years of his life turned to promoting the economic viability of the colonies, most especially his support of the Empire Resources Development Committee (later Board) in the 1920s.

Melvin E. Page

See also Belgian Congo; British Empire; Cameroon; Colonial Administration; Exploration; Nigeria; Rhodes, Cecil John; Uganda

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Joseph II (Austro-Hungarian Empire) (1741–1790)

Joseph II, the reformist Hapsburg emperor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1765 to 1790, traveled extensively to bolster the position of his empire, and he attained some successes abroad, notably gaining for Austria a significant part of Poland during the partition of that nation. At the same time, however, he found it difficult to contain Hungarian dissent or assure security for the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium).

Joseph was born in 1741 to Francis Stephen of Lorraine, the future Austrian emperor Francis I, and Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary and empress of the Holy Roman Empire. Brilliant and reform-minded even as a youth, Joseph assumed the imperial mantle of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on his father's death in 1765, but the real imperial power lay with his mother until her death in 1780.

On gaining full power, Joseph instituted a number of educational and administrative reforms that won him the admiration of intellectuals and modernizers throughout the European continent. His efforts to limit the power of the Catholic Church in Austria, however, produced a backlash that alienated many within his realm. Still, Joseph's reign is viewed as a domestic success by most historians.

Not so his foreign policy. During his decade in power, he did gain West Prussia for Austria-Hungary during the partition of Poland. But his efforts to gain the Austrian Netherlands an effective outlet to the sea were thwarted by Holland, and his more ambitious plan to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria was blocked by Frederick of Prussia.

In frustration, Joseph swallowed his reformist principles and turned to an alliance with Catherine the Great of Russia, among the most reactionary monarchs in Europe. Together, they devised a plan to attack the Ottoman Empire. But when Catherine moved prematurely, Joseph was caught off guard, his army riven by the nationalist aspirations among its Austrian Netherlands and Hungarian cohorts. On his death in 1790, both territories were in revolutionary fervor, a situation that would only become more acute during the continental wars that followed the French Revolution in 1789. In the end, most of Joseph's ambitious foreign policy plans would lead to naught,

and many of his much-needed domestic reforms were undone by the reactionary period that followed the defeat of Napoleon in 1815.

James Ciment

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Dutch Empire; French Revolution; Hapsburg, House of

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Juárez, Benito (1806–1872)

Far from Mexico City, in the haven of Oaxaca, Benito Juárez was born in 1806, a descendant of the old indigenous nobility whose members were the order givers in their society. An ancient ruling by the Spanish Crown decreed that only indigenous rulers were allowed to own sheep in Oaxaca's closed world. When Juárez was a mere three years old, his parents died, and the boy was raised by his uncle. The small Zapotec village, with its 150 inhabitants, was limiting to the youngster. He was encouraged by his sister to leave this sanctuary, and he developed a strong desire to escape his background into the Spanish language and customs. At the age of twelve, he left this close-knit village and walked 41 miles to the state capital, Oaxaca City. An older sister who worked there as a cook was able to find employment for the youngster in the home of a Franciscan—a lay brother and bookbinder. Juárez's compensation provided the foundation that he needed for his future. His compensation for doing daily household chores and helping in the bindery took the form of tuition payments that allowed the young man his first taste of education. His Franciscan benefactor encouraged enrollment in an Oaxaca seminary, but Juárez realized that he did not want to become a priest. Instead, he aspired to be a lawyer, and he worked his way through law school. This pursuit opened a world that he had never experienced, consisting of racial intermixing, higher cultural civilization, and a chance at a different future. In 1831, the future appeared promising as Juárez received his lawyer's certificate, which not only demonstrated his judicial competence but also provided the an entrée into politics.

With his lawyer's certificate in hand, Juárez began his climb up the political ladder. He ap-



A Zapotec Indian, Benito Juárez defeated French forces during their occupation of Mexico in the 1860s and later went on to become president of Mexico and a national hero. (Hulton Archive)

peared ready to seize his dream. His rise to power came in small but significant steps. As a Oaxaca City Council alderman and through his subsequent service in the state legislature, Juárez came to realize that the changes he desired—mostly to benefit the poor villagers—could not be accomplished on a case-by-case basis but required altering the system itself. When war broke out between Mexico and the United States, he was called by his home state to serve one term as its provisional governor, another rung on his political ladder. Governor Juárez did not allow a defeated Antonio de Santa Anna to seek refuge in his state. This infuriated Santa Anna but thrilled the people of Oaxaca, so much so that in 1848 they elected Juárez to a full term as constitutional governor.

Far from being revolutionary, his governorship represented an honest attempt at improving his state's condition. But Santa Anna, as ruler of Mexico, was an insecure dictator with an excellent memory. He ordered Juárez arrested and exiled to New Orleans, where he joined other Mexicans who

had sought refuge from Santa Anna's Mexico and helped them devise a plan to overthrow the dictatorship. The exiles supported Juan Alvarez and in early 1854 sent him a statement of principles, later published as the *Plan de Ayulta* (Ayulta Plan). The plan consisted of a long list of grievances against Santa Anna and called for a liberal junta to designate an interim president to replace Santa Anna's dictatorship. The Revolution of Ayulta garnered a formidable force, with the exiles in New Orleans sending arms and ammunition. By August 1855, Santa Anna recognized the futility of fighting the revolution, tendered his resignation, and went into exile for the last time.

This turn of events prompted the formation of a new government, with Juan Alvarez as provisional president and Benito Juárez as secretary of justice. Alvarez's government rested solely on reform issues, and the first significant piece of legislation was known as *Ley Juárez* (Juárez Law), abolishing the military and clerical *fueros*—the special privileges that previously exempted soldiers and clerics from having to stand trial in civil courts. The Constitution of 1857 included the laws of reform and divided Mexican society into two hostile factions. As tensions mounted, the people braced themselves for another civil war.

The War of the Reform that occurred from 1858 to 1861 was the culmination of church-state controversies, ideological disputes, and the minor civil wars that had plagued the country since its struggle for independence. The war began with a new *Plan de Tacubaya* (Tacubaya Plan), proclaimed by the conservative general Felix Zuloaga. With clerical and military support, Zuloaga dissolved Congress and arrested Juárez. When the army declared Zuloaga president, Juárez escaped to Querétaro (located in the northern part of the country), where his liberal supporters proclaimed him president. The splintering of Mexico into two governments, two presidents, and two uncompromising ideologies thrust the country into its most passionate civil war. The end of the three-year war proved successful not only for Juárez but also for the Mexican liberals. Juárez solidified his power by limiting the authority of the church, making it subordinate to the state. Thus, by 1860, the victorious Juárez had achieved the pinnacle of success: he was the sole president of Mexico.

In Juárez's first attempt at stabilizing the country, he postponed the payment of the foreign debt.

Even though this was done to provide a temporary economic boost to Mexico, the United States, France, and England found this move intolerable. The United States and England eventually understood Juárez's motives and acquiesced to his desires, but France proved to be problematic as the old desire for conquest and empire reared its ugly head. The arrival of Maximilian, a French-appointed monarch for Mexico, once again divided a confused, unstable people, who attempted to choose between the stability of empire and the uncertainty of continued independence.

Juárez resisted the French incursions, demonstrating that Mexico's existence as an independent nation was not to be left in the hands of foreign powers. The emperor, Maximilian, was court-martialed and found guilty of violating Mexico's sovereignty. Three people on the six-man court voted for banishment from the country; the other three voted for the death penalty. The tiebreaking decision went to Lt. Col. Platon Sanchez, the president of the court. Fully aware that Juárez wished for the death penalty, he cast the deciding vote for death, but the emperor's execution did not ease the burdens that Juárez faced. Again elected to the presidency in 1871, he struggled to instill a sense of nationalism that had been lost without the influence of a strong central authority. Yet even as thousands of armed men roamed the countryside, Juárez once again became the stabilizing force that the country needed. He died in office in 1872 and has since been seen as one of Mexico's leading national figures and a symbol of resistance against colonial incursion.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also French Empire; Mexico; Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de

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Judaism

Judaism is the monotheistic development of polytheistic Hebrew religion, which evolved dur-

ing and after the Babylonian Captivity. Exiles returning from Mesopotamia, representatives of the Yahweh-Only Party, succeeded in rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem and establishing a theocratic state, under the rule of the Persian monarchs. For nearly two centuries, Palestine was a province in the Persian Empire. This situation ended with the conquests of Alexander the Great of Macedon in the 320s B.C., the establishment of the successor kingdoms, and the spread of Hellenistic culture.

The attractions of Greek culture proved very appealing to portions of the Jewish population of Palestine, particularly the aristocracy. This resulted in a schism between pro-Hellenistic Jews—who wished to enter the modern world, govern themselves with laws of their own legislation, chose their form of constitution, and generally enjoy the blessings of Greek cultures—and the anti-Hellenistic elements—who wished to maintain the old, theocratic state, uphold the cult of Yahweh to the exclusion of all others, and control the people of Palestine. Disagreements led to attempts to refound Jerusalem as a Greek city with a constitution that would not allow priestly control of the society. Faction fighting broke into open warfare, and the pro-Hellenists requested the intervention of Antiochus IV Euphrosyne, the king of Syria. This war, eventually joined by the Maccabean family (who assumed leadership), was presented as a war of liberation to save true religion

against the forces of evil. The Jewish festival Hanukkah originated during this conflict.

Maccabean forces were able to achieve a victory but began to wage war on their neighbors and on other factions within the territory they claimed as their own. This was a period of expansion for the Jewish nation, with the conquest of such areas as Galilee and Samaria—territories that, by tradition, had been part of the kingdom of David. Thus, Maccabean imperial expansion was cloaked in and sanctioned by religion and tradition. One may see in this use of religion and traditional history for imperial aims at least a partial prefiguration of later Zionist claims to the entirety of the lands that were believed to have composed the kingdom of David and as a justification for the establishment of the state of Israel and the displacement of the Palestinian people.

During this time, Judaism split into numerous sects and schools as it tried to make sense of the world and its circumstances, some of which are familiar to readers of the Christian Gospels. Certain sects lent support to the monarchs and their aims, others opposed them and worked for their downfall.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also Israel; Palestine; Zionism

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K

Kartini, Raden Ajeng (1879–1904)

Raden Ajeng Kartini was a Javanese educator and writer whose letters demonstrate her commitment to nationalism and feminism. Her birthday, April 21, is a national day of commemoration in Indonesia. Kartini (note that Javanese people do not have surnames. Kartini is both a first name and a family name. Raden Ajeng is a formal title used for unmarried noblewomen in Java) was born into a Javanese noble family based at Mayong. Her father, Raden Mas Ario Adipati Sosroningrat, who was the *wedono*, or regent, of Mayong, had taken the unusual step of allowing his daughters as well as his sons to attend the local primary school for Dutch and Eurasian children. Kartini, a bright student, learned to speak fluent Dutch but was forced to go into seclusion at the age of twelve until she married. She was frustrated by this sudden end to her education, and as she matured, she determined to reclaim popular Javanese culture even as she challenged some of its customs and its rigid control of women, Kartini turned to writing to make an impact on Javanese and Dutch colonial society. Her letters, her memorandum on education, “Give the Javanese Education,” and her work to reclaim Javanese culture and establish education for Javanese girls all revealed a nationalist sentiment that was to inspire future Indonesian nationalists.

Kartini’s letters to Rosa Manuela Abendanon-Mandri, the wife of J. H. Abendanon, who was the

minister for instruction, religion, and labor in the Netherlands Indies, and to the Dutch activist Stella Zehandelaar were published after her death. But several of Kartini’s articles on aspects of Javanese culture were published during her lifetime under a series of pseudonyms.

In particular, she criticized the low salaries paid to Javanese civil servants, such as her brother, in comparison with Dutch civil servants who “curse the Indies as that ‘horrible monkey land’ forgetting that that ‘miserable monkey land’ fills many a pocket with gold” (Kartini 1995, 20). She also criticized some of the Dutch colonial establishment for being “hostile toward us for no other reason than that we dared to compete with them in terms of education and culture” (Kartini 1995, 38).

Her memorandum on providing education for the Javanese, written in 1903, argued that Javanese women should have access to Western education so that the Javanese nobility could work with the Dutch colonial regime to preserve and develop Javanese society. She also recommended that medical training, which drew on indigenous medical knowledge as well as that derived from Europe, should be provided to Javanese people. She and her two younger sisters also worked to reclaim Javanese culture through their contribution of batik work to the 1898 National Exhibition of Women’s Work, held in The Hague; their attempts to promote woodcarving and other crafts produced in

their local area of Japara; and their work in designing some of the motifs used by local craftspeople. Kartini's service as an educator of Javanese girls was another of her contributions to the beginnings of cultural and political nationalism in Indonesia. She and one of her sisters set up a school for Javanese girls in Japara, and after she accepted an arranged marriage, Kartini taught in a similar school in Rembang. In addition, she and a sister each secured a scholarship to study in the Netherlands, but J. H. Abendanon, the director of the Department of Education, Religion, and Industry, persuaded the women not to take up their scholarships but to remain in Java and set up a school in Japara. Tragically, a year after her marriage, Kartini died several days after the birth of her first child.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also Dutch East Indies; Education; Women

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Kaunda, Kenneth (1924–)

The leader of Zambia after it gained independence in 1964, Kenneth Kaunda guided his United National Independence Party in the one-party state he created in 1972. As a young man, he followed his Malawian-born parents into teaching but soon participated in the nationalist movement, challenging the British authorities as well as more moderate African leaders such as Harry Nkumbula of the African National Congress in the 1950s. Successful in elections in the 1960s, he fought against the Central African Federation, dominated by the white settler government of Southern Rhodesia. The British canceled the federation in 1963 to prepare for the independence of Northern Rhodesia in the next year. Kaunda also crusaded against white minority governments and apartheid in South Africa. To minimize dependence on the more powerful economies of white-controlled

southern Africa, he accepted Chinese aid to build the TAZARA Railway to give Zambia access to the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam on the Indian Ocean. In addition, he nationalized the copper industry, which was vitally important to the economy. And while maintaining his traditional ties to the West, he sought friendly relations with other Third World nations as well as the Communist bloc.

An authoritarian but very personable and even charismatic politician, Kaunda developed a concept he called humanism, a variant of African socialism. This concept combined elements of Mohandas Gandhi's nonviolence, Christianity, and the struggle against white minority rule, as well as teetotalism, vegetarianism, and the avoidance of sugar.

Economic decline in the 1970s and 1980s forced Kaunda to allow multiparty elections, which he lost in 1991. Constitutional amendments by the new president, Frederick Chiluba, prevented anyone who did not have Zambian parents from running for the presidency, thus excluding Kaunda from the 1993 elections. In a confrontation with Zambian authorities, he was wounded by the police in 1997 and detained when a military coup failed that same year.

Kaunda has twice held the prestigious post of president of the Organization of African Unity. Bowing out of politics in 2000, he began campaigning for AIDS education after one of his sons succumbed to the HIV virus.

Henry J. Antkiewicz

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Apartheid; Decolonization; Northern Rhodesia; South Africa

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Kazaks (Kazakhs, Qazaqs)

The Kazaks, a nomadic Turkic people, arrived in the steppes of Kazakstan during the fifteenth century. By the mid-1500s, these quasi-Muslim pastoralists began to coalesce into three groups, or "hordes," each with its own territory, leadership, and history. Because of their loose political structure and their thin population density, the Kazaks

often fell prey to invaders. In the mid-eighteenth century, some Kazak groups swore loyalty to the Russian empress in return for protection. They were gradually incorporated into the Russian state, where they were considered part of the *inorodtsy*, or aliens, an officially recognized social grouping composed of non-Russians considered too different to be integrated into Russian society.

Between 1740 and 1840, Russian settlement began to encroach on the Kazaks' land, limiting their range for migration and forcing them to decrease the size of their herds. This caused extreme impoverishment and the erosion of traditional culture. To facilitate Russian settlement, the government declared much of Kazak territory as "excess lands," an arbitrary classification for any land not being used for agriculture. These excess lands were transferred to Russian farmers. In 1916, Kazaks revolted against forced military mobilization during World War I. The social disruption and economic chaos caused by this revolt was compounded during the following revolutionary and civil war periods. Recovery began in the 1920s, but collectivization in the 1930s eliminated any remaining nomadism. To retain their herds, some Kazaks fled to China or Mongolia, where many continue to reside today.

In 1991, after over seventy years of Soviet rule, Kazakstan became an independent republic. Today, nationalist groups there are promoting a revival of Kazak culture and language and of the Islamic religion.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Russian Empire; Soviet Union; World War I

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Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1917–1963)

John F. Kennedy was elected as the thirty-fifth U.S. president on November 8, 1960, with 49.7 percent of the popular vote, narrowly defeating Richard Nixon, who garnered 49.5 percent of the vote. His administration—which lasted from January 20, 1961, until his assassination on November 22, 1963—dealt with foreign policy issues that affected not only Europe but also the Latin Ameri-

can countries. Kennedy's foreign policy duality arose out of concern for underdeveloped countries as well as a desire to protect the U.S. borders. His most famous quote from his inaugural address was indicative of his intentions. "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country" inspired Americans to unselfishly embark on a path that promoted goodness and endured crisis.

American compassion arose in 1961 as Kennedy furthered President Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy by creating the Alliance for Progress. Under this program, the United States provided billions of dollars in aid to Latin America. The Alliance for Progress charter was formalized with a signing at the Inter-American Conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in 1961. That same year, the Peace Corps, an agency of the State Department, was established. Under R. Sargent Shriver's direction, the corps enlisted volunteers to teach in and provide technical manpower to underdeveloped countries, many of them former colonial territories. Over the next twenty years, more than 85,000 Americans served as volunteers. In 1971, the Peace Corps merged with other volunteer agencies and formed an independent agency, Action. By 1981, Action volunteers were working in sixty-three countries.

At the second Geneva conference, in 1962, the United States and thirteen other nations agreed to guarantee the independence and neutrality of Laos. Although more than willing to send military advisers to South Vietnam, Kennedy was reluctant to dispatch combat troops to fight in what he viewed as Vietnam's war. He was very succinct in his observation in an interview with CBS's Walter Cronkite that "in the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it." Not willing to fight communism on foreign soil, he was, however, quick to protect the United States when the threat appeared dangerously close.

Despite the failure of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, Kennedy responded swiftly to the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. As offensive nuclear missile bases in Cuba appeared capable of striking the eastern two-thirds of the United States as well as much of Latin America, he ordered a quarantine of Cuba that limited shipping of any kind. He further demanded the dismantling of all offensive weapons in Cuba. Tension mounted as Soviet ships

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steamed toward the U.S. blockade. Relief came as the Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, agreed to dismantle the weapons in exchange for a U.S. pledge not to invade Cuba. By the end of 1962, U.S. intelligence confirmed their removal.

In 1963 while in Texas on a mission to reconcile differences between opposing factions of the state's Democratic Party, Kennedy was assassinated as he rode in an open limousine bound for Dallas and a luncheon address at the Dallas Trade Mart. Even though the Warren Commission addressed some of the conspiracy theories involving the assassination, Kennedy's murder has long been a subject of speculation and rumination.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Cold War; Cuba; Democratic Party; Eisenhower, Dwight; Good Neighbor Policy; Organization of American States; Soviet Union; Vietnam

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Kenya (British East Africa Protectorate)

From 1920 until its independence in 1963, Kenya was a British crown colony in eastern Africa. Its coastal regions, most especially Mombasa and Malindi, were the object of various colonial enterprises from perhaps as early as the seventh century. At about that time, Islamic merchants from Arabia and the Persian Gulf established commercial operations at those centers and others. They were challenged in the sixteenth and seventh centuries by Portuguese interests, following the voyage of Vasco da Gama from the Cape of Good Hope northward up the East African coast before sailing across the Indian Ocean to India. As a result of naval encounters between the Portuguese and especially the Omani forces, the coastal outposts changed hands on several occasions.

After the mid-nineteenth century, European agents arrived on the coast and penetrated into the interior, making both commercial and political claims to the territory. These excursions, along with the proximity of the Kenya coast to both India and the Suez Canal, helped to fuel what became known as the "scramble for Africa" among nations in Europe and also led to the agreements struck at the Conference of Berlin (1884–1885). As



Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African National Union, and Duncan Sandys, British colonial secretary, meeting at the opening of independence talks in London, September 1963. (Hulton Archive)

a partial result of those agreements on the status of claims to colonial territory, the [AU] British East Africa Company (BEAC) negotiated a treaty with the sultan of Zanzibar for control of a coastal strip. In an effort to forestall other European claims, the British East Africa Protectorate was proclaimed in 1896.

Initially, the British were interested in protecting a route to Uganda, which ultimately resulted in the building of a railway line from Mombasa through the interior to the large lake named after Queen Victoria. The process of building that railway led to the discovery of what later became known as the Kenya Highlands—temperate and fertile areas in the interior that the BEAC exploited to draw colonial settlers to the protectorate. During World War I, German forces advanced on the

protectorate from German East Africa but were repulsed, and the territory then became the staging area for an invasion of the German colony, with the participation of thousands of Africans who had been recruited as soldiers. Yet on the Allied victory in the war, the British government encouraged further colonization efforts by alienating land in the highlands for settlement by veterans of the European war.

The British colonial population was so large that the British East Africa Protectorate was transformed into Kenya, a British crown colony, in 1920. And with the slow but steady increase in European settlers, tensions with Africans were exacerbated. Several attempts to improve the relationships between the two communities, especially after World War II, were only marginally successful. Increasing protests from the Kikuyu community and especially the Mau Mau emergency brought growing attention to calls for African nationalism in the colony. Led by Jomo Kenyatta, the nationalists were successful in negotiating a greater role for Africans in the colony's governance. And in 1963, the nation of Kenya achieved its independence from Britain. It became a republic a year later, with Kenyatta as its first president.

Melvin E. Page

See also British East Africa Company; British Empire; Conference of Berlin; Da Gama, Vasco; German Empire; Kenyatta, Jomo; Kikuyu; Land; Mau Mau; Uganda; Victoria, Queen; World War I; Zanzibar

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Kenyatta, Jomo (c. 1894–1978)

Jomo Kenyatta was a Kikuyu born between 1889 and 1895 to Ngengi and Wambui at Ng'enda village, in the Gatundu Division of Kiambu District in Kenya. Originally named Kamau wa Ngengi, he joined the Church of Scotland Mission in Thogoto in 1909, where he obtained an elementary education and carpentry training. Baptized in 1914 as John Peter Kamau, he later changed his name to Johnstone Kamau. In 1917, he evaded the forced recruitment of all able-bodied Kikuyu during World War I by living in Narok and working for an Asian contractor. At this time, he wore a tradi-

tional Masaai-belt with “Kinyata” (a name meaning father of Kenya, an honorary title) written on it. In 1928, he became the secretary-general of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), drafting and translating letters; he also edited the Kikuyu weekly *Mwigwithania* (The Reconciler), articulating the social grievances of the Kikuyu, particularly as related to land reform.

In 1929, KCA sent Kenyatta to London to represent the group before the Colonial Office and air its land grievances. During that period, Kenyatta wrote a series of articles entitled “Give Back Our Land,” which were published in English papers. He made a brief return to Kenya in 1931 to put forward KCA views before a parliamentary commission. After being ignored by the commission, he enrolled in Quaker College, Woodbrooke, United Kingdom, where he studied anthropology. In 1938, he published *Facing Mount Kenya*, under the name Jomo Kenyatta, followed four years later by *My People of Kikuyu* and *The Life of Chief Wang'ombe*. Kenyatta organized the fifth Pan-African Conference with Kwame Nkrumah in 1945, and in 1946, he returned to Kenya and assumed leadership of the Kenya African Study Union (KASU), the precursor of the Kenya African Union.

On October 20, 1952, a state of emergency was declared in Kenya, and Kenyatta was arrested and tried for alleged complicity in the Mau Mau Rebellion; he was found guilty and sentenced to seven years of hard labor and indefinite restriction thereafter. When he was released on August 14, 1961, he received a hero's welcome from the indigenous peoples of Kenya. He became the prime minister of an independent Kenya in 1963 and the first president of the Republic of Kenya one year later. Kenyatta's official slogan was *Harambee*, meaning “All pull together.” In 1968, he published an autobiography entitled *Suffering without Bitterness*. Ten years later, on August 22, 1978, he died in office.

James Mulli

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Decolonization; Kenya; Kikuyu

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Khartoum

Located at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, Khartoum derives its name from the shape of the rivers as they come together, for in Arabic, the name means “elephant’s trunk.” Geography also explains the city’s foundation in 1825, when Egyptian troops constructed a fort to dominate this strategic location. Designed by Muhammad Ali’s chief lieutenant, Muhammad Osman Bey, the fort served to anchor the southern end of Egyptian holdings in the Sudan.

A year later, Khartoum became the official residence for the governor-general and entered a decade of urban expansion. Government buildings, barracks, and mosques and the offer of free building supplies supported a population boom. Economic ventures flourished, especially the trade in ivory, gum, and slaves. The slave trade reached a peak during the 1860s, when 40,000 slaves passed through Khartoum. By the 1880s, the city’s population approached 30,000. At the top of the social hierarchy were a mixed group of Egyptians officials, European diplomats, Levantine businesspeople, and local notables; the rest of the population included small-scale Sudanese merchants, artisans, and a still significant number of slaves. The famous 1884–1885 siege pitted British officer Charles Gordon against religious-nationalist rebel leader Mohammad ibn Ahmed al-Sayyid Abdullah. The latter’s victory led to the abandonment of Khartoum by the British, with nearby Omdurman becoming the capital from 1885 to 1898. During that era, Khartoum was a ghost town. Then, the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of 1898 restored Khartoum as the capital. Growth continued as a rail link to the Red Sea was completed in 1909. The city’s population reached 50,000 in 1930 and 96,000 by independence in 1956.

John P. Dunn

See also Ali, Muhammad; British Empire; Egypt; Gordon, Charles G.; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sudan; War and Warfare

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Khedive

Khedive is a Persian title that roughly translates into “master” or “lord” and is associated with the

rulers of nineteenth-century Egypt. Unofficial use of the term dates to the era of Muhammad Ali (1805–1848), who constantly searched for means of signifying his special status within the Ottoman Empire. On July 7, 1867, his grandson, Ismail, negotiated with Sultan Abdülaziz, obtaining official recognition of this title in exchange for a significant increase in Egypt’s annual tribute.

Ismail’s new rank expanded an already ambiguous situation, implying he had special status within the empire. The new khedive argued it recognized his autonomy from Ottoman governments and extended Egypt’s rights beyond those fixed by the 1840 Treaty of London. Although Ottoman diplomats held otherwise, Ismail’s free-wheeling policies seemed to back this claim, until a new sultan deposed him in 1879.

Several khedives followed, until 1914. Then, on December 19, England ended its veiled protectorate, severing all ties between Egypt and the Ottomans. To symbolize this change, the title *khedive* was replaced by the more lofty *sultan*. The latter, too closely associated with the British, stopped being used on March 15, 1922, with Egypt’s independence. Instead, monarchs employed the Arabic *malik*, or “king,” a title used until the dynasty’s fall in 1952.

John P. Dunn

See also Ali, Muhammad; British Empire; Egypt; Ottoman Empire

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Khoi

The Khoi, also referred to as the Khoikhoi or Hottentots, were a pastoral nomadic people who occupied the southern region of the African continent until the arrival of the Dutch in 1652. The first European settlement at Table Bay operated as a supply station for ships sailing around Africa on their way to and from the Dutch East Indies. The inadequate supply of livestock forced the early settlers into a trading relationship with the Khoi, who raised cattle primarily for milk. As the number of ships resupplying at Cape Colony increased, so did the demand for food. The Dutch East India Company encouraged settlers to raise cattle and, in the process, initiated a policy of appropriating land from the inhabitants. Encroaching on traditional

Khoikhoi territory, the Dutch Afrikaners received no resistance as they moved westward. Most of the Khoi moved farther inland or sought employment among the Dutch as shepherds, guides, or laborers. A large number of Khoi died in the smallpox outbreak of 1713. The survivors either fled into the area of southern Namibia or intermarried with the Dutch population, forming a distinct class of people known as Coloured who maintained their rights until 1956. Under the Republic of South Africa, they lived as second-class citizens.

The Khoi outside the province encountered difficulties with Europeans as well as Bantu-speaking peoples. Forced onto Namaqualand reserves, the Khoi largely disappeared into the mass of South African nonwhites without a separate, significant ethnic identity or culture. However, their traditional political and economic structures, once based on the patriarchal tribal clan, found expression in a modified form through the ward or the village. After contact with Europeans, the Khoi adopted Christian beliefs; they abandoned their customary religious practices, which had no formal worship, no priests, and no temples and featured the use of magic to heal the sick. By the late twentieth century, only 40,000 Khoi survived.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Cape Colony; Dutch East India Company; South Africa

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Khrushchev, Nikita (1894–1971)

As the Soviet Communist leader from 1953 to 1964 and prime minister from 1955 to 1964, Nikita Khrushchev contributed to the development of the Soviet empire and was actively involved in international quarrels over decolonization. During his tenure as a high-ranking party official between 1926 and 1929 and a local Communist leader from 1938 to 1949, Khrushchev helped strengthen the Soviet regime in Ukraine. In 1939 and 1940 as Joseph Stalin's personal emissary, he oversaw the Sovietization of western Ukraine, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. Additionally, as chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet government from 1944 to 1949, Khrushchev was directly involved in the post–World War II restoration of So-

viet control and reconstruction in Ukraine. He also supervised a military struggle against the anti-Soviet resistance of Ukrainian nationalists.

As a leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) after 1953, Khrushchev consolidated Moscow's control in the non-Russian republics and East European satellites and equipped Soviet expansionism with clearly declared global ambitions. The de-Stalinization campaign that he launched in the USSR also introduced some changes in the way in which the Soviet "outer empire" was run. In 1955, the Warsaw Pact was created, and Khrushchev repeatedly declared an intention to transform relations with Moscow's satellites into equal partnerships. Nevertheless, in 1956, the Soviet military overthrew the reformist government in Hungary and crushed the anti-Communist uprising in the country. The Communist bloc under Khrushchev also expanded its influence into the Western Hemisphere, supporting Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba.

On the broader international scene, Khrushchev actively exploited decolonization and opportunistically stimulated the anti-Western feelings of radical regimes in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America in order to tip the global balance of power in the Soviets' favor. Flirting with Third World nationalism, the Soviets established close political, military, economic, and cultural ties with India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali. Despite several failures to bring new states into the Soviet orbit (Congo, Burma, Indonesia, Ghana, and others), Khrushchev's adventurism in the Third World paved the way for a great expansion of an informal Soviet empire in the 1970s.

Peter Rainow

See also Cold War; Cuba; Decolonization; Soviet Union; Third World; Ukraine; Warsaw Pact

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Kiev

As the capital of Ukraine, Kiev was one of the focal points of imperial rivalry and nationalist

aspirations in medieval and modern Eastern Europe. During its centuries-long history, the city developed as one of the historical and spiritual hubs of the Russian imperial tradition, and until 1991, it was a major political and economic center in the Soviet Union.

Kiev was established in the ninth century, and in the tenth through twelfth centuries, it grew as an administrative, military, and cultural capital of the Kievan Rus'—the empire of the Eastern Slavs that expanded from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Russian conversion to Christianity brought strong Byzantine influences to the city's culture and government. Following the breakup of the Kievan Rus' and the Mongolian invasion of Russia, the importance of Kiev diminished. In 1362 and 1363, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania annexed the city and the Kiev Principality. From 1494 to 1497, Kiev received some municipal autonomy. In 1569, after the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Lublin was created, the city fell under Polish rule and cultural influence.

During the Cossack insurrections in the seventeenth century, Kiev became a symbol of the emerging Ukrainian national sentiment. The Ukrainian union with Moscow (in 1654) put the city under the political and military control of the developing Russian Empire. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Russian emperors progressively eliminated Kiev's municipal autonomy and made it the capital of the Kievan vice-regency after 1782 and that of the Kievan Gubernia (province) after 1797. The failure of the Polish insurrections of 1830 to 1831 and 1863 to 1864 strengthened the Russian cultural influence in the city, which emerged as an important urban center of the Russian Empire. At the same time, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the city experienced the rise of Ukrainian nationalist aspirations.

Following the breakup of the Russian Empire in 1917, the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed in Kiev (on January 25, 1918), and the city witnessed frequent battles between the belligerents of the Russian civil war and the 1918–1921 Ukrainian war of independence. From 1934, Kiev was the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. The Nazis occupied the city between 1941 and 1943 during World War II. In 1991 in Kiev, the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed, which became a major factor in the demise of the USSR.

Peter Rainow

See also Russian Empire; Soviet Union; Ukraine; World War II

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Kikuyu

The dominant ethnic group in Kenya, the Kikuyu speak Gikuyu, a language that is part of the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family. The Kikuyu ethnic group traditionally lived in the Central Province of Kenya, the fertile highland area of Mt. Kenya. Kikuyu myths claim that their origins stem from the first ancestor, Gikuyu, and his wife, Mumbi, who were given Kikuyu-land by Ngai (God), said to live in Mt. Kenya, also known as Kirinyaga. The Kikuyu are divided into nine clans, and in their social organization, groups of boys and girls are initiated into separate “generation sets” that in the past defined that generation of adults and how they were entitled to political authority. Within this social structure, land and its ownership have long been vital to the Kikuyu. Precolonial Kikuyu societies were agriculturalists and raised crops such as sorghum, millet, beans, peas, and yams.

After British colonial rule was established in the late nineteenth century, land policies were implemented to disenfranchise the Kikuyu of the prime highland soil. In addition, the Kikuyu were relegated to living in overcrowded tribal reserves while working on European plantations. This displacement gave rise to Kikuyu-inspired protests against colonial rule and the resolve to regain confiscated Kikuyu lands. In this reclamation, a large number of Kikuyu were forcibly made to take blood oaths and join the Mau Mau Rebellion, a violent uprising that hastened the end of British colonial rule. Having lost their land under the colonial system, the Kikuyu, to relieve their land shortage and demographic stress, moved into the Rift Valley Province during the colonial period and after independence. One Kikuyu man, named Johnstone Kamau, would one day emerge as Jomo

Kenyatta, the first president of the Republic of Kenya. During his rule (1963–1978), the Kikuyu enjoyed political and economic advantages. However, under President Daniel Arap Moi's rule, the Kikuyu were primary targets of ethnic violence.

James Mulli

See also Kenya; Kenyatta, Jomo; Mau Mau

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King Philip's War

By the 1670s, the relatively peaceful coexistence of whites and Indians in New England had been replaced by growing hostility and suspicion. This was especially true in Plymouth Colony, where the Wampanoags, hemmed in on all sides by white expansion and rival Indian tribes, were forced to seek accommodation with Plymouth officials. Between 1667 and 1674, Metacom, chief of the Wampanoags—called King Philip by the English—was required several times to reaffirm his loyalty to Plymouth. Rumors of Philip's imminent rebellion were often instigated by rival Indian groups. In late 1674, John Sassamon, a Christian Indian who was apparently serving as an informant for Plymouth authorities, was murdered. In the summer of 1675, Plymouth executed three Wampanoag warriors for the murder, and tensions rapidly escalated. After Wampanoags killed nine English settlers at Swansea on June 24, 1675, both sides recognized the importance of gaining the cooperation of the Narragansetts, the most powerful tribe in the immediate neighborhood. The United Colonies, officially in charge of the war, secured a pledge of loyalty from the Narragansetts on October 18. Nevertheless, a combined force of whites and Indians under Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, soon marched into Narragansett territory. After a surprise attack on the Indian encampment was repulsed with heavy losses, Winslow set fire to the fort. The ensuing Great Swamp Fight of December 19, 1675, resulted in hundreds of Indian casualties, mostly women and children. Surviving Narragansetts, as well as a

number of other smaller tribes in New England, soon allied with Philip.

During the next four months, Indian raids destroyed or damaged scores of New England towns. In March, raids reached within 10 miles of Boston. On March 29, Philip's allies raided Providence, Rhode Island, and destroyed the home of Roger Williams. By April, however, the tide of battle began to turn. Philip was unable to secure help from the Mohawks of New York, and many of the smaller tribes began to cut their own deals with the United Colonies. Benjamin Church, with a combined force of whites, Christian Indians, and allied Indians, went on the offensive. On August 12, Philip was killed by one of Church's Indians near Mt. Hope, Rhode Island, and the organized resistance soon collapsed.

King Philip's War had profound repercussions on both Indian and white civilizations in New England. Death, exile, and enslavement greatly reduced the Indian population and virtually ended any possibility that Indians could protect themselves from future encroachment by the Europeans. The physical destruction and costs of mobilization also put a great strain on New England's institutions, which would affect colonial affairs for many years to come. Almost as significant was the psychological impact on the Puritans, who could not help but see the war as a punishment from God.

Dale J. Schmitt

See also American, Native; British Empire; Christianity; New England; War and Warfare

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King William's War (1689–1697)

Known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg or the War of the Grand Alliance, King William's War was a coalition action launched by England, Spain, Savoy, Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, the United Provinces, Denmark, and Austria initially against the French invasion of the Rhine Palatinate. In North America, however, the war was a contest between the French and English for control of Hudson Bay and the St. Lawrence River. With Native American Mohawk

and Abenaki allies, the governor of French Canada, Louis de Frontenac, invaded New England, striking Schenectady, New York, Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, and Falmouth (Portland), Maine, in 1690. The English, with the assistance of the Iroquois, contested with French traders for control of Hudson Bay trading posts at Severn, Hayes, and James Bay. An attack on the fortified city of Quebec, led by colonists from Massachusetts, was repulsed by Frontenac, but forces launching a successful attack from Massachusetts, led by Sir William Phips, took and held Port Royal for a year against the French. After 1690, the war in North America sputtered into border raids that severely taxed the morale of the frontier population and the tenuous relationship between the settlers and their native neighbors. Financially, the colony of Massachusetts was forced to issue paper money to pay its war expenses—bills that quickly depreciated. Because of the hardships endured by French and English colonists, the Treaty of Rystwick (1697), which ended the war, engendered great bitterness because it required the return of all lands captured during the war to the original owners, excluding only the city of Strasbourg, which remained in French hands in exchange for Louis XIV's recognition of William III as king of England.

Margaret Sankey

See also Americans, Native; British Empire; Canada; French Empire; Iroquois Federation; Louis XIV; New England; Quebec; War and Warfare

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Kipling, Rudyard (1865–1936)

Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay, India. At the age of six, he was left, together with his three-year-old sister, in a foster home in England. This arrangement lasted for five years and was a painful experience that left him with a sense of betrayal. As if deliberately to add to this stifling experience, Kipling—frail and shortsighted—continued to be bullied in college, where he developed a love for literature.

Kipling went back to India in 1882 as a journalist and editor; seven years later, he returned once

again to England to much acclaim as a significant young writer. He was the first English author to receive the Nobel Prize in literature, in 1907. His first volume of poetry, *Departmental Ditties*, was published when he was just twenty-one. He also published six volumes of short stories set mostly in India. Kipling's work offered the point of view of the English soldier and explored the psychological and moral problems that the white man suffered in the midst of the people he had colonized. Kipling was referred to as the "prophet of imperialism," who dealt with the racial identity and religious beliefs that formed the foundation of his imperialistic ideology. This was especially apparent in his poem "The White Man's Burden," which actually addressed the involvement of the United States in the Philippines. He incorporated into his work the code of honor and the sense of duty that he had acquired in the English public school. This was best shown in "Mary Postgate" (1915), *The Jungle Book* (1894), *The Second Jungle Book* (1895), *Captains Courageous* (1897), and *Stalky and Co* (1899). For his clearly imperialistic views, Kipling has incurred the wrath of many postcolonial writers and critics.

Naceur Amakhmakh

See also British Empire; Literature

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Kissinger, Henry (1923–)

As national security adviser in the administration of President Richard Nixon and as secretary of state in the Nixon and Gerald Ford administrations, Henry Kissinger is best known for his efforts to establish diplomatic relations between the United States and Communist China. At the same time, a staunch Cold Warrior and practitioner of realpolitik, or pragmatic foreign policy, Kissinger supported an anti-Communist dictatorial regime in East Timor and a rightist violent rebel movement in Angola, both undergoing the decolonization process in the 1970s.

Born in Germany to Jewish parents, Kissinger and his family fled the Nazis in 1938, and he was educated at the City College of New York and Harvard University, where he earned a Ph.D. He then became a professor there as well as a foreign policy adviser to the administrations of Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson before his appointment as national security adviser to Nixon in 1969.

While negotiating the opening to China, arms control with the Soviets, and a gradual end to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, Kissinger was also influential in determining U.S. foreign policy vis-à-vis the collapse of the Portuguese Empire, following that country's "carnation revolution" in 1974 and 1975. Portugal, after decades of right-wing dictatorship, had become a socialist democracy, and it quickly shed itself of its colonies in Africa and Asia, including Angola and East Timor.

In the former, Kissinger helped orchestrate covert U.S. support for Holden Roberto and his National Front for the Liberation of Angola (known by its Portuguese acronym, FNLA), a staunchly anti-Communist guerrilla movement based in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). The FNLA was one of three groups that had fought against Portuguese rule in the colony. With the Portuguese departing, the three organizations—the FNLA, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was backed by the Soviets and Cuba, and the South African-backed Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA)—had taken to fighting with each other. As Angola achieved independence in November 1975, the MPLA defeated the FNLA. Kissinger then tried to gain support for UNITA but was blocked by the Clark Amendment, a congressional act passed in 1976 banning U.S. aid to the rebel group.

In East Timor, the situation was less complicated but equally violent. As the Portuguese pulled out of this Asian enclave, a leftist, nationalist group called the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) took power and declared independence on November 28, 1975. Nine days later, Suharto, the right-wing, anti-Communist dictator of Indonesia—which occupied the western half of the island—sent his troops in, declaring East Timor part of Indonesia the following year. A number of historians and journalists claim

that Kissinger, who was visiting Indonesia at the time, gave the go-ahead to Suharto, promising U.S. support for the move.

The consequences of Kissinger's support were dire. Long after he had left government—following Ford's defeat in the 1976 presidential elections—Angola continued to fight a guerrilla war against UNITA, and East Timor remained under a brutal Indonesian occupation until 1999.

James Ciment

See also Angola; Cold War; Dutch East Indies; Portuguese Empire; United States

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Kitchener, Lord Horatio Herbert (1850–1916)

As a British soldier and statesman, Lord Kitchener made his reputation in Egypt and the Sudan. He first arrived in Egypt in 1882 and on his own initiative disguised himself as a Levantine to scout the Nile from Cairo to Alexandria. This exploit led to his appointment as second in command of the cavalry, and as such, he took part in the failed campaign to relieve Charles Gordon in Khartoum. Despite the failure of that mission, his own conduct merited promotion, and he served as governor-general of the eastern Sudan from 1886 to 1888.

In 1887, Kitchener was back in Egypt and in command of the cavalry, defeating an invasion from the Sudan. Appointed sirdar (commander of the army of Egypt) in 1892, he revamped the Egyptian army and in 1896 began the suppression of the Sudan. He was created a Knight Commander of the British Empire and promoted to major-general for his capture of Dongda but had to fight for continued support for the campaign. Relatively cheap victories in 1897 solidified his reputation and ensured funding for his operations. A combined force of British and Egyptians broke the back of the Sudanese at Omdurman and avenged Gordon. Kitchener then proceeded up the Nile with an escort to eject a French expedition at Fashoda. He was elevated to the peerage as Baron Kitchener of Khartoum in

1898. As governor-general of the Sudan, he oversaw the final pacification of the region.

Kitchener next saw action in the South African War, serving first as chief of staff to Frederick Sleigh Roberts, then as overall commander of operations after Roberts returned to Britain. Following the successful conclusion of the war in 1902, he became the commander in chief of the Indian army, reforging it as he had the Egyptian forces. He was promoted to field marshal in 1909, served on the Committee for Imperial Defense in 1910 and 1911, and was consul-general of Egypt from 1911 to 1914. He was further elevated, to an earldom, in June 1914 and was still in Britain when World War I began. He was appointed secretary of state for war and oversaw the creation of the “Kitchener Armies,” a massive expansion of the British army to meet the needs of the western front. He was killed in 1916 when the HMS *Hampshire*, conveying him to a conference in Russia, struck a mine off the Orkneys and sank.

Melvin C. Smith

See also Egypt; Fashoda Crisis; Gordon, Charles G.; Sudan

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Korea

Seeking markets and raw materials as well as a strategic buffer zone, Japan defeated China (between 1894 and 1895) and Russia (from 1904 to 1905) in contests over control of Korea, which it then ruled as a formal colony from 1910 to 1945. The Japanese rule of Korea went through three major stages. An initial period of naked military rule, capped by Japan’s brutal crushing of the peaceful March 1 Movement for independence in 1919, was followed by a period of co-optation and limited liberalization until about 1931 and then by a final period of militarization, forced assimilation, and mobilization for war.

Korea was closely integrated into the Japanese economy—but under a policy of deliberate underdevelopment intended to maintain it as a source of cheap rice and a secure market for Japanese manufactures. A small Korean bourgeoisie was allowed to emerge after 1919, and late

in the colonial period, northern Korea developed as an industrial support base for Japanese aggression on the Asian mainland. Living standards declined under Japanese rule, with tenancy rising and rice consumption dropping. Japan imposed an extremely intensive administration, stationing nearly 100 times as many functionaries in Korea as France did in Vietnam, for example, although Koreans filled many positions on the bottom rungs of the colonial apparatus.

Japanese rule was most heavy-handed in the Asia-Pacific theater during World War II. Korean identity came under assault with the forced adoption of Japanese names and a ban on use of the Korean language. Exploitation intensified, with some 700,000 Koreans sent to Japan for forced labor; 365,000 conscripted by the military for use outside Japan as civilian workers, soldiers, or guards; and another 4 million mobilized for forced labor in Korea itself. Up to 200,000 young women, moreover, were forced into sexual slavery in war zones throughout Asia and the Pacific and at industrial sites in Japan.

Colonial rule has profoundly shaped postliberation Korea. The social and economic polarization Japan left behind in 1945 helped to set the stage for national division and the 1950–1953 war between capitalist South Korea, which remains structurally dependent on Japan, and socialist North Korea, which has based its legitimacy as a state largely on its founding leader’s record of pre-1945 resistance to Japan.

W. Donald Smith

See also Japanese Empire; World War II

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Kruger, Paul (1825–1904)

Known as the founder of the Afrikaner nation in South Africa, Paul Kruger served as a diplomat, a military officer, and a political leader in efforts to resist the complete takeover of South Africa by British colonialists in the middle and late years of the nineteenth century.

Born to a farm family of Dutch descent in the Cape Colony in 1825, Kruger had little formal education but became part of the commission desig-



Paul Kruger, seen in this 1900 portrait, was the founder of the Afrikaner nation in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. With his Afrikaner forces defeated by the British in the Boer War of 1899–1902 Kruger left South Africa for the Netherlands, the original homeland of the Afrikaner people, in 1902. (Library of Congress)

nated to draw up the constitution of the Transvaal Afrikaner republic in the 1850s. After Britain's annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, Kruger traveled to England in an attempt to undo the takeover. Unsuccessful in this, he won the support of the Cape Colony in a general South African effort to prevent federation under British rule. After that effort failed, Kruger led the armed resistance to British rule, which resulted, in the early 1880s, in a peace that guaranteed limited independence for the Afrikaners of the Transvaal. In 1883, he was elected president of the newly reconstituted republic, a position he filled until 1902.

Kruger and his Transvaal republic were soon threatened by an inundation of foreigners following the discovery of massive gold deposits in the Witwatersrand area of the Transvaal in 1886. These non-Afrikaners threatened the cultural uniqueness of the conservative Afrikaners, or Boers. Moreover, the wealthy capitalists—led by

industrialist and Cape Colony premier Cecil Rhodes—soon consolidated the industry and pushed for British annexation of the Transvaal.

Kruger successfully countered Rhodes's efforts through the late 1890s, winning the Transvaal president enormous popularity among the Afrikaner population. But when the gold magnates and the British continued to force the issue, Kruger opted for a war that would ultimately doom Afrikaner power for half a century. In October 1899, the British issued an ultimatum for the Afrikaners to stop their resistance to incorporation, and Kruger responded with a demand that British troops—amassing on the border between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal—pull back.

After war broke out, Kruger briefly led the Afrikaner army. But superior British power forced the Boers into a guerrilla war. Too old to lead such a rigorous struggle, Kruger turned over the reins of the military campaign to younger leaders and moved to Holland until the end of the war in 1902. He died in Switzerland two years later.

James Ciment

See also Boer War; Cape Colony; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa

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Kuomintang (Guomindang)

In 1912, Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance merged with several smaller republican parties in China to form a new political party, the Kuomintang (KMT), which won a majority of seats in the 1913 national parliamentary elections. But President Yuan Shih-k'ai (Yuan Shikai), who favored a strong executive, outlawed the KMT.

Until 1923, the KMT was little more than a body of motley followers of Sun Yat-sen. But after Sun decided to accept aid from Soviet Russia in 1923, the Comintern (the Moscow-led international Communist directorate) helped to reorganize the KMT into a highly disciplined party of dedicated members united by an antifeudal, anti-imperialist program of revolution. The Whampoa Military Academy, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, was established to train a corps of disciplined revolutionary officers accepting hierarchical order

and obedience. Under Chiang's leadership, the KMT launched the successful Northern Expedition against warlords from 1926 to 1928, purged the Communists, and formed a national government in 1927.

In the 1930s, the KMT government expanded its authority over much of China. It succeeded through diplomatic negotiations to regain judicial control over Chinese residents in the treaty ports, as well as Chinese sovereignty over foreign-controlled Chinese government branches (maritime customs, tariffs, postal communications, and salt administration) and almost two-thirds of foreign concessions. But Japanese expansion into Manchuria and north China eventually compelled the KMT to form a second united front with the Communists to fight against Japanese imperialism and led to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

As the Japanese occupied east China, the KMT government retreated into the interior, moving the capital to Chungking (Chongqing). Civil war between the KMT and the Communists soon broke out, following the victory over Japan in 1945. Bureaucratic corruption, political repression, and economic mismanagement cost the KMT much popular support, and military mistakes led to its defeat by the Communists and the flight of the KMT government and 2 million of its mainland supporters to a haven in Taiwan in 1949.

The ideology of "recovering the mainland" and the Communist threat were used to legitimize an authoritarian KMT regime in Taiwan under the control of a few mainlanders. Martial law imposed in 1949 empowered the state to stifle freedom of thought, speech, publication, public assembly, and the press. But the KMT also promoted local elections and guided an economic revolution through land reform, the privatization of state enterprises, the support of export industries, the promotion of education, and other enlightened policies.

Chiang Ching-kuo, who became the leader of the KMT after the death of his father, Chiang Kai-shek, in 1975, responded to rising Taiwanese political consciousness by tolerating the formation of an opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, in 1986 and by ending martial law in 1987. One-party rule gave way to multiparty democracy. After Chiang Ching-kuo's death in 1988, power within the KMT was transferred from mainlan-

ders to Taiwanese leaders. With the election of Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party as president of the Republic of China on Taiwan in 2000, the KMT itself became an opposition party.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Chiang Kai-shek; China; Chinese Communist Party; Cold War; Japanese Empire; Mao Zedong; Sino-Japanese Wars; Sun Yat-sen; Taiwan; World War II

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Kurds

Kurds are the most numerous stateless people in the world, with a population estimated at between 20 and 25 million. Recent archaeological evidence has lent some support to Kurdish claims of a distinct national identity dating back many millennia. Kurds speak an Indo-European language with several dialects and did not adopt Arabic when converted to Islam in the seventh century. Long balanced between the Ottoman and Persian Empires, the Kurds managed a degree of autonomy, and during World War I (1914–1918), the Allies contemplated an autonomous Kurdistan, but self-determination was ignored at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920). The League of Nations mandate for Iraq was to include some degree of Kurdish autonomy, which was ultimately rejected by the British. The subsequent Treaty of Lausanne (1923) also ignored Kurdish interests.

The Kurds are not unified politically; their cultural patterns and practices vary from region to region and state to state. In Turkey, an estimated 13 million Kurds, concentrated in the eastern provinces, comprise approximately 20 percent of the population. A separate Kurdish identity has been repressed in Turkey, and Kurdish nationalists have mounted several serious rebellions, with the worldwide Kurdish diaspora lending support to separatist movements and Turkish troops occupying much of Turkish Kurdistan. In Iran, where the Kurds constitute close to 10 percent of

the population, a brief Kurdish republic was established at the end of World War II but was repressed soon after, with the Kurdish language banned in Iranian schools and future Kurdish revolts crushed with much severity. In Iraq, the Kurds constitute 25 percent of the population and pose a real challenge to the stability of the state. Iraq has used severe repression against its Kurdish population, resorting to mass killings and even the use of chemical weapons. The plight of the Kurds gained international attention when Iraqi forces repressed a Kurdish revolt at the conclusion of the Gulf War in 1991. The twentieth

century thus witnessed a persistent repression of Kurdish national aspirations, and today, the Kurdish national question remains a significant factor in regional politics, with the ultimate status of the Kurds enmeshed in the fate of Turkey, Iran, and particularly Iraq.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Iran; Iraq; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; Turkey

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L

La Salle, René-Robert Cavalier (1643–1687)

A French explorer born in Rouen on November 22, 1643, René-Robert Cavalier La Salle (Sieur de La Salle) was briefly a schoolmaster with the Jesuits in that city. In 1666, he settled in Canada as a fur trader, following his brother, a Sulpician priest. The Sulpician seminary in Montreal gave him a grant of land about 8 miles above Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. In 1669, La Salle sold this property to finance an expedition to China by way of the Ohio River, which he thought flowed into the Pacific; he was also motivated by a group of missionaries to preach to the Indians.

In 1669 and 1670, La Salle explored the Ohio River as far as the site of Louisville but not as far as its conjunction with the Mississippi; abandoned by his followers, he made his way back to Lake Erie. In 1677, he visited the court of Louis XIV, gaining a patent of nobility and a grant of lands around Fort Frontenac, the site of the present Kingston, Ontario, and a buffalo-hide monopoly. Having leagued with the western Indians, he prepared for expeditions to explore the Mississippi, which he reached below Illinois in February 1682; he took formal possession of the area for France in the name of Louis XIV and christened it Louisiana. He returned to Illinois and established Fort St. Louis near the present Ottawa, Illinois, around which thousands of Indians had gathered seeking refuge from the Iroquois. La Salle again

visited Louis XIV to obtain a license to establish a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi and to seize Spanish posts in the vicinity. On July 24, 1684, he set sail with a small convoy from La Rochelle; his expedition put in at Matagorda Bay, Texas, which he called St. Louis's Bay. After realizing it was not the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle nonetheless established a settlement, which did not long survive privations, disease, and Indian attacks. Between October 1685 and March 1686, he vainly sought the outlets of the Mississippi; in his second attempt to get back to Canada, he was assassinated, on March 19, 1687, by some of his followers on the Trinity River in Texas.

John J. N. McGurk

See also Canada; Exploration; French Empire; Quebec

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Labor

The need for cheap labor capable of supplying the metropolitan “core” with raw materials and products from colonies in the “periphery” was fundamental to the rise of colonialism. The nature of colonial labor markets, the forms of labor (such as forced or migrant labor), the types of industries

(such as plantations or mines), and the levels of labor productivity and resistance all were influenced by prevailing economies but also by the basic inequality of the colonial relationship. To maximize profits, colonized peoples were treated as commodities, exploited, and often brutalized. However, these were not passive processes: labor patterns also were determined by local conditions and by class and political struggles in the colonies, and they profoundly influenced the economic and social lives of peoples living under colonialism.

Labor Systems under Colonialism

The organization of labor varied across region, period, and kind of colony, whether direct-rule overseas colonies, protectorates, or settler societies. European colonialism, predominant from the fifteenth to twentieth centuries, disrupted indigenous economies and societies, eventually driving many peasants into involuntary labor by controlling trade or agriculture. The early colonial period, associated with the capital accumulation phase of mercantile capitalism, was marked by the use of forced labor systems in the colonies, often juxtaposing colonial despotism, slavery, and limited elements of capitalism.

Spanish colonialism in Latin America, initially rooted in the exploitation of precious metals, relied on forced labor ruthlessly instituted by conquistadores; historians estimate that many millions died in the mines of Mexico and Bolivia. Slavery and the *encomienda* (Indian indentured labor) system of colonial tribute rapidly destroyed indigenous systems of labor, and Indian peoples were slow to adjust to the requirements of wage labor. The transatlantic slave trade, lasting 400 years, underpinned colonial growth in the New World. Closely tied to the spread of sugar and cotton plantations requiring ever increasing labor, the slave trade served as the primary labor force in the Caribbean and extensively supplemented European and Amerindian labor in Latin and North America. The centrality of slaves to colonial economies increased their social impact, and slave revolts were a factor in the move away from slave labor. But more significant were the changing requirements of the global economy, which demanded more productive labor.

Colonialism also incorporated existing forms of labor obligation, such as debt bondage, pawn-

ship, and *corvée*, common in precolonial states that colonized other peoples by incorporating them in an integral territory rather than in overseas colonies, for example, the Ottoman and Mughal Empires. Trade in labor resources crossed these boundaries; thus, African slaves also were sent to the Ottoman Empire and Indian Ocean region, including Portuguese colonies in Macau and Ceylon. In India, there was a marked difference between labor regimes under successive Mughal and British Empires; the former relied on *corvée*, the latter on plantation labor.

In Asia and Africa, trade rather than settlement characterized the early phase of European contact, and large-scale exploitation of labor did not occur until the nineteenth century. As colonial rule was extended, peasants were forced to work by the imposition of taxation or similar extralegal requirements, as was the case with plantation labor under the Dutch in Java, the French in Indochina, and the British in India. In southern Africa, colonial taxes forced many Africans from countries such as Mozambique and Nyasaland to work for long periods as low-paid migrant laborers in South African mines. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, when peoples who were still enjoying land rights proved reluctant to enter wage labor, substantial numbers of indentured Indian and Chinese laborers were deployed to British colonies in the Caribbean, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malaya, Natal, and Fiji, and Pacific Islanders were sent to Australia. Contradictions also grew between metropolitan core and settler elites, the former preferring more profitable forms of wage labor and the latter clinging to precapitalist forms of forced labor such as slavery, as in the nineteenth-century American South and South Africa.

Mixed modes of colonial production gradually gave way under the industrial and finance phases of capitalism and imperialism to the need for exploitation of more productive and easily reproducible wage labor. By the early twentieth century, the need for new markets for industrial products from imperialist centers and new investment in colonial industries increasingly required the semi-proletarianization of sections of the colonial workforce. In some colonies, such as India and Rhodesia, small-scale industrialization or intensified plantation agriculture produced a nascent urban or rural proletariat, often retaining close ties with

the land. In South Africa, a large working class emerged in the mines, yet it was, until the 1970s, overwhelming foreign.

Despite the move toward wage labor, the chronic dependency of colonial economies exacerbated the fragile position of labor. Wages remained static, work conditions harsh. In the 1930s, the key export sector dominated by colonial governments collapsed and further drove down wages, and the rise of militarism in Japan, Germany, and Italy brought brutal new varieties of genocidal forced labor in the colonies of those countries. Forced labor also remained part of the drive by colonial powers for increased exports. Rubber plantations in the Belgian Congo and in Indochina from 1910 to 1940 and the South African mines employed coercive methods of recruitment and workplace control, and efforts by colonial workers in Africa and Asia to secure better conditions were met by repression. However, such practices intensified industrial conflict and resistance and sowed the seeds of nationalist and labor opposition that, in concert with changes wrought by World War II, eventually would challenge the very basis of colonial rule.

Labor Resistance under Colonialism

Worker resistance to colonial domination initially was spontaneous but eventually developed into more organized forms of class struggle, such as labor unions and strikes. Colonial labor movements faced many obstacles, including legal barriers, low wages, and divisions of the labor force fostered by colonizers; the latter were particularly apparent in settler societies such as South Africa, Australia, and Palestine, where a white “labor aristocracy” existed side by side with an impoverished indigenous workforce. Colonial powers sought to stifle the organization of free labor. Unions were repressed in Portuguese, Italian, and German colonies and only tardily legalized by France and Britain, and South African black trade unions did not receive legal recognition until the 1970s. However, such measures did not prevent unions from forging ties with anticolonial parties, particularly in the state sector, where industrial discontent invariably turned against the employer, the colonial state.

In the final stage of European colonialism, discriminatory colonial policies drove together diverse social classes among the colonized, tem-

porarily masking class differences and at times enabling labor movements to impact on the colonial relationship. Workers in late-nineteenth-century Cuba, for instance, began to perceive the repressive nature of Spanish colonialism and to support independence. In many African and Asian colonies, industrialization and unionization accelerated with World War II. Independence offered the prospect of an improved life for colonial workers. In some countries, such as Laos and Ethiopia, unions were weak, but in others, such as India, Guinea, Benin, Ghana, South Africa, and Nigeria, they were important strategic allies of nationalists. The post-1945 period saw closer involvement in anticolonial nationalist movements on the part of African union leaders, such as Tom Mboya in Kenya and Sékou Touré in Guinea, whereas major strikes in Lagos (1945), French West Africa (1947), and Accra and Nairobi (1950) protested not only economic grievances but also colonial rule itself.

Laboring Lives under Colonialism

Coercive recruitment and control, high mortality rates, and overseer brutality marked the lives of many colonial laborers. The colonizers and the colonized had different conceptions of work. The former aimed to increase their profits through cheap labor, encouraged stereotypes such as the myth of the “lazy native” or unstable “coolie,” and sought to restrict the education of workers, thus leading to few opportunities for social mobility. In contrast, the latter often saw wage labor as a means to retrieve land lost under colonial appropriation. Migrant laborers circumvented colonial barriers to free labor organization by means of oral communication and kin-based networks. Vibrant new urban cultures developed in places such as the central and southern African mining belts. In addition, a gendered division of labor tended to prevail in colonies, with women workers performing much of the farm and domestic work at cheaper wage rates.

The imposition of labor systems played a crucial role in the underdevelopment of colonies and in so doing contributed to the perilous position of labor not only in colonial but also in postcolonial times. Following decolonization, independence removed many legal impediments to free labor organization that had existed under colonialism. However, neocolonial economies soon emerged in

the former colonies, where labor conditions remained onerous, due in part to the deleterious influence engendered by the many years of colonial dependency and domination.

Peter Limb

See also Australia; Belgian Congo; British Empire; Capitalism; Economics; French West Africa; Land; Mughal Empire; Ottoman Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; South Africa; Spanish Empire; Taxation

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concentrated on domestic reform and European relations but evinced an equivocal attitude toward the colonies. On the one hand, socialism decreed an instinctive sympathy for the nascent trade union and nationalist movements in some of the colonies, such as India and Egypt. But on the other hand, this sympathy was balanced by a refusal to advocate the abolition of the empire.

Keir Hardie, the former miner who was the first Labour member of Parliament, denounced the Boer (or South African) War at the turn of the twentieth century. He was repulsed by the jingoism encouraged among working men and women; Hardie and others believed that management fostered this mindless patriotism in order to divert attention from the domestic problems of unemployment and low wages.

But by the 1920s, when Labour had replaced the Liberal Party as one of the two major parties in British politics, the consensus of the leadership of both the Labour and Conservative Parties was that the empire should be preserved until the colonists were “fit” for self-government. Although colonial independence was considered the objective, the colonies were never viewed as ready for the responsibility.

Labour mythology might paint the granting of independence to India and Palestine in the post–World War II period as part of deliberate Labour policy to end the empire, but in retrospect, it is clear that there were other overriding concerns. Labour ministers were concerned with Britain's position as a world power after the end of the war, and they felt African colonies were essential to maintaining this position.

The Cold War also influenced Labour colonial policy. The fear of communism made the British Labour leaders reluctant to free parts of the empire that might subsequently be endangered by the Union of Soviet Socialist States (USSR) in part because the empire was seen as an important bulwark against Communist insurgency.

During the decolonization period of the 1950s and 1960s, the concept of the Commonwealth replaced concern with the empire in the political consensus. Labour supported the concept of the Commonwealth in part because of the underlying socialist ideal of international cooperation, but again, British interests would always override any desire for cooperation.

Labour Party (United Kingdom)

Before 1918, the Labour Party policy toward the British Empire was influenced to a large extent by its exclusion from political power. Labour leaders

One of the lasting legacies of the British Empire is immigration. Neither party anticipated that former colonials would arrive in Britain searching for employment. Many trade unions viewed immigration as a threat to their members' employment and wages, and racist exclusion did exist in some union branches. There was little difference between Labour and Conservative regarding discrimination, and neither party felt able to deal openly with the connection between the ending of empire and the immigration of individuals from former colonies. Despite the profound dissimilarities in the political doctrines of the Labour and Conservative Parties, there was little difference in the policy toward empire when either party held power.

Cynthia Curran

See also Boer War; British Empire; Cold War; Conservative Party; India; Liberal Party; Palestine

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Land

The interests and policies of European colonial powers in the vast colonized parts of other continents began with an informal stage (the precolonization period) in which traders, missionaries, and adventurers conducted their activities in foreign lands and evolved into a formal stage in which colonial flags were raised and colonial rule was introduced and consolidated. In both periods, beginning in the fifteenth century and spreading inexorably into the early years of the twentieth, the occupation, control, and allocation of land lay at the heart of the single most important relationship between the indigenous peoples and the new and later arrivals from Europe. In turn, this relationship shaped the social, economic, and political characteristics of colonial rule.

In the white-ruled parts of the British Empire, for example, the colonial regimen was transferred from the metropolitan colonial power to its white surrogates; such was the situation in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, where land policies had a common pattern, with minor local modifications, based on a color line that segregated Europeans from the local and indigenous peoples. For example, segregation was followed by

dispossession and annexation of land in the western and eastern parts of the Cape in South Africa during the period of Dutch company rule, when the San, Khoi, and the Xhosa lost vast acreages through treaties, conquest, displacement, and annexation. The British, who replaced the Dutch, carried this policy forward, consolidating segregation by creating settlements (or reserves) for the Khoi and the Xhosa. Such a pattern is also discernible in the colonial conduct in what later became British North America and Canada, where a whole host of treaties and proclamations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deprived the aboriginal peoples of their lands and, by extension, their livelihood through hunting, fishing, and harvesting.

Though reserves are typically associated with colonial polices in the Americas and South Africa, the designation of land areas for occupation and use by colonized peoples through treaties and conquests was common in many areas. One of the more ambitious policies in this regard resulted from Edward Gibbon Wakefield's manipulations in 1830, through his Colonization Society. Wakefield argued that land, capital, and labor were the three cornerstones of a successful colonization policy. He tried out his theory in Australia and New Zealand. He foisted the Treaty of Waitangi on the Maoris, according to which Maori law and custom, including the entrenched and sacred concepts of communal ownership of land, were ignored. The European concept of individual landownership was introduced, and the Maoris of New Zealand became a colonized people relegated to small pockets of reserves.

If Wakefield's emigration policy was aimed at placing British settlers on lands in distant colonial outposts through treaties and conquests, another aspect of the British policy of using land grants was revealed in the indenture system, by which hundreds of thousands of impoverished Indians were recruited to work on (mainly) sugar plantations. Emigrants were promised free grants of land in lieu of return passage to India after ten years of continuous indentured labor, but this agreement was later rescinded; thereafter, jungles, swamps, and untilled areas were allotted to peasants under various smallholding schemes, and successful farmers were later displaced from their original grants.

The best examples of the operation of imperial and colonial policies and practices in regard to

land acquisition and distribution were found in the colonization of Africa, where the issue of land was a focus everywhere in one form or another. In Africa, these policies played out in the saga of slavery, the machinations of European powers as they scrambled for African territories, and the introduction of European concepts of individual landownership. All of this culminated in experimental land policies enacted in different periods of colonial rule up to and including the years and months of decolonization.

The traditional African concept of land was stated clearly by a Nigerian chief to the West African Lands Committee in 1912: "I conceive that land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living, and countless numbers are unborn" (Buell 1965). Some colonial rulers could never bring themselves to understand this concept and give credence to it. Others were quick learners and, in their haste to effect land settlements, made complicated compromises. One such official was Sir Harry Johnston, who served British colonial objectives in various parts of Africa: the Cameroons, the Niger Delta, the British Central Africa Protectorate, and Uganda. His land policies in the British Central Africa Protectorate (later Nyasaland) and Uganda were good examples of a colonial structure being superimposed on an existing precolonial structure. The precolonial structure was based in customary law, according to which the land did not belong to an individual or group but was parceled out by traditional authorities for occupation and use; the authorities functioned as guardians or trustees of the communal land.

This precolonial situation underwent changes with the advent of colonialism when, for instance, European missionaries, traders, and commercial companies competed for a share of traditional lands, often by using dubious practices, promises, and gifts. Later, these once seemingly fair exchanges were enforced in a manner unfair to native peoples when disputes arose. The sheer strength of colonial resources at home and abroad allowed whites to impose their will in this way. In attempting to merge the diverse concepts of Europe and Africa, Sir Harry Johnston was guided by five principles in the case of the Nyasaland protectorate: the rights of Africans should be protected; existing villages and plantations should remain

undisturbed—even after what Europeans deemed to be a "purchase" and "sale" transaction; there should be sufficient space for existing villages and plantations to expand; acquisition of land by Europeans for speculation purposes should be discouraged; and finally, the government should have sufficient Crown lands to develop the country.

These principles were good, but the practices that were followed during implementation, as well as the ensuing consequences, were extremely detrimental to African interests. In short, 15 percent of African lands were immediately alienated (and more followed in later years). Moreover, the original inhabitants—who were not to be "disturbed" of their rights to live and use the occupied lands—were turned into labor tenants, living on their own territory at the mercy of European landowners. This last outcome was the most tragic result of colonialism everywhere.

In the middle and later years of colonialism in Africa, many land laws were introduced, and they varied over time and place in accordance with colonial and African realities. African trust lands were instituted to prevent further land alienation, for instance, and there were some experiments with transforming customary lands into private landholdings.

Harry Johnston's land settlement of 1900 in Uganda was an example of a colonial dialogue between the British monarchy, through its colonial representative, and an African monarchy, the kabaka in Uganda. Again, Johnston began with certain principles: private estates for the kabaka, his regents, and other lesser chiefs; wastelands and uncultivated lands for the Crown; and a board of trustees to administer and protect Africans in rent-free lands originally occupied by them (as in Nyasaland). This settlement in effect divided the land between the kabaka and his entourage and subordinates, on the one side, and the colonial establishment of Uganda, on the other side. The plan resulted in considerable chaos in actually determining, on the ground, who got what, but the agreement lasted for some fifty years—half the life of the colonial era on average.

For the colonial powers, land—its acquisition, exploitation, and control—was their greatest asset. Conversely, it was also the single most important factor contributing to the enduring poverty of colonies across the globe. Consider the

Natives Land Act of South Africa of 1913, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 in Southern Rhodesia, and the plight of the peasantry in India and in the plantation economies of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Colonial concepts of segregation, separate development, assimilation, integration, and apartheid were all structured on and sustained by the colonial powers' ability to establish and maintain control over colonial lands. Thus, a study of colonialism is, in large measure, a study of the fate and fortunes of colonial lands.

Bridglal Pachai

See also Cameroon; Capitalism; Economics; Feudalism; Johnston, Sir Henry "Harry" Hamilton; Khoi; Labor; Maori; Nyasaland; Southern Rhodesia; Uganda; Xhosa

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Language

Despite the enormous linguistic diversity encountered by Europeans as they began expanding into the world around them, the nature of the colonial exchange prior to the nineteenth century was such that language was not a major issue. The reason for this was that the bulk of European contacts with indigenous peoples were made by merchants or settlers. In the course of conducting their business, merchants made do with pidgin, used sign language, learned a few words of local trade languages, or took individuals back to Europe so that

they could learn European languages and act as interpreters on return trips. Settlers, by contrast, tended to form homogeneous groups and kept to themselves as they focused on creating farms or plantations run with indentured labor or imported African slaves. Since laborers could easily be directed via interpreters, hand gestures, or a few simple verbal commands, there was no need to adopt a sophisticated language policy.

All this changed as Europeans began acquiring larger empires and attempted to justify their actions by claiming they were there to "civilize" indigenous peoples. The British were the first of the colonial powers to try to adapt to these new pressures. As they expanded into India in the late eighteenth century, the British inherited the daunting task of administering a huge and ethnically and linguistically diverse territory. At the same time, they grew increasingly enamored with the idea of a civilizing mission inspired by the Enlightenment and its notions of human perfectibility. For the British, the key to both effective administration and the uplift of indigenous peoples was to provide them with a European-style education that exposed pupils to European values and belief systems while simultaneously providing the requisite knowledge and skills to help administer the colony.

Although there was general agreement within colonial circles about the aims of the educational system, the question of how best to achieve these goals revolved around the early-nineteenth-century Anglicist versus Orientalist debate. The Orientalists advocated the use of the local vernacular as the medium of instruction in the colonial school, on the grounds that pupils could learn best and more quickly in their own language. But in India, for example, Anglicists countered with the claim that indigenous languages lacked the capacity and vocabulary to convey specialized European knowledge, thereby necessitating the use of English in all schools. As the century progressed, the sheer number of Indian languages and the rise of both nationalism and social Darwinism added further support to the Anglicist position. Hence, although colonial officials in India were encouraged to learn local vernaculars via the provision of subsidies and other incentives, the official language of British India was clearly English.

Although designed to facilitate the task of colonial administration, Britain's language policy

produced unintended side effects. As English spread across the subcontinent, it helped to unify the colony by providing Indians with a common medium of communication. As the colonial period progressed, however, this also facilitated the development of Indian nationalism, since it enabled disaffected groups to talk to one another and share their grievances with British rule. Worse yet, it gave educated elites access to nationalist tracts and revolutionary theories generated in Europe. The combination of these factors, plus increasingly inept British rule in the twentieth century, eventually forced Britain to grant independence to India.

Although the British were still grappling with the language issue in India, the onset of the worldwide scramble for colonies that erupted in the mid-1880s led to a new emphasis on the language issue. Just as the acquisition of new territories was partly motivated by the desire to express nationalist and patriotic sentiments, colonial powers began looking at the task of “civilizing” the inhabitants of these new lands as an opportunity to prove the superiority of their own languages and cultures. At same time, however, the problem of providing cost-effective administration in these large and incredibly diverse territorial empires tempered efforts to spread European languages and led to the adoption of complex and occasionally contradictory language policies.

As the British moved into Africa, they adopted a new policy known as indirect rule, by which British authorities relied as much as possible on indigenous leaders and governmental structures to carry out colonial policies. This approach not only reduced the need for a large and expensive colonial administration, it also eliminated the need to teach all of their new subjects how to communicate in English. Instead, colonial officials were encouraged to learn local vernaculars, or they conducted most of their business through interpreters. The need to train these interpreters and create Western-educated clerks to help fill the lower ranks of colonial administration meant that the British could not entirely dispense with English lessons in schools. However, the new policy went a long way toward reducing British colonial expenditures, and it ensured the survival of local vernaculars.

Unlike its British counterpart, French language policy was dominated by an overall administra-

tive ideology that focused on direct rule and assimilation. The idea behind both concepts was to create a larger, unified France that would surpass its European neighbors in size, population, economic clout, and military power. To this end, the French committed themselves to suppressing regional languages both at home and abroad in an effort to remake all of their subjects into French people. In the colonies, they did so by insisting that all official business be conducted in French and by mandating, particularly after the 1903 passage of new laws reorganizing and secularizing education, that French be the sole medium of instruction at all scholastic levels. This emphasis on the use of French continued even after the official doctrine of assimilation was replaced with the looser policy of association. Although the association policy called for the collaboration of French and local authorities on all matters and consequently hinted at a possible official role for local vernaculars, it did not effectively change French language policies in Africa. As a result, France’s efforts to Gallicize its possessions succeeded in imprinting portions of Africa with a strong francophone linguistic and cultural tradition that continues to the present day.

Finally, although the German position on language appears to have been more complex, it was always motivated by Germany’s desire to rule as cheaply as possible while engaging in the process of extracting wealth. When they took over in East Africa, the Germans found that Swahili had already become the local *lingua franca*. Since the language was already so widespread and was so easy to learn, the German colonial administrators simply chose to adopt it as the official language rather than go through the difficulty and expense of trying to impose their own language. The language situation in South West Africa proved to be equally simple. The area was sparsely populated and was always intended to be a settlement colony, so the obvious choice for an official language was German. In the rest of German Africa, however, the language issue was not so clear-cut. Both Cameroon and Togo were characterized by extreme linguistic diversity, and they had nothing approaching a *lingua franca*. As a result, the colonial administration quickly decreed that German was to be used in all official and business transactions.

Despite this stance, the small size of the German presence in these colonies prevented the Germans from actively promoting the use of their language among the indigenous populations. This situation only began to change in 1910, when colonial interest groups began expressing concerns that English and pidgin English, both of which traced their roots back to earlier periods when coastal peoples traded with passing European ships, were more prevalent than German. This, in turn, led to calls to actively spread the use of the German language in order to clearly stamp the colonies as German possessions. World War I, however, prevented these efforts from coming to fruition, as Germany lost its colonies as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles.

Kenneth J. Orosz

See also British Empire; Communications; Education; English Language; French Empire; French Language; German Empire

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Las Casas, Bartolomé de (1474–1566)

Bartolomé de Las Casas was born in 1474 to a wealthy merchant family of Seville, Spain, and received a law degree from the University of Salamanca. As part of a military expedition, Las Casas went to Hispaniola in 1502 and helped repress an uprising on the island. He received an *encomienda* for his military service and set about working to convert the people he received as part of the "property" of his estate. He eventually renounced this *encomienda* but was given another for serving as chaplain in the conquest of Cuba in 1512 (he had been ordained a priest two years earlier). He kept

this *encomienda* for a while but gave it up as well after witnessing the atrocious mistreatment of the indigenous people in Cuba and elsewhere in the New World.

This Cuban experience led him to denounce the Spanish treatment of indigenous people, and in 1514, he began a lifelong struggle for their rights. He preached for a policy of "peaceful colonization" led by priests, not soldiers, and was given land in Venezuela to test his plans. However, continued mistreatment by the colonizers in the area led the local people to attack the Spanish, and his experiment came to an end. Through his efforts, Las Casas eventually was instrumental in convincing the Spanish courts to order the phasing out of the *encomienda* system—unfortunately, the order was largely ignored by the Spanish colonizers.

After Las Casas became the bishop of Chiapas (in 1543), his struggle for the rights of indigenous people became more intense, culminating in a 1550 debate on the nature of the so-called Indians in Valladolid, Spain. There, Las Casas confronted another Spanish scholar, Juan Gines de Sepulveda, who claimed (among other things) that a just war could be waged against the Indians because they were infidels, barbarous, and, as a consequence, fit to be enslaved. Although the judges hearing the arguments of the two men made no final determination, the ensuing orders of the Spanish court and the Vatican suggest that Las Casas won the day. But it must be said that, for all of the moral arguments Las Casas won, the lot of the indigenous people of the New World did not improve materially. Las Casas spent the rest of his life working to ease their oppression. He died in Madrid in 1566.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Americans, Native; Christianity; Labor; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Empire

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Law

Law was crucial to the establishment and maintenance of the colonial order across the world, in regions as diverse as Africa, South America, Southeast

Asia, and the Indian subcontinent. Recognized as the “cutting edge of colonialism,” law was utilized as a coercive force, supported by the power of the colonial state, to help secure order, to promote capitalist development, and to restructure social relations. Perhaps even more important, however, the implementation of new sets of rules and regulations enabled a more general process of societal and cultural transformation. In the nineteenth century, this process was often referred to as the “civilizing mission” of colonialism. To legitimate this mission, colonial powers sought to import Western law so that traditional customs and rules would be replaced with those assumed to be more civilized. Under colonialism, European countries established dual legal systems in which the law of the colonies was superimposed on preexisting legal systems; both, however, were dependent on the legal system of the colonial state. The development and maintenance of a dual legal system was one of the central features of European colonialism over the past 300 years. Many postcolonial societies are still dealing with the effects of this process and the legacy of this legal pluralism.

The reason law was so important to the establishment of the colonial order was that it was a central mechanism to define relationships between state and society. Through both criminal and civil law regulations, the colonial state was able to set the boundaries of behavior and to control a wide spectrum of private transactions. Although there is little debate on the importance of law in the colonizing process, there is some dispute concerning the ways in which this process actually affected non-Europeans. Law was not only used to promote the interests of the colonial state but also utilized by non-Europeans to limit the demands placed on their land and labor. In many ways, both the colonizer and the colonized used the legal arena as a forum to resolve fundamental disputes concerning authority and legitimacy.

Unlike the colonial experiences in places such as North America and the Caribbean, where the colonial powers extended the laws and institutions of the home countries, the establishment of colonial rule in Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Indian subcontinent, and Africa required a more complex formulation. In India, for example, the British found a polity with a deeply entrenched state system of governance, consisting of estab-

lished laws and institutions. Rather than dismantling the entire administrative and legal structure, the British decided to use these preexisting modes of control as much as possible. The result in India—and elsewhere—was the establishment of a dual legal system that recognized particular “customary” rules as well as state laws imported from the colonizer’s home country.

The term *customary law* refers to the law of the colonized peoples as recognized by colonial governments. It does not necessarily refer to those laws actually used by non-Europeans before colonialism, which has been distinguished with the term *indigenous law*. The notion of customary law was invented by colonial governments to govern disputes involving only non-Europeans. Although customary law was first recognized and utilized in India, it was more fully developed in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century throughout Southeast Asia and in the African colonies. Colonial powers justified the need to recognize customary law as a way to provide autonomy and self-governance to individuals they believed were not ready to appreciate the full benefits of “civilization” while at the same time enabling the colonial state to maintain control without using limited financial and personnel resources.

Yet the actual implementation of a dual legal system was difficult, at best. During the precolonial period, customary laws were usually unwritten, flexible, and adaptable to change; however, colonial governments often codified them into fixed, formal, and written rules that were ultimately enforced by colonial courts. Frequently, colonial governments utilized the codification process to invent a version of customary law that was at odds with the indigenous legal rules handed down from the precolonial period. Colonial courts in central Africa, for example, interpreted customary law in a way that promoted the authority of men over women, in a manner inconsistent with precolonial rules. This was done in order to ensure the authority of traditional leaders and particular hierarchical relationships that were eroding under the pressure of the new ideas of individualism being introduced through the colonial system in the 1920s.

In addition, it was essential to define precisely those individuals to whom customary law would apply. In many cases, the concept of tribe was used

for these purposes. For example, in the Natal Code of Native Law of 1891, a tribe was defined as “a number or collection or body of natives forming a political organization or community, and composed of not less than twenty kraals [households] under the government, control, or leadership of a chief, and which organization or community has been recognized or established by the Supreme Chief.” The colonial powers used the idea of tribe in order to legitimate the creation of customary law and the dual legal system. The concept of tribe also facilitated social control, as it dissolved the majority of colonized peoples into several minorities and thus helped to deter resistance to colonial authorities.

Colonial officials claimed that customary law provided autonomy to local populations—and that it was indeed authentic and the product of the precolonial era—but this usually was not the case; the implementation of customary law was still subject to colonial authority. For example, throughout Africa, local magistrates were given the power to interpret and apply customary law as they deemed appropriate; as a result, those colonial officers often usurped the jurisdiction of local institutions. In some cases, if a customary law was considered to violate “civilized standards,” it was simply not recognized. Most colonial powers utilized this so-called repugnancy rule to prohibit behaviors such as the practice of polygamy and witchcraft or to ban certain festivals to remember ancestors. Thus, the colonial state frequently altered the nature and use of custom among the colonized.

The second dimension of the dual legal system was the body of rules and regulations that were applied only to disputes between Europeans or between Europeans and non-Europeans. These laws were imported from Europe and were designed to afford Europeans the same rights and responsibilities as they had in their home country. With respect to non-Europeans, however, state law was often used to secure social control and to promote capitalist development. In many of the French colonies, social control was guaranteed through the establishment of an *indigénat* (indigenous) code, which was purposefully vague and extended to a wide array of activity. For example, in one case, it provided summary punishment (either brief imprisonment or a fine) for any perceived of-

fense that called into question European authority. In this way, the law was used as a means to facilitate social order and limit resistance.

At the same time, law was central to the establishment of labor relations and land allocations conducive to capitalist development. In many colonies, different taxes were imposed on non-Europeans to encourage them to enter the workplace as wage earners. Not only did such laws help sustain struggling industries, they also provided an important source of revenue for the colonial state. In the colony of Natal, for example, the hut tax on non-Europeans covered the expenses of the entire colonial administrative establishment in the 1860s. Taxes of this type provided similar benefits, to both capitalists and state governments, in such places as India, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Brazil. Colonial governments also promulgated laws regulating landownership, marriage and divorce, drinking and entertainment, and contractual obligations, all to encourage non-European activity in the capitalist economy.

Even though colonial governments sought to utilize the law to restructure social relations and maintain order, it is important to note the ways in which colonized peoples appropriated specific rules or legal forums to resist the colonial state. In many instances, colonized peoples sought protection from various colonial courts and used existing legal principles to their advantage. More important, colonized peoples constantly struggled over the application and meanings of laws in local settings. In other circumstances, laws were simply ignored or proved too difficult to enforce at the local level. The struggles waged by the colonized peoples are important, as they demonstrate how these individuals actively participated in the construction of the dual legal system and how they used the law to resist the oppressiveness of colonial rule.

Still, the use of law in the colonial experience did promote significant changes among the colonized peoples. In particular, law was used to foster important sociocultural transformations that affected daily life in a multitude of ways. The passage of laws not only facilitated particular types of behavior concerning land, labor, or personal relations but also helped to establish different understandings about power, authority, and wealth. This was especially the case when the colonized and

colonizer confronted each other in the context of specific court cases. In court, colonized peoples were subject to the implementation of particular rules but were also introduced to the implicit ideologies underlying these rules. Thus, much of what colonized people learned about colonial rule happened in the context of legal forums charged with the responsibility to settle everyday disputes and conflicts.

Colonial law and legal systems also facilitated social mobilization for a select group of colonized individuals. For those who were willing to collaborate with the colonial state, the field of the law provided a significant opportunity for social ascension. For example, many people were hired to help administer the local colonial courts as interpreters, messengers, clerks, and, with respect to the administration of customary law, chiefs; such individuals were often given a nominal salary and were considered employees of the colonial state. Those who were able to take advantage of such opportunities often emerged as the political, social, and economic leaders of the postcolonial order. Indeed, there is evidence that the authoritarian uses of law during the colonial period provided a model of governance at odds with the goals and underlying norms of newly formed democratic regimes in the postcolonial period.

At the most general level, the dual legal system established two groups of people who were differentiated in terms of the law that applied to them: those who were under the jurisdiction of state law were citizens, whereas those under customary law were subjects. Among the key challenges for colonized peoples were questions of how to form resistance movements within such a structure and how to establish a unified legal system, in which all people were citizens, in the postcolonial period. Indeed, postcolonial governments in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia continue to struggle with this particular legacy of colonialism. Although many countries have adopted constitutions that proclaim the existence of a unified legal system, the dual legal system developed during colonialism frequently continues to structure understandings about politics and authority as well as the nature of dispute resolution.

J. Michael Williams

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Constitutionalism; Decolonization; Labor; Land; Taxation

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Lawrence, Thomas Edward (Lawrence of Arabia) (1888–1935)

Variouly an intelligence officer, Arabist, historian of crusader castles, masochist, and writer, T. E. Lawrence was born at Tremadoc, North Wales. Educated at the Oxford School and at Jesus College, Oxford, he spent the years between 1911 and 1914 on archaeological excavations in the Middle East, notably at the Hittite site of Carchemish, Syria. The Arabic he learned there he placed at the service of British army intelligence in 1913 and 1914, helping to survey Sinai and the Negev under cover of an archaeological expedition.

After the outbreak of World War I, he joined military intelligence, going to Cairo in December 1914. In 1916, he served in Mesopotamia (now Iraq). Then, in June 1916, Arabs in the Hejaz (western Arabia and home to Muslim's holiest site, Mecca) began a revolt from Turkey. Sharif Hussein, the emir of Hejaz, led forces made up primarily of Bedouin tribes with his sons, Sharif Feisal and Sharif Abdullah. Lawrence joined them in October 1916, as Britain provided naval support, gold, and weapons. Helping to organize attacks on the Medina-Damascus Railway, he also traveled north through the desert with Arab forces, putting pressure on the Germans and Turks nearer Britain's main advance from Egypt into Palestine and Syria. The forces took the Red Sea port of Aqaba in July 1917, reaching Damascus in October 1918.

Lawrence by then knew that Britain and France intended to keep some of the spoils from the Ottoman Empire for themselves. Sent to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, he was disappointed to see France given control of Syria. In his next post, he was the adviser on Arab affairs at the Colonial Office under Winston Churchill, and in that capacity, he accompanied Churchill to a vital Cairo conference in March 1921. This meeting secured the throne of Iraq for Feisal (who had been removed from Damascus by the French in mid-1920) and the Emirate of Transjordan for Feisal's brother, Abdullah.

So Lawrence did see his Arab allies rewarded before turning his back on high posts and joining the ranks of the armed services. Briefly enlisting in the tank corps in 1923, he changed his name to T. E. Shaw. He served in the Royal Air Force (RAF) from 1922 to 1923 and again from 1925 to 1935, including a spell on India's northwest frontier.

Despite joining the ranks, Lawrence continued to mix with public figures, such as writer Thomas Hardy. His epic account of his desert exploits, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, was printed privately in 1926. The same year, it appeared in abridged form as *The Revolt in the Desert*, the full version being published after his death. Retiring to his cottage in rural Dorset (in southwest England) in 1935, Lawrence died on May 19, 1935, as a result of a motorbike accident on a Dorset lane.

Karl A. Hack

See also Churchill, Winston Spencer; Syria; World War I
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League of Nations

The League of Nations was established after World War I. A number of leading politicians, including U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, had already proposed an organization of this sort in the latter stages of the war; in fact, Wilson had included it in his famous Fourteen Points. The signing of the Treaty of Versailles (on June 28, 1919), which formally ended World War I, had been preceded by

the promulgation of the Covenant (Constitution) of the League of Nations. Wilson had requested that the covenant be incorporated into all the peace treaties related to the end of the war.

At the outset, the league had forty-two member governments, rising to fifty-five by 1926. However, its work was seriously undermined by the failure of the United States to become a member. Isolationists in the United States had prevented the country from joining, fearing American entanglement in more European conflicts. Meanwhile, Germany was only in the league from 1926 to 1933, and the Soviet Union was a member only from 1934 to 1939.

The headquarters of the league was in Geneva, Switzerland, and its overall organizational structure included the Secretariat, the Council, and the General Assembly. The Secretariat prepared reports and agendas. The Assembly, which met once a year, was composed of representatives of all the member countries and set policy. The Council met more regularly to address any disputes that might have arisen. Britain, France, Italy, and Japan held permanent membership in the Council. (The United States had been expected to be the fifth permanent member.) Another four members (subsequently, nine members) were elected to the Council by the General Assembly for three-year terms. In both the Council and the Assembly, decisions had to be unanimous to be binding. There were also a number of subsidiary organizations, such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Permanent Court of International Justice, as well as a range of commissions, that attempted to deal with issues such as health, drugs, refugees, and child welfare.

The league had no military force that it could call on, but it was able to prevent or end a number of conflicts in the 1920s. It successfully settled the dispute between the Finnish and Swedish governments over the Aaland Islands, for example, and following the Greek invasion of Bulgaria in 1925, it convinced the government in Athens to withdraw. It also settled a border dispute between Turkey and Iraq, not to mention a number of disputes in Latin America. However, none of the disputes that were successfully settled by the league impinged on the interests of the Great Powers of Europe and Japan. In fact, in those disputes that did involve one or more of the Great Powers, the league proved

ineffectual. For example, when the Chinese government requested help from the league following Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the league failed to prevent the ensuing Sino-Japanese conflict. The league's effectiveness—and future—was further cast in doubt when the Italian government invaded Ethiopia in 1935 and 1936 and Britain and France (key members of the league) tried to make a secret deal with Benito Mussolini, which would have allowed Italy to remain in control of some Ethiopian territory, rather than support the league's position on Italy's aggression. The league remained on the sidelines during German and Italian intervention in the Spanish civil war, and it ignored Adolf Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia and Mussolini's invasion of Albania. In a last gasp, the league expelled the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) following its invasion of Finland in December 1939, but it did nothing to prevent the onset of World War II more generally. In 1946, the League of Nations was dissolved and replaced by the United Nations.

The league had, however, played an important role in relation to the fate of the colonies of Germany and its allies after World War I, for it turned them over to the member governments that were already established colonial powers. The victorious powers were granted League of Nations mandates for the administrative control of—and responsibility for—the former colonies and territories of their rivals, but they were expected to account for their administration of these mandates to the Permanent Mandate Commission (PMC). But the PMC and the whole mandate system was institutionally weak. The operation of this system primarily benefited the colonial powers, most of whom were effectively members of the PMC. For example, although the PMC examined annual reports from the colonial governments on their efforts to “increase the well-being of the natives” in the mandated territories, it had no ability to carry out its own investigations into the situation in the colonies.

Despite the league's ostensible commitment to national sovereignty and independence, its approach to the mandated territories and colonial possessions generally legitimated rather than undermined colonialism in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Pacific. As a result of its institutional and organizational shortcomings, the League of

Nations never played the role in world politics envisioned for it by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson and his supporters.

Mark T. Berger

See also Fourteen Points; Versailles, Treaty of; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I

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Lebanon

In 64 B.C.E., Pompeius conquered Phoenicia, making it a part of the Roman Empire. An ascetic community of Maronite monks and the first Maronite monasteries were established there in the early Christian era. From 619 until 629, the Sassanids occupied the country. The country was then conquered anew by the Byzantines under the leadership of Herakleios. Thereafter, from 638 to 640, Arab troops conquered the coastal cities. The Byzantines tried to regain control of these cities but were unsuccessful.

Before the end of the thirteenth century, the country fell into the hands of the Mamluks, although Ottoman rule (in the sixteenth century) did not bring many changes. For a short period, the Druze emir Fakhr ed-Din II was able to form an independent kingdom with the help of Tuscany and France, and the Druze emir Bechir II was able, from 1800 until 1840, to govern as if he were an independent ruler. Between 1859 and 1861, social unrest culminated in the killing of 20,000 Maronites by the Druze. Thereafter, the French government forced Turkey to create an autonomous region for Christians.

Although still a part of the Ottoman Empire, Lebanon continued to be influenced by France until 1919. Then, in 1920, the League of Nations granted France the mandates for Syria and Lebanon. A much enlarged Lebanon became a republic in 1926 and established the religious proportion in the constitution, whereby power was

shared by various Christian and Muslim groups; Lebanon gained independence in 1946. A 1948 decree introduced free trade in foreign currency and turned Lebanon into one of the most important banking centers in the Middle East.

Martin Tamcke

See also French Empire; League of Nations; Ottoman

Empire; Syria

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Lee Kuan Yew (1923–)

Lee Kuan Yew was born to a Straits Chinese family, speaking English and Malay at home. (Straits Chinese were descendants of Chinese who had settled in the region around the Malay Straits.) He had progressed to the elite Raffles College in Singapore when the Pacific War interrupted his studies in 1941. Already possessing a first-class English-language education, he was now schooled in a harsher world, observing the emptiness of British protection and the brutality of Japanese occupiers. He worked as a cable operator in a Japanese propaganda agency during the war and occupation.

After the war, he studied briefly at the London School of Economics before taking up law at Cambridge University and the Middle Temple, a lawyers' society in London. He also mixed with other nationalists at a student society, the Malayan Forum. Returning to Singapore, he acted as an advocate for student groups and trade unions, helping to found the socialist Peoples Action Party (PAP) in November 1954. The latter sought Singapore's independence within a wider structure embracing Malaya. To this end, it united English-speaking nationalists with the Chinese-speaking workers, students, and Communists whom Lee represented. Harry Lee, as he was known during his days in England, now remolded himself as Lee Kuan Yew, learning Chinese in order to better reach out to the Chinese-speaking majority.

Elected as one of three PAP members in Singapore's Legislative Assembly in 1955, Lee led the

PAP to victory in May 1959 elections, becoming prime minister of Singapore, which now boasted internal self-government. Lee played a major part in securing the formation of the Malaysian Federation in September 1963, with Singapore's entry into this federation marking the end of British rule in the area. Lee's advocacy of a multiracial "Malaysian Malaysia"—that is, a Malaysia made up of all the peoples, regardless of nationality—then proved irreconcilable with peninsular Malayan leaders' conception of Malay predominance.

Lee had to accept Singapore's separation from Malaysia on August 9, 1965. Driven by a sense of Singapore's extreme vulnerability—as a tiny, Chinese-dominated but multiracial entrepôt, surrounded by Muslim neighbors and threatened by Communist subversion—Lee now adopted a highly disciplined, if not authoritarian, approach. Unions were brought under control, and direct feedback was encouraged, whereas combative criticism was frowned on.

This approach helped Singapore develop as the favored transport, services, petrochemical, and electronics manufacturing hub for the region, attracting multinational headquarters. Government intervention and control was pervasive, and each worker was required to contribute to the Central Provident Fund, a kind of social security scheme. A strong emphasis was placed on self-reliance, although mass public housing was provided by the Housing Development Board. As a leader of his people, Lee thus blended elitism, meritocracy, entrepreneurialism, and self-reliance with iron self-discipline, yet he had a sufficient sense of his country's vulnerability to search for ever better ways of doing things. The PAP, meanwhile, espoused a brand of socialism that emphasized state research and planning to direct society for the common good but fostered rather than restricted the free market.

In 1990, Lee oversaw a smooth transition of power to a new prime minister, Goh Chok Tong, and a new generation of PAP leaders. His eldest son, Lee Hsien Loong, is deputy prime minister, and Lee remains senior minister in Singapore and a much respected statesman regionally and worldwide.

Karl A. Hack

See also Decolonization; Malaysia; Singapore

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Lenin, Vladimir Ilich (1870–1924)

Born Vladimir Ilich Ulianov, Lenin formed the Bolshevik Party in 1903, took power from the provisional government in 1917, and in 1922 established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). After his death, Soviet leaders canonized his thoughts as Marxism-Leninism and used them to justify their policies. Lenin dealt with colonialism and related issues in several works: *Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899), *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1916), and *Thesis on the National and Colonial Question* (1920).

Lenin distinguished between imperialism—the “monopoly capital” stage of the capitalist system of exchange and production that began at the end of the eighteenth century—and colonialism—which, as state-led territorial expansion, predated capitalism and involved Europe’s use of annexed foreign lands as sources of raw materials and markets and as places to invest. He never analyzed capitalism’s effect in overseas colonies. In *Development of Capitalism*, Lenin described capitalist colonialism up to the 1890s in the czarist empire as “progressive.” This view implied that non-Russian national separatism would destroy the centralized political unity necessary for economic progress, that the non-Russian bourgeoisie and peasantry could not be revolutionary, and that only socialist revolutions occurring simultaneously throughout the empire and led by the proletariat and the metropolitan Communist Party could bring the czar’s non-Russian subjects what he called national liberation. In *Imperialism*, Lenin claimed that monopoly capitalism had become an obstacle to industrialization in European

overseas empires. The implication was that colonial bourgeois-led national struggles for political separation were progressive and should be supported by Communists because they weakened the ruling imperial power.

The arguments in *Imperialism* justified Soviet Third World policy after 1921, when Lenin concluded that European colonies would play as important a role in the Communist revolution as did Central and Eastern Europe in the so-called bourgeois revolutions of the nineteenth century. He imagined colonial uprisings occurring alongside European socialist revolutions as two parts of a single world revolution, and he demanded that European Communists support “progressive” colonial bourgeois struggles for national independence, whereas colonial Communists advocated unity between their own and European workers. Moscow subsequently instructed European colonial Communists not to attempt socialist revolutions but to support wars of “national liberation” with the local “progressive bourgeois democrats”—whom Joseph Stalin labeled the “revolutionary national bourgeoisie” in 1924.

Lenin’s argument in *Development*, as opposed to that in *Imperialism*, underlay the postwar Soviet claim that as provinces of imperial Russia, the western, non-Russian republics of the USSR had not been economic colonies. From this perspective, non-Russian nationalisms and national revolutions were reactionary because they threatened the unity necessary for revolutionary struggle and economic development. This interpretation did not change after 1961, when historians agreed that imperialism had appeared in czarist Russia by 1914. But against the backdrop of the Soviet Union’s renewed interest in the Third World, the history of the southern Asian republics was revised according to the logic of *Imperialism*. The official view then described the czarist Central Asian provinces as economic colonies, their national bourgeoisies as revolutionary agents of “democratic capitalism,” and their national movements as progressive parts of the socialist revolution.

Stephen Velychenko

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Bolsheviks; Communism; Russian Empire; Soviet Union; Stalin, Joseph; Theories of Imperialism; World War I

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Leopold II (1790–1865)

Leopold II, king of the Belgians, rose to the throne in 1865 on the death of his father, Leopold I, founder of the Belgian dynasty. Leopold II embodied a union of charm and intellect with avarice and power. Belgium proved too confining an arena for his ambitions, spawning dreams of glory through overseas empire.

Leopold, who did little to quell the bitter rivalry between the Liberal Party and the Conservative Catholic Party in the face of growing socialist politics, proved powerless to prevent democratization through extension of the franchise, often retreating into costly exhibitions of royal pretension. Confined by constitutional restrictions on his authority and frustrated by Belgian parochialism, Leopold created the International African Association, ostensibly an international scientific and humanitarian organization, as a guise for his ambitions. His imperial ventures were not confined to the Congo. He sought to gain concessions in both Morocco and China, but it was the Congo River basin that captured his imagination. At the Congress of Berlin in 1885, where much of Africa was parceled out to European imperialists, he persuaded the Great Powers to recognize his sovereignty over the Congo Free State.

The costs of “opening up” the Congo nearly bankrupted him, until the development of the au-

tomobile tire created a world demand for rubber. With ruthless indifference to the exploitation of the indigenous Congolese, Leopold leased large tracts to concessionaire companies, in which he demanded secret financial interests. He met accusations of atrocities against the African population with denials and won over the Belgian populace with elaborate public works. Erstwhile detractors were deflected by a combination of veiled threats and charm, until E. D. Morel's Congo Reform Association rallied international condemnation. In disgrace, Leopold was forced to surrender control of the Congo to the Belgian government—but not before shifting large sums to secret accounts outside Belgium. One of his last acts before relinquishing control was the methodical destruction of records relating to his administration of the Congo.

Leopold's relationships with both his family and the Belgian Parliament were uneasy. He was a constitutional monarch of autocratic temperament who was disdainful of his children. In a prudish Catholic nation, he openly maintained a mistress, legitimizing their relationship by marriage only on his deathbed. He died on December 17, 1909, defiant to the end.

David Dorward

See also Atrocities; Belgian Congo; Belgium; Congo Free State; Congress of Berlin; Morel, E. D.

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Lesotho

See Basutoland

Lewis and Clark Expedition

Dispatched by President Thomas Jefferson in 1804 to survey lands acquired from France in the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark Expedition explored the northern Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Northwest. The diaries

that Meriwether Lewis and William Clark kept and the maps and drawings they produced taught Americans much about the region, opening it up to settlers and assuring that the territory would eventually become American rather than British.

In 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte, uncertain about whether France could hold on to its North American holdings, sold the Louisiana Territory—which included much of the Great Plains and the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains—to the United States. But even before the purchase, Jefferson, greatly interested in all matters scientific, had determined to launch a scientific expedition into the interior of North America. A team of some forty men—skilled in various sciences, Indian sign language, and the arts and crafts needed to sustain the expedition—was pulled together with Meriwether Lewis, Jefferson's private secretary, and former Revolutionary War general William Clark at the helm.

After wintering in St. Louis, the expedition set off up the Missouri River in May 1804, setting up camp in North Dakota among the Mandan Sioux for the next winter. There, they added to their group a Sioux woman named Sacagawea, who helped negotiate with the Shoshoni as the expedition crossed that people's territory in what is now Montana the following year. Eventually, the team made it to the Snake River, which they rafted down to the Columbia and hence to the Pacific Ocean, becoming some of the first people to ever cross the North American continent. After building a fort near present-day Astoria, Oregon, the members of the expedition made their way back east via the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers, returning to St. Louis in September 1806. Despite the dangers and hardships of the trip, only one member died en route.

Along with a multitude of discoveries of plants and animals, the expedition brought a disappointing realization: there was no easy water crossing of the North American continent. The Lewis and Clark Expedition once and for all destroyed a dream that had obsessed Europeans and Americans for centuries—finding a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean and East Asia.

James Ciment

See also Americans, Native; Bonaparte, Napoleon; Exploration; French Empire; Jefferson, Thomas; Louisiana Purchase; Manifest Destiny; United States

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Liberal Party (United Kingdom)

Two men, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, dominated the British Empire in the nineteenth century, albeit in very different ways. Gladstone, leader of the Liberal Party, established an intense personal antipathy toward Benjamin Disraeli, his counterpart in the Conservative Party. Empire became a focus of difference between the two men and their parties as well, but in the execution of policy, the two leaders were not far apart.

The Liberal position was that Britain should avoid the acquisition of more colonies and should divest itself of the responsibility for directly governing existing members of the empire. Gladstone was not opposed to empire but advocated an association of nations under the guidance of Britain rather than direct rule from London. He argued that the Conservatives stressed nationalism and power as opposed to the Liberal emphasis on eschewing new colonies and fostering self-governance. Gladstone painted the differences as authoritarianism (Conservatives) versus the advocacy of free trade and self-help (Liberals).

Disraeli had great success in equating patriotism with colonialism to the new members of the electorate, but this was a plan to win votes rather than a rational alliance with ardent imperialists. Even though he cast the Liberals as unsound on matters concerning the empire, there was never much difference between the parties on actual policy decisions. A study of the expansion of British colonial possessions in Africa presents a unique opportunity to uncover the nineteenth-century support for empire yet reveals the clear reluctance to expand.

Although Disraeli was opposed to the acquisition of the Transvaal, he was forced to go along with the idea because of a local crisis. The Liberals found themselves in the same position, though they had criticized the Conservatives as too aggressive. Gladstone was forced to order the invasion of Egypt in 1882 in reaction to a threat to the

Suez Canal by the encroachment of other European powers. In much the same way, Gladstone, although opposed to expansion, was responsible for the takeover of Bechuanaland because of a fear of losing influence in southern Africa. Gladstone's advocacy of nonintervention crumbled before any threat against the two routes to India.

The British Empire expanded far more under the Liberals, despite the fact that the expansion was unplanned and certainly not desired. When the Liberal Party regained power in 1906, the government's main interests were domestic policies and foreign tensions; the empire was regarded as a minor concern.

Cynthia Curran

See also British Empire; Conservative Party; Egypt; Gladstone, William Ewart; India; Labour Party; Suez Canal

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Liberia

In 1816, with support from the U.S. Congress, the American Colonization Society began to transport freed slaves back to Africa. Initially, each state chapter of the society maintained a separate settlement or "county." On July 26, 1847, the isolated coastal freed-slave settlements united as the Republic of Liberia under the slogan "The love of liberty brought us here"; however, close ties with the American Colonization Society persisted until the end of the nineteenth century.

From 1870, Liberia's government was dominated by the True Whig Party and the "300 Families," a freed-slave Americo-Liberian elite characterized by their Christian faith and American colonial lifestyle. They presided over a precarious economy based on exploitation of natural resources and small-scale export agriculture, plagued by scarcity of capital and labor. As foreign debts mounted, European colonial powers threatened to intervene. During the 1890s, Liberia was forced to surrender territory to the neighboring British and French colonies, and Liberian authority was continually challenged by indigenous African societies in the interior until the 1930s.

In 1906, Sir Harry Johnston, a former British diplomat, negotiated a \$500,000 loan intended to

pay off foreign debts, but most of the money was lost in a scam perpetrated by the lenders; the government was left with added debt. In 1912, the U.S. government negotiated a loan but demanded control of the Liberian customs revenue in return. Salvation of sorts came in 1925 from the Firestone Rubber Company. Harvey Firestone was determined to resist efforts by the British and Dutch governments to force up rubber prices by restricting rubber plantation production. He agreed to pay off the Liberian debt in exchange for a ninety-nine-year lease on a million acres of land for rubber plantations, with an option on another million, and Liberia's support in recruiting 50,000 labors annually. In 1928, Raymond Buell, a Harvard professor, published *The Native Problem in Africa*, which criticized U.S. economic imperialism in Liberia and the labor trade with the Spaniard Fernando Po. This work sparked a League of Nations inquiry into the situation, which allocated most of the blame to Liberia, forcing President C. D. B. King and Vice-President Allen Yancy to resign in 1930.

Liberia's debt mushroomed during the Great Depression, but President Edwin Barclay (1930–1944) proved adept at avoiding reforms while neutralizing external intervention by diplomatic procrastination. When Japan conquered the British and Dutch East Indian rubber colonies in 1942, the Firestone rubber plantations assumed strategic significance, and the exploitation of Liberian labor was ignored.

In 1944, President William Tubman inaugurated an "open door" policy to promote foreign investment while undercutting local opposition by co-opting indigenous African participation in government. He died in 1971 and was succeeded by William R. Tolbert, who continued the free enterprise policies but sought a less conservative image and strengthened ties with West African nations. On April 12, 1980, a small group of soldiers led by M. Sgt. Samuel K. Doe overthrew the Tolbert government, ending the political reign of the True Whig Party and Americo-Liberian colonial hegemony. After ten repressive and corrupt years, Doe was assassinated. A seven-year civil war followed in the 1990s, resulting in the election of Charles Taylor as president in 1997.

David Dorward

See also Johnston, Sir Henry “Harry” Hamilton; Slavery and the Slave Trade; United States

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Libya

Italian nationalists long viewed the Ottoman Empire’s North African provinces of Tripoli and Benghazi (later termed “Libya,” the term for the area given by the Romans, whom Italian nationalists admired) as an obvious area for expansion; they lay directly south of Italy across the Mediterranean Sea. Nationalism, economic interest, and a desire to find an outlet for Italian emigration each played a role, but diplomatic events proved decisive in pushing Italy toward the conquest of Libya. In 1911, a confrontation between Germany and France over control of Morocco ended in the creation of a French protectorate there; this was the last area of North Africa, besides Libya, still free of European control. Italy feared that further delay in annexing Libya would allow it to slip into the hands of Germany, France, or some other colonial power, despite the general recognition, sanctified by a number of agreements (especially with France in June 1902), that Libya lay in the Italian sphere of influence.

On September 28, 1911, Italian prime minister Giovanni Giolitti issued an ultimatum to the Ottomans and then ordered an invasion. The first troops landed in Libya on October 5, and shortly thereafter, the Italians seized all the major ports. Despite this initial success, a very difficult war began, lasting twenty years. The Arab and Berber inhabitants of Libya made common cause with their fellow Muslims, the Turks, and together they carried out an often successful guerrilla war. Mas-

sive Italian reinforcements, attacks on Turkey proper, and the outbreak of war between the Balkan states and Turkey in October 1912 led the Ottomans to sign the Treaty of Ouchy (October 18, 1912), thereby renouncing sovereignty over Libya but preserving the sultan’s religious authority as caliph. The Italians failed to understand that Islamic law made no distinction between civil and religious jurisdiction and that this concession to the Turks only fueled continued resistance to their rule. A Libyan revolt in 1914, provoked in part by Italian brutality, together with Italy’s May 1915 entrance into World War I, forced Rome to adopt a policy of compromise and local self-rule for its colony.

The subsequent loss of Italian control over Libya (except for the coastal towns), together with Benito Mussolini’s seizure of power in Italy in October 1922, led to the adoption of harsh military measures. Gen. Pietro Badoglio and Gen. Rodolfo “the Butcher” Graziani carried out a ruthless plan, putting 80,000 Libyans in concentration camps, blocking and poisoning wells, building a network of garrisons in troubled areas, bombing villages with mustard gas, killing and confiscating hundreds of thousands of sheep and camels, and constructing a 200-mile barbed wire fence between Libya and Egypt to prevent rebel border crossings. At least 50,000 died inside the concentration camps, and many others perished outside. Finally, on September 11, 1931, the Italians captured Umar al-Mukhtar, the aging leader of the Sanusi religious order in Cyrenaica and the most skillful of the rebel leaders. His execution marked the end of widespread resistance.

Italy then initiated more constructive policies for its “fourth shore,” as Libya was often termed, but these benefited the indigenous people very little. Great highways were constructed, railways built, port and irrigation facilities expanded, aqueducts created, cities modernized, land reclaimed, and model villages and farms developed. In addition, modern medical care became available for the first time. Some 110,000 settlers, many from poverty-stricken southern Italy, were recruited to live in Libya, often on lands confiscated from Arabs and Berbers.

Italy’s June 1940 entrance into World War II on the side of Adolf Hitler proved disastrous for Libya. The seesaw struggle that raged across North

Africa led to widespread destruction. By February 1943, the British had driven Erwin Rommel, the commander of the German Afrika Korps, and his Italian allies out of Libya, and the Free French had occupied the southern territory of Fezzan. In 1949, the United Nations voted to grant the colony independence by January 1, 1952, when a constitutional monarchy was set up under King Idris. After Col. Mu'ammar Gadhafi overthrew the king in 1969, he confiscated all Italian-held property, leading to the departure of most Italians.

Richard Bach Jensen

See also Bertolini, Pietro; British Empire, Egypt; French Empire; Italian Empire; Ottoman Empire; World War II

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Liliuokalani (1828–1917)

Hawaii's only queen and last sovereign, Liliuokalani was born in Honolulu. She was educated at the missionary-run Royal School and traveled throughout the United States and Western Europe. In 1887, King Kalakaua, Liliuokalani's older brother, attempted to develop a treaty agreement with the United States, one that would benefit his subjects as well as the foreign merchants, plantation owners, and sugar companies. On June 15, however, Kalakaua was forced to sign the so-called Bayonet Constitution, which effectively removed him from power, awarded the United States extensive business concessions, and granted it control of Pearl Harbor. This constitution was never ratified, but it was enforced, and an attempt to overthrow the missionary government during the summer of 1889 failed.

On January 17, 1891, Liliuokalani ascended to the throne after Kalakaua's death. An opponent of the 1887 constitution, she tried to restore Hawaiian sovereignty, and within two years, she had plans and backing for a new constitution and for other reforms. Sanford B. Dole's Missionary Party soon proclaimed Liliuokalani deposed, and a provisional government declared Hawaii a republic

on July 4, 1894. Robert Wilcox staged a revolt on January 6, 1895, but it was soon put down, and Liliuokalani was arrested. She signed an abdication act under duress and appealed to President Grover Cleveland for support. He recognized her right to govern and told Dole to reinstate her: Dole, however, refused, certain that the Senate would back him.

Liliuokalani went on trial for treason and, without being convicted, was sentenced to palace imprisonment (during her incarceration, she wrote the popular song "Aloha Oe"). She was pardoned in February 1896. When a formal annexation treaty was sent to the U.S. Senate by President William McKinley on June 16, 1897, Liliuokalani protested but to no avail. After writing *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* in 1898, she withdrew into private life.

Gail Tinsley

See also Hawaii; United States

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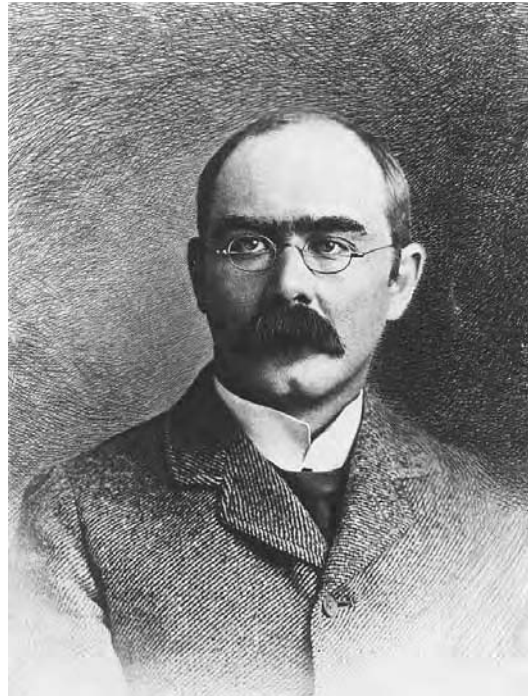
Literature

Colonial literature may be described as that which was written from a European-imperial perspective about the issues and experiences of empire and which referred to any theme, place, or people in any "discovered" or colonized territory. The first phase of colonial writing stemmed from the voyages of discovery and conquest starting at about the time of England's Elizabeth I. The journals, logs, reports, and memoirs of Christopher Columbus, Walter Raleigh, and Francisco Miranda and the gravely indicting writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas constitute the first phase. Richard Hakluyt's multivolume *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598–1600) provided useful imperial perspectives through its accounts of the voyages of John Hawkins, Francis Drake, Hugh Willoughby, John Davy, and others. Much of this material, of course, dealt with issues of landscape, hidden and sought after wealth, and indigenous life. The literature promoted the idea that England was to conquer and exploit these territories for its own behalf.

George Chapman's "De Guiana, Carmen Epicum" (1596) stands as one of the earliest poems glorifying imperial conquest; one of the first novels to address the issues of colonial conquest was Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), a tale of survival through colonial possession and capitalist exploitation. The native in that story, named Friday by Crusoe, was a ghostly presence in his own land. Defoe's novel has been variously interpreted as being for and against colonial greed. There can be no such doubt regarding Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), which delivered a stinging attack against the colonial enterprise. Swift described the hypocrisy and greed at the heart of imperial conquest that triggered and accompanied the robbery, rape, pillage, enslavement, and murder of non-European peoples in places such as Africa, India, Asia, the Caribbean, and North America. Swift's sentiments, however, were by no means representative of his time; most of the literature produced in the eighteenth century was self-justifying and self-congratulatory. In the course of the nineteenth century, when colonial administration began to take hold in the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and other areas, a great deal of literature was produced by sahibs and memsahibs. Their views of the places they ruled bore little resemblance to the actual places; the longing was for a romanticized home, the perspective colonial.

Literature was conscripted into the imperial aim of establishing modes of behavior and a hierarchy of values based on European models of what was good and bad, right and wrong, acceptable and unacceptable. Literature was used to validate and propagate the brutal imposition of European religion, languages, and forms of government and jurisprudence over their indigenous equivalents. Writers such as Rudyard Kipling, Eliza Cook, Jules Verne, James Montgomery, John Buchan, and Mary Kingsley consciously advanced the cause of empire. They vaunted the imperial values of duty and sacrifice in the course of civilizing and Christianizing; these values were seen to be in exact opposition to the primitivism, laziness, fickleness, and depravity of the native—the other.

In their zeal to "write back," many postcolonial writers and critics have extended their condemnation of colonialism and colonial writing to include Shakespeare, Joseph Conrad, E. M. Forster, Charlotte Bronte, and Somerset Maugham. With the



Rudyard Kipling, seen here in an 1897 portrait, became the unofficial poet-laureate of the British Empire. His 1899 poem "White Man's Burden" encouraged the United States to take up the cause of English-speaking imperial rule. (Library of Congress)

ease that comes from overgeneralizations and what passes for radical views, a number of post-colonial critics have labeled these writers racist, imperialist, colonialist, and so on. Ironically, the impulse to redress the evils of colonialism springs from the very impulse that gave birth to colonialism in the first place, and the result is all too frequently a whine of protest, reverse racism, and insular nationalism.

The two Shakespeare plays to occasion the greatest debate within the colonial-postcolonial discourse are *Othello* and *The Tempest*. *Othello* is sometimes proclaimed a racist play because the black Othello murders his white wife, Desdemona. In such an interpretation, the malevolent presence of Iago and Othello's own nobility and habitual restraint are glibly ignored. In the same vein, *The Tempest* is seen to be a play justifying the usurpation of native lands and putting the indigene to constructive use; ignored is the idea that Shakespeare condemns the despotic attitude of Prospero and warns against the devastating consequences

of colonialism, the dehumanizing of conqueror and vanquished alike.

The novel that has generated more debate than any other on the part of postcolonial writers and critics is Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1898). This work has been met with vilification and vindication in equal measure. For instance, Chinua Achebe, the great Nigerian novelist, has accused Conrad of being a "bloody racist." Others, such as the Guyanese novelist Wilson Harris, have given a somewhat more balanced view, while pointing to Conrad's implicit confession regarding the inadequacy of conventional language and form to capture and convey the experience of colonial contact.

The quantity and quality of literature that has come from the former colonies since the 1950s has been nothing short of astounding. This is true especially of the Caribbean (Wilson Harris, V. S. Naipaul, Derek Walcott, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Octavio Paz, Aimé Césaire, George Lamming, Jean Rhys, John Hearne, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Martin Carter, Jorge Luis Borges, and others); sub-Saharan Africa (Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Nadine Gordimer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Léopold Senghor, Amos Tutuola, Camara Laye, Athol Fugard, Doris Lessing, and others); and India (Raja Rao, R. K. Narayan, Salman Rushdie, Vickram Seth, Arun Joshi, Nissim Ezekiel, Bharati Mukherjee, and others).

Several factors may explain this explosion of writing. There has been a need to redress the wrongs of colonialism by bringing into focus people, places, and issues that were neglected or pushed onto the periphery or into the background in colonial literature. This need has spawned numerous revisionist works, though the works stand by themselves as considerable literary achievements.

Literature is also a means toward the reassembly of self and nation, both shattered by the pressures of colonialism. Myths that were lost for their devaluation have been recalled for creative use; those that were dismissed as primitive have been foregrounded; in places where myths have disappeared with entire cultures, new myths have been created. All of this has breathed life into old literary forms, refashioning them into fresh and vibrant shapes. Tired imperial languages—French, Spanish, and English, especially—have been trans-

formed from old weapons of oppression to tools of creative expression.

Although the new literatures have generally found their way into high school and university literary curricula, stubborn vestiges of colonial thinking remain. There are still universities around the world, including many in former colonies, that value colonial literature over postcolonial literatures, white over black, the imperial over the indigenous.

Daizal R. Samad

See also Achebe, Chinua; Bronte, Charlotte; Camus, Albert; Conrad, Joseph; English Language; French Language; Harris, Wilson; Kipling, Rudyard; Maugham, W. Somerset; Naipaul, V. S.; Paton, Alan; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Senghor, Léopold Sédar; Shakespeare, William; Soyinka, Wole; Verne, Jules; Walcott, Derek

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Livingstone, David (1813–1873)

David Livingstone, a missionary and explorer, was born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1813 of working-class, Christian parents. As a child, he worked in a cotton mill. After a limited and hard-gained education, he entered medical school in Glasgow in 1836. Two years later, he joined the London Missionary Society. Before leaving for Africa in 1841, he became an avid antislavery supporter after hearing Thomas Fowell Buxton speak. In South Africa, he joined the Moffat mission at Kuruman. There, he met his future wife, Mary Moffat, who died while exploring with him in 1862. He found stationary missionary activity uncongenial (he made one documented convert) and began the travels across Africa that made him famous.

He completed a traverse of Africa from Luanda on the west coast to Zanzibar on the east between



British explorer and missionary David Livingstone was presumed lost in East Africa until "found" by American journalist Henry Morton Stanley in 1871. (Library of Congress)

1853 and 1856. He returned to the United Kingdom in 1856 to write his widely read *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. He also embarked on a national speaking tour, during which his statements regarding the assistance Western commerce gave to Christianity and hence civilization both appeased the British conscience about investments in Africa and legitimated further colonial and commercial penetration of the continent. He returned to Africa in 1858, now supported by the British government, to lead several explorations (including the Zambesi Expedition) to chart the commercial potential of east-central Africa and its waterways. The expeditions were unsuccessful, and Livingstone returned to Britain in 1864. He raised money for an expedition to find the source of the Nile, which he was convinced would help to exterminate the slave trade. His final expedition began in 1865. In 1871, the U.S. journalist Henry Morton Stanley led an expedition to find the missing Livingstone, who died while ex-

ploring in 1873. Two of Stanley's attendants carried Livingstone's body on a nine-month journey to the coast, after which it made its way to a hero's burial in Westminster Abbey.

Natasha Erlank

See also British Empire; Exploration; Stanley, Henry Morton

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Lloyd George, David (1863–1945)

David Lloyd George was the British prime minister from 1916 to 1922 and a staunch imperialist throughout his career. As a Welsh Liberal member of Parliament (MP), his calls for home rule for Wales were irregular and secondary to his interests in land reform and disestablishment, that is, the removal of official status from the Anglican Church of Wales. In 1894, he formed an organization named Cymru Fydd to promote Welsh nationalism, but it foundered, and Lloyd George returned to other issues. In 1911, he organized the investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarfon, in his own riding (district), promoting Wales—and himself—as important voices in the United Kingdom. Both efforts characterized Lloyd George's view of nationalism within the confines of British imperialism.

Despite such views, Lloyd George opposed the South African War of 1899–1902, accusing the Conservative government of imperialist arrogance; his true aim, however, was to criticize the Conservatives rather than imperialism. His stand was unpopular, and he was attacked as unpatriotic. Nonetheless, in 1916, he became prime minister, and when an armistice was signed in 1918 following World War I, he was hailed as the savior of the British Empire. In the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, Lloyd George was able to obtain former German colonies to support Britain's naval and economic interests.

Following Versailles, Lloyd George returned to the dilemma of Ireland. Home rule had been introduced in 1912 but was postponed with the outbreak of war. In 1916, the events of the Easter Rising caused Britain to fear the loss of Irish nationalist support for the war. Lloyd George was appointed to produce an agreement acceptable to both nationalists and unionists, but the agreement

collapsed under Conservative pressure. As prime minister, Lloyd George promised home rule again in 1918, in return for Irish conscription. The Irish backlash led to greater support for the nationalist party Sinn Fein, and Lloyd George convinced the Conservatives that if they did not offer home rule, excluding Ulster, Sinn Fein's popularity could result in Britain's total loss of Ireland. The Conservatives agreed, and the Government of Ireland Act was passed in 1920, approving separate parliaments in Dublin and Belfast. Continued violence in Ireland prompted Lloyd George to call for a truce, and in 1921, he and Irish delegates concluded the Irish Treaty. The Irish Free State was established as a dominion of Britain, and the boundaries between it and Ulster were confirmed.

In this, as in the Treaty of Versailles, Lloyd George demonstrated superior negotiating skills. Buoyed by his achievements, he called an election in 1922. But in each treaty, Lloyd George's success relied on misleading both sides, and he came to be seen as untrustworthy despite his good results. The Irish Treaty caused anger in every quarter, and Lloyd George lost the election.

Elizabeth Schoales

See also Boer War; British Empire; Conservative Party; Home Rule; Ireland; Liberal Party; Versailles, Treaty of; World War I

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Locke, John (1632–1704)

The English philosopher, physician, and educator John Locke influenced the course of British and American political philosophy through his call for responsible civil government in support of individual labor and property. Providing the ideological foundation of British liberalism and the political justification for the American Revolution, Locke's ideas helped to facilitate the advent of modern democratic society while also offering a rationalization for colonial acquisition and imperial consolidation.

Following a brief tenure at Oxford, Locke served as confidential secretary and personal physician to

the English statesman Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), who later became lord chancellor and the first earl of Shaftesbury. While serving as general secretary to Ashley's Carolina proprietorship, Locke drafted *Fundamental Constitutions of the Carolinas* (1669), which offered an aristocratic framework for colonial rule. Although the proposals advanced in *Constitutions* never came into force, the document set a precedent for property rights and religious toleration under British colonial administration.

When Ashley, then earl of Shaftesbury, was made lord chancellor and president of the Council of Trade in 1672, Locke followed his benefactor into public service. While involved with the official administration of colonial policy and trade, he personally invested as a shareholder in proprietary efforts to settle the Bahamas—an arrangement that would draw him into Britain's growing political tensions, force his brief exile in Holland, and facilitate his lasting impact on the evolution of British government and political philosophy overall.

Composed in part as a condemnation of absolutism and in support of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) offered a formula for civil government while also providing an ideological platform for Shaftesbury's newly formed Whig Party. The first of the *Treatises* presented a critical analysis of English political writer Sir Robert Filmer's (1588–1653) defense of absolute monarchy, whereas the second called for enlightened governance mitigated by a trust between rulers and their subjects. According to Locke, as the people surrender certain rights in return for just rule, the government must either exercise power in a just fashion or forfeit authority at the hands of revolutionary action. Central to this assertion is the argument that as individual abilities constitute one's innate property, the product of one's labor must be held sacred according to natural law—provided that one's labor and acquired property serve a public good.

Although Locke defended “life, health, liberty, and possessions” as fundamental human rights that must be safeguarded by governmental checks and balances, he also rationalized colonial acquisition through cultural prejudices that favored European labor standards above aboriginal subsistence patterns. Identifying the value of property as

found in the combination of one's labor with the object, rather than in the object itself, Locke established a long-standing philosophical basis for acquisition and ownership within Western civil society and, by extension, throughout the colonized world.

Demonstrating the utility of his doctrine, Locke's *Second Treatise* provided justification for British colonial activity in North America by contrasting British agricultural productivity with Native American land usage. According to Locke (1988), the "several nations of the Americans are rich in land . . . yet for want of improving it by labor, have not one-hundredth part of the conveniences we enjoy." Because the Native Americans lacked an adequate industry, he argued, their land would be put to better use under the yoke of colonial rule—a primacy of the "property of labor" above a "community of land."

Cultural biases and colonial rationalizations aside, Locke's impact on Western philosophy has been immeasurable. By the 1690s, the *Two Treatises of Government* had earned him distinction as Britain's leading political philosopher, and *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) had secured his position as the founder of English empiricism. In addition to these major works, Locke produced several minor studies of lasting import, including *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). Often cited as one of the earliest thinkers of the Enlightenment, Locke remains a central figure within the development of Western thought; as his emphasis on critical reason continues to inform philosophical inquiry, his topical studies of political theory, epistemology, psychology, education, and theology remain catalysts for philosophical debate.

John Lalla

See also British Empire; Colonial Administration; Democracy

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Lonrho Corporation

The London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Company, better known as Lonrho, was founded on May 13, 1909, in London to acquire mining rights and shares in mining companies in southern Africa. By 1920, when Lonrho came under the control of the South African businessman Sir Abraham "Abe" Bailey (1864–1940), the company owned three gold mines and 41,600 acres of rangeland in Rhodesia. Its assets were greatly increased in the following years, especially after the acquisition of the Rhodesdale estate and Willoughby's Consolidated. By 1945, Lonrho was the biggest company in Rhodesia.

Lonrho's business activities remained confined to southern Africa, mainly Rhodesia and to a limited extent South Africa, until the controversial British businessman Roland Walter "Tiny" Rowland (1917–1998) assumed joint directorship of the company in August 1961. Under Rowland's leadership, Lonrho expanded its business interests into the rest of Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. Africa, however, remained its main sphere of operation.

In Africa, Rowland cultivated friendships with the leaders of the nationalistic movements and promoted decolonization in order to secure business contracts for Lonrho after independence. Accused of being "the unacceptable face of capitalism" by the British prime minister, Sir Edward Richard Heath (b. 1916) during the 1973 Lonrho boardroom crisis, Rowland continued to befriend

African political leaders through unorthodox methods and meddled in the political affairs of the continent to advance the interests of his company. In 1979, he played a key role in brokering the Lancaster House talks that resulted in the establishment of independent Zimbabwe in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Gabriel Mugabe (b. 1924) in order to secure Lonrho's financial interests in the country in the postcolonial period. Rowland transformed Lonrho into a multinational corporation that was active in fourteen African states, employing over 120,000 people on the continent, by the end of the twentieth century.

Phia Steyn

See also Mining; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia

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Louis XIV (1638–1715)

The policy of territorial expansion adopted by the French king Louis XIV relied on his restless ambition to impose French predominance on the rest of Europe. To increase the taxes that were necessary to support this policy and extend his power overseas, he encouraged the development of maritime trade based on colonial exchange. This mercantilist policy was pursued by Minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), who was, until his death, the architect of the colonial policy of Louis XIV.

Between 1660 and 1670, the king took responsibility for the colonial territories that had previously been controlled by private trading companies. The political control of the colonies peaked with the creation of the central administrative institutions, such as the Ministère de la Marine (Marine Ministry) in 1669 and the Bureau des Colonies (Office for the Colonies) in 1710. By the end of the seventeenth century, the French colonial empire covered a huge territory: Canada, the West Indies, and Guyana in America; Madagascar, which was transferred in 1671 to Mascareigne (Réunion Island) in the Indian Ocean; Surate, Masulipatam, Tilcery, Calicut, and Pondichéry in India.

The role of the colonies was to enrich the kingdom, which would advance the king's ambition to

be a hegemonic power. The French foreign trade was stimulated by the sale, on the European market, of the sugar produced in the West Indies, the furs brought from Canada, and the cloth from Pondichéry and Chandernagor.

The underpopulation of the French colonies, particularly compared to their English rivals, was one of the main weakness of the colonial policy pursued by Louis XIV. The Crown never encouraged emigration due to a fear of depopulating the kingdom—in Canada, for example, Louis XIV promoted the miscegenation of a small group of settlers with the indigenous population. These settlements were also spread across huge lands, exposing them to military attacks. Claiming sovereignty over such a large territory could only provoke the hostility of the other European colonial powers. Unsurprisingly, the Peace of Utrecht initiated in 1713 the encroachment on the French colonial empire by giving to Britain sovereignty over Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay. The colonial dream of Louis XIV had had its day.

Saliha Belmessous

See also Canada; French Empire; French West Indies; Madagascar; Utrecht, Peace of

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Louisiana Purchase

In 1800, the Mississippi River was the western boundary of the United States; the vast land west of the river was under Spanish rule. Before the French and Indian War of 1754, France had claimed and partially settled the territory. It lost this territory to Spain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris, but the Spanish foothold was precarious as Spain never sent forces to control or settle the land. Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power in 1799 and his continuing dominance captured the attention of Thomas Jefferson, the newly elected (in 1800) president of the United States, who realized that the western territories were, in fact, under de facto French control. Jefferson's concern came as American farming families advanced westward in the

1790s and settled along the rivers that emptied into the Mississippi. Free navigational rights to the mouth of the Mississippi at New Orleans had to be ensured if Americans were to be able to settle this productive land.

With the threatened termination of U.S. rights to deposit goods at the New Orleans port, Jefferson had to take action to safeguard the fledgling expansionism efforts. Ironically, his reaction coincided with Bonaparte's realization that his projected Caribbean empire was no longer worth the effort. As Jefferson dispatched James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston to negotiate with France for the purchase of New Orleans and as much of Florida as possible, Bonaparte in the meantime had decided to sell Louisiana in its entirety. After much negotiation, the U.S. commissioners and Bonaparte's minister, Charles Talleyrand, agreed on a purchase price of \$15 million for the entire territory. In addition, the agreement included a clause whereby the United States would pay any French debts that were owed to U.S. citizens. Since the territory was uncharted land, no one knew its exact size. But the purchase doubled the size of the United States, roughly at the cost of \$.13 an acre.

This situation presented a dilemma for Jefferson, since his commissioners had far exceeded their original instructions. Having always adopted a strict interpretation of the Constitution, he had to balance his commitment to the principles of that document with his commitment to the idea of establishing an "empire of liberty," with the base of farmers he idealized, and also the elimination of any European colonial claims on the nation's western frontier. He was forced to temporarily dismiss his concerns vis-à-vis the Constitution and stand by the principle that guaranteed land for U.S. farmers and their expansionist efforts. Circumventing the Constitution proved to be expeditious, as Jefferson used the treaty-making powers granted to the president to cover this immense purchase. In late 1803, the American army was deployed to take formal control of the Louisiana Territory. With that action, the United States became 828,000 square miles larger than it had been in 1800.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Bonaparte, Napoleon; French Empire; French Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Manifest Destiny; United States

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Louis-Philippe of France (1773–1850)

Louis-Philippe of Orléans, son of the regicide Philippe Egalité of Orléans, survived the French Revolution after deserting from the army in 1793 and spent twenty years in exile in the United States and England before returning during the Bourbon restoration to reclaim his estates and large fortune. When the revolution of 1830 broke out against Charles X, Louis-Philippe, who had the support of liberal politicians and the press, became the general of the realm and then was proclaimed king of the French (rather than king of France) by the marquis of Lafayette. Friendly toward the rising middle class and business interests, the new regime and its "citizen-king" were still politically very conservative and left many bourgeois liberals unsatisfied and demanding electoral and social reform.

In foreign policy, Louis-Philippe encouraged English-French relations, and he assisted in the independence of Belgium in 1831, later seeing his daughter become queen of Belgium after marrying Leopold I. He also inherited the French interest in Algeria, which began in 1830. Although there were few colonists, France stepped in to formally conquer Algeria after resistance from Abd al-Qadir, a charismatic Islamic leader, and it was finally successful under Gen. Thomas-Robert Bugeaud in the late 1830s. Thereafter, Algeria was promoted by the French Crown as a colony and as a penal settlement for political enemies. Significantly, Louis-Philippe created the French Foreign Legion in 1831 for use in the Algerian fighting.

Ultimately, Louis-Philippe's government, which was crippled by weak ministers and resisted by journalists and secret societies such as the Carbonari as well as challenges from Bourbon legitimists and followers of Louis Napoleon, ignited rebellion by suppressing a political campaign by liberals to extend the franchise. The resulting 1848 revolution deposed Louis-Philippe and instituted a provisional government, quickly replaced by

Louis Napoleon. Louis-Philippe died in exile in England in 1850.

Margaret Sankey

See also Algeria; French Empire; French Revolution

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L'Ouverture, François Dominique Toussaint (1743 or 1744–1803)

Toussaint L'Ouverture was the leader of a revolt in St. Domingue (now Haiti) that led to the first black-governed French protectorate and eventually to the first free black country in the Caribbean. As a boy and youth, Toussaint learned French and Latin from his Catholic godfather, Pierre Baptiste, on the Gao-Guinou plantation. His father taught him herbal medicine. An enthusiastic reader, he sought inspiration from Moses, the apostle Paul, and Abbé Raynal, an avid abolitionist. Yet as a teenager, he did not participate in the Mackandal rebellion of 1759, in which a number of slaves plotted to poison masters through their water supplies and animals. Later, Toussaint would find other ways to overcome slavery.

Freed in 1777 at about the age of thirty-three, he joined the ranks of a growing class of freed-people whose count swelled from 6,000 in 1771 to 28,000 at the time of the French Revolution in 1789. In September 1791, the Colonial Assembly in Paris gave citizenship to free people of color such as Toussaint. When the French within the Departments of the West and South tried to revoke those rights, Toussaint sided with leaders of a new slave uprising, Jean-François and Biassou. Not opposed to whites on the basis of race and in fact having good relationships with plantation owners and with the Acadian and German people in the Department of the North, Toussaint at first only took positions such as doctor and aide-de-camp to help the slaves' cause. As an aide-de-camp, he obtained supplies and arms from the Spanish. He also had a hand in turning over the Department of the North to the Spanish. In the meantime, the British planned to attack. The situation forced Civil Commissioner Leger Felicite Sonthonax to free the slaves in August 1793; six



Seen in this posthumous portrait, Toussaint L'Ouverture helped win Haitian independence from France in the 1790s. L'Ouverture was later captured by the French and died in prison in 1803. (Library of Congress)

months later, the French General Assembly ratified this move. In May 1794, right after the official French declaration, Toussaint began to distinguish himself as a military leader, well trained by his previous successors. Turning on Jean-François and Biassou (both monarchists), Toussaint replaced the Spanish flag with a French one within the Department of the North. Such a move became a turning point in Haitian history. In July 1795, Spain finally ceded their eastern half of Hispaniola to France. Though Toussaint had shown great military skill, he was also a man of compassion. For example, when he found women and children of different colors in desperate situations due to war, he got them help through the Sisters of Charity.

After both Biassou and Jean-François left the island, Toussaint began to show leadership skills that went beyond the battlefield. In April 1796, he became lieutenant governor under Gen. Étienne Laveaux. The latter dubbed him the “Spartacus of Haiti” and declared that Abbé Raynal had foretold his prominence. As lieutenant governor, Toussaint led blacks and mulattoes to support the white governor. Cleverly assessing his situation, however,

Toussaint promoted an election for representatives to the French National Assembly, in which Laveaux and Sonthonax became the main candidates. In effect, Toussaint pushed for indirect rule of St. Domingue. Having won the election with Toussaint's support, Laveaux left in October 1796, and Sonthonax left in August 1797. Toussaint then became promoted to governor-general and commander in chief.

Between 1796 and 1801, Toussaint worked toward ridding the entire island of Hispaniola of foreign domination. French royalists sequestered at St. Marc asked the British for help in 1796. The British hired German Hussars to help them. More than any other factor, yellow fever worked on the side of the revolutionaries. In March 1798, Gen. Thomas Maitland arrived to negotiate with Toussaint. At that time, he brought up the idea of St. Domingue declaring independence from France. But Toussaint was not ready to do that yet. The British left in October 1798, as did the Acadian and German populations. Meanwhile, though the eastern part of Hispaniola remained technically under French control, Spanish captain-general Don Jaquin Garcia y Moreno refused to leave. After a short drive to Santo Domingo City, Toussaint claimed the entirety of the island for France in January 1801. He stepped forward as the new governor-general of Hispaniola.

Within six months, Toussaint wrote a new constitution without getting approval from France, the first consul, or France's new leader, Napoleon Bonaparte. The constitution abolished slavery, made Catholicism the state religion, and set Toussaint in the position of governor-general for life. Though continued allegiance to France was declared in this document, British and U.S. leaders saw it as a declaration of independence. Napoleon saw it as a first step in that direction and therefore sent his brother-in-law, Gen. Charles Leclerc, to reinstate French rule in St. Domingue. Leclerc not only did this but also oversaw the arrest and deportation of Toussaint to a French prison. Toussaint died there in 1803. His former general Jean-Jacques Dessalines became the first president of a free Haiti a year later.

Lauren Ann Kattner

See also Bonaparte, Napoleon; French Empire; French Revolution; Haiti; Hispaniola; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Lugard, Lord Frederick (1858–1945)

Soldier, administrator, and diplomat, Lord Frederick Lugard was regarded by contemporaries as Britain's foremost authority on colonial affairs. He was born in India, the son of missionaries, and received a brief education in Britain. After attending Sandhurst, he returned to India as a military officer in 1878 and served in campaigns in Afghanistan, in Sudan, and, with distinction, in Burma. In 1887, however, after a personal misfortune, Lugard left active duty and ventured to Africa, where he offered his services to a series of chartered companies. In 1888, he led an African Lakes Company column against slave traders on Lake Nyasa, and later, from 1890 to 1892, he commanded the Imperial British East Africa Company garrison at Mengo, the capital of Buganda. It was in Buganda that Lugard first made his reputation, gaining favorable treaty terms for the company after intervening in an indigenous civil war.

Lugard returned to Africa in 1894 as head of police for the Royal Niger Company. He took charge of the West African Expeditionary Force during the scramble for the interior and rose rapidly in rank. Lugard gained official notice in West Africa, however, not so much as a soldier but rather as a decisive and pragmatic administrator. As high commissioner in northern Nigeria from 1900 to 1906, Lugard maintained British hegemony over conquered peoples through a policy of indirect rule. His administration retained compliant indigenous rulers, and in local affairs, it supported the application of Islamic law. Rather than imposing an entirely new regime, Lugard instead co-opted and reconfigured existing institutions to maintain and later extend official control. After a brief stint as governor of Hong Kong, Lugard became the first governor of Nigeria, from 1912 to

1918. He again proved an active policy maker, promoting indirect rule across the south and orchestrating the political amalgamation of the north and south, accomplishments that led one biographer to dub him “the maker of modern Nigeria” (Perham 1956).

Despite Lord Lugard’s long résumé as a colonial “man on the spot,” it should be noted that his reputation was not entirely cemented in the field. He was a prolific author and engaging public speaker and in fact took frequent home leave to promote both colonial policies and his own career. In 1893, while still a young officer, he published *The Rise of Our East African Empire* and plunged into imperial politics with a British speaking tour advocating the colonial annexation of Uganda. Thereafter, he became a frequent contributor to academic and popular journals, as well as many leading newspapers—often chronicling his own military campaigns or administrative accomplishments. On policy matters, he later published *Political Memoranda*, his instructions on amalgamation and indirect rule in Nigeria, and *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, on indirect rule. Lord Lugard led an active retirement, working as a colonial educational adviser, serving on the League of Nations Mandates Commission, chairing the International Africa Institute, and, of course, speaking and writing on African affairs.

Laird Jones

See also British East Africa Company; British Empire; League of Nations; Nigeria; Theories of Imperialism; Uganda

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Lumumba, Patrice (1925–1961)

Patrice Lumumba was a complex and often contradictory politician who played a central role in the chaotic decolonization in the Belgian Congo. Born in 1925 in Kivu Province, he completed primary school at a Catholic mission in 1943, worked as a clerk for a mining company, took vocational training at Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), then

moved to Stanleyville (now Kisangani), where he worked as a postal clerk. It was a pattern typical of many *evolués* (“evolved” ones), that underclass of Western-educated and urbanized Africans who kept the colonial system functioning. Despite his limited education, he was a good writer and brilliant orator.

The recession of the mid-1950s led to high rates of urban unemployment and mounting discontent in Africa. In 1956, an *evolué* group in Leopoldville issued a manifesto calling for independence in thirty years. Joseph Kasavubu, leader of the Alliance des Ba-Kongo (ABAKO), and Patrice Lumumba joined the chorus for immediate independence. Lumumba soon proved an adroit leader, playing off divisions among the Belgians while consolidating control over his Mouvement National Congolais (MNC). However, in his quest for control, Lumumba alienated many erstwhile allies who formed parochial, mainly ethnic or regional, splinter parties, often with the secret support of Belgian colonial interests. MNC support was thus undermined in the electorate.

In response to urban riots in 1959, the Belgian government announced it was prepared for an immediate transfer of power, with hastily organized general elections in May 1960. Lumumba and the MNC advocated a unitary state with a strong central government and emerged as the largest party in the national assembly but were unable to govern without a coalition, as parochial, tribal-based parties dominated the provincial assemblies and hence the national senate. Lumumba did become the first prime minister, with Kasavubu as president. Within days, the army mutinied, and with the support of Belgian mining companies, Katanga Province declared its independence under Governor Moïse Tshombe. Lumumba appealed to the United Nations for support, but its response was colored by the Cold War, with Lumumba portrayed as a pro-Communist, antiwhite extremist. In September 1960, President Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba. With the connivance of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, Joseph Mobutu, the army chief of staff, arrested Lumumba and handed him over to his enemies in Katanga, who murdered him on January 17, 1961.

David Dorward

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Belgian Congo; Belgium; Tshombe, Moïse; United Nations; United States

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Lunda

The Bantu-speaking Lunda originated in the south of today's Democratic Republic of Congo and spread to northeastern Angola and northwestern and northern Zambia. By the sixteenth century a ruler, who descended in part from the neighboring Luba people and whose heirs bore the title of Mwata Yamvo, created a state in the savannah along the Kasai and other rivers. The state expanded its power and created a central administration, but it did not rule over all Lunda peoples. Some Lunda, far from the Mwata Yamvo's control, established autonomous kingdoms. The Lunda participated in an extensive local trade, exchanging crops from the slash-and-burn agricultural system for items like salt and metals, especially copper. The Mwata Yamvos created a tributary relationship with Lunda areas not directly under their control.

By the eighteenth century the centrally located Lunda engaged in an extensive interregional trade that would extend to both the west and the east coasts of Africa to merge with the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trading networks. In the west, the Portuguese in Angola stimulated Lunda interest in guns and cloth by creating a demand for slaves and ivory, which the Lunda filled. The Lunda also traded eastward with the Arabs of the Swahili coast and the Portuguese along the Zambezi River in Mozambique. Lunda prisoners and especially non-Lunda captured in war or raids were a source of people for the slave trade.

During the eighteenth century a group of Lunda founded the Kazembe state under successive rulers with the title Mwata Kazembe. Kazembe centered on the Luapula Valley, which now separates Congo and Zambia, and exploited a large trade in ivory until the elephants declined in

numbers due to overhunting. The Kazembe Lunda had primary contacts with the Portuguese in Mozambique.

The Mwata Yamvos' Lunda state in Congo and its vast trade network, harassed by the Chokwe people among others, and in the face of expanding Portuguese and Belgian colonial influence, declined in the mid-nineteenth century. The Kazembe Lunda state suffered a similar fate at about the same time.

The administrations of King Leopold II's Congo Free State and of the later Belgian colony of Congo urged the Lunda and others to work in the copper and other mines of the southeast. The Belgians ruled through established Lunda authorities; thus the Lunda preserved their historical traditions and hierarchy. When the Belgians precipitously ended their colonial rule in 1959, Moïse Tshombe, as the prime minister of the southeastern province of Katanga, led a resurgent Lunda people in resistance not only to the Chokwe and Luba but to the central authority of the newly independent Congolese state as well, attempting to form a breakaway republic. The Congolese ended the secession of Katanga, and it was reintegrated into Congo as Shaba Province.

Henry J. Antkiewicz

See also Belgium; Congo Free State; Leopold II; Mozambique; Northern Rhodesia; Portuguese Empire; Tshombe, Moïse

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Luxemburg, Rosa (1871–1919)

Rosa Luxemburg was an important Marxist thinker, a founding member of both the radical Polish socialist party—Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland (in 1893)—and the German Communist Party (in 1918), and a critic of Vladimir Lenin's theories of party organization and nationalism. Her ideas on colonial matters are found in several works she authored: *The Polish Question and the Socialist Movement* (1905), *The Problem of Nationality and Autonomy* (1908–1909), *Capitalist Accumulation* (1913), and the *Junius Brochure* (1916).

Luxemburg, like Karl Marx, regarded European capitalist colonial rule as progressive because it in-

dustrialized precapitalist societies. But Marx analyzed capitalism in only one country, whereas Luxemburg was the first to show how it had expanded throughout the world over several centuries. She claimed that capitalism needed precapitalist societies and would collapse without them. Although she provided no analysis of capitalism's effects in European colonies apart from noting that it destroyed the natural economy, she did explain that colonial acquisition predated capitalism, continued under twentieth-century imperialism, always involved violence, and was not necessarily dependent on state intervention.

Luxemburg argued that only European workers in the wake of European socialist revolutions could right the wrongs perpetrated by capitalism in colonies and liberate their "primitive peoples." Her refusal to recognize a right of national self-determination for colonized peoples derived from her study of modern Polish history. Russian capitalism, she concluded, had developed Polish industry after incorporation and, in the process, united the Polish and Russian working classes. Separatist Polish nationalism, she believed, threat-

ened not only the unity of the Russian and Polish working classes but also the centralized territorial integrity of the empire, which was necessary for economic development. Although Lenin's views on the "right of nations to self-determination" ultimately prevailed among socialists and defined Soviet policy toward the Third World, Luxemburg's arguments were seriously debated at the time, and many social democrats supported her views as opposed to Lenin's.

Stephen Velychenko

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Communism; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Marx, Karl; Soviet Union; Theories of Imperialism

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M

Macao (Macau)

The oldest Western enclave in East Asia, Macao, a small peninsula and island in south China, was settled in 1557 by the Portuguese, who paid annual ground rent to the Ming and Ch'ing (Qing) dynasties. In the Portuguese interpretation of the 1887 Treaty of Amity and Commerce, sovereignty over Macao was surrendered to Portugal, but the Chinese view was that only administrative rights were transferred. Macao was returned to Chinese rule on December 20, 1999, and became a special administrative region with considerable economic and political autonomy (except in defense and foreign affairs), an arrangement similar to that for Hong Kong.

Macao was a beachhead for Christianity in East Asia. The Portuguese built a large number of churches there, and many missionaries first studied the Chinese language and culture in Macao before proselytizing in China. Unlike other European colonial powers that enforced segregationist policies, Portugal encouraged miscegenation as part of its assimilationist colonial policy. Although the population remained predominantly Chinese (96 percent), there was also a Creole minority of mainly of Portuguese-Asian ancestry, known as the Macanese.

Macao was a significant entrepôt in East-West commerce as Portugal profited from the China-Japan-Manila trade in precious commodities. But its commercial power declined with the loss of the

Japan trade in 1639 and competition from Holland and Britain. Macao was further eclipsed by the rise of Hong Kong after its acquisition by Britain in 1842. Macao's economy was sustained by revenues from government monopolies in opium and gambling. Nonetheless, a Chinese bourgeoisie and some export industries did emerge by the early twentieth century, laying the foundations of Macao's subsequent development into an export-oriented industrial center and its current status as a major information, communication, and financial center linking China to the wider world.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Hong Kong; Portuguese Empire

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MacArthur, Douglas (1880–1964)

U.S. Army general Douglas MacArthur was one of the principal Allied commanders during World War II. He was closely associated with the decay of the traditional imperialism in the Pacific and the decolonization of the Philippines.

General MacArthur's experience as a colonial military administrator began with his service as the commander of the Military District of Manila from 1922 to 1928, when he also supervised the

Philippine Scout Brigade (native troops), and as the commander of the army's Philippine Department in 1928 and 1929. During his assignments in Manila, MacArthur established and maintained close ties with the Philippine political elite. In 1934, as the U.S. Army chief of staff, MacArthur drafted a bill to provide the coming self-ruled Philippine Commonwealth with a U.S. military mission that would help the new country build up its national army. From 1935 to 1937, MacArthur directed the organization of the national defense of the Philippines, although the country did not have the strength to protect itself from the Japanese threat. Promoted to field marshal of the Philippine army in 1936 (he retired from the U.S. Army the same year), MacArthur strongly supported self-determination for the Philippines and advocated the granting of complete independence to the country in 1938 instead of 1946 as planned, believing that would be the most effective way to secure U.S. positions there.

At the same time, political intrigues in Washington as well as the growing controversy about MacArthur's political ambitions obstructed his intense lobbying to secure an appointment as a governor-general and later as the U.S. high commissioner to the Philippines. In 1941, MacArthur was recalled to service in the U.S. Army and headed the U.S.-Philippine forces, which resisted the Japanese invasion until the spring of 1942. His activity as the supreme allied commander in the southwestern Pacific, based in Australia, and the U.S. presence there from 1942 to 1945 weakened the traditional ties that bound the Australians with the British Empire and reoriented the country toward the United States. MacArthur himself was suspicious about British wartime imperialist intentions in the Pacific and doubted the postwar future of European rule in the Dutch East Indies and French Indochina. At the same time, he strongly opposed revolutionary nationalism and suggested Philippine-style, gradual self-determination as a model for postwar Asia. Moreover, in order to secure Allied cooperation, facilitate military operations, and avoid political turmoil, he agreed to reestablish colonial administrations in the European colonies liberated from the Japanese.

In 1944 and 1945, MacArthur actively exercised his enormous influence in Philippine politics to isolate left-wing political groups and guarantee

U.S. interests in the country on the eve of its independence. As the supreme commander for Allied powers in occupied Japan from 1945 to 1951 and commander of the United Nations forces during the Korean War in 1950 and 1951, MacArthur contributed significantly to the growth of the informal U.S. empire in East Asia.

Peter Rainow

See also Japanese Empire; Korea; Manila; Philippines; United Nations; United States; World War II

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Macmillan, (Maurice) Harold (1894–1986)

Grandson of the founder of the Macmillan publishing house and educated at Eton and Balliol, Harold Macmillan was thrice wounded in World War I. As a Conservative member of Parliament, he was a progressive by instinct and, with Winston Churchill, a critic of appeasement.

In December 1942, he became minister resident in North Africa, remaining until May 1945. Going on to hold high office under Churchill's and Anthony Eden's 1951–1957 governments—variously serving as minister of housing, defense, and foreign affairs and as chancellor of the exchequer—he supported the ill-fated Anglo-French occupation of the Suez Canal in November 1956. Macmillan then abandoned his support precipitately in the face of U.S. pressure, ironically becoming one of the main political beneficiaries of the humiliation at Suez when he became prime minister following Eden's resignation over the disastrous campaign.

After replacing Eden as prime minister (a post he held from January 1957 to October 1963), he quickly ordered an audit of the empire, one that some see as a prelude to refocusing energies away from empire and toward the nuclear deterrent, Anglo-American partnership, and attempts to modernize Britain and enter the European Economic Community (EEC).

Pressure for decolonization mounted in the face of African protests, French moves toward

leaving Algeria in 1961 and 1962, and the descent into chaos in the Congo. To this, Macmillan added his own desire to vacate Britain's colonies in time to preserve goodwill, so as to turn recalcitrant colonies into happy Commonwealth partners: a "third British Empire."

Following an emergency in Nyasaland and the beating death of some Mau Mau detainees in Kenya, both of which occurred in 1959, Macmillan told black and white Africans on a 1960 tour that the winds of change were blowing through Africa. His new colonial secretary, Iain Macleod, brought independence swiftly to Cyprus and Nigeria (1960), Sierra Leone and the Cameroons (1961), Western Samoa and Uganda (1962), and Kenya and Zanzibar (1963). New defense plans from 1957 also aimed at controlling spending and ending conscription.

At the same time, Macmillan's goal was to preserve rather than terminate Britain's status as a world power. Defense plans mutated into a new "East of Suez" policy, emphasizing mobile forces to be projected worldwide via a string of strategic bases and air-staging posts. Macmillan also secured increased Anglo-American cooperation in the intelligence and nuclear fields and attempted to remain a major player in Cold War negotiations.

Karl A. Hack

See also British Empire; Cameroon; Cyprus; Decolonization; Kenya; Mau Mau; Nigeria; Nyasaland; Sierra Leone; Suez Canal; Uganda; Zanzibar

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Madagascar (Malagasy Republic)

The fourth largest island on earth, Madagascar lies in the Indian Ocean 250 miles from Mozambique. Its 15 million inhabitants are predominantly of

Asian origin. Archaeological, genetic, and linguistic evidence indicates that the first settlers were Indonesians who arrived early in the common era. Muslim Arabs and Bantu arrived about 1,000 years ago. After 1500, Portuguese and French traders landed repeatedly in Madagascar to exchange guns and merchandise for cattle and slaves captured by local rulers in wars, but they did not establish permanent settlements. Pirates operated from the island.

Madagascar was populated by internal migration before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Its numerous small independent states were formed by semipastoralist clans, rather than distinct ethnic groups. A caste system prevailed; societies included nobles, freepeople, and slaves. By the eighteenth century, the Merina Kingdom on the central plateau became dominant. A succession of Marina rulers negotiated with British and French colonizers. Early in the nineteenth century, the British controlled the Indian Ocean. They used Madagascar as a source of supplies for nearby colonies and provided military advisers and educational training in exchange for access to resources and a promise to abolish slavery. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, they lost interest in Madagascar.

The French, in turn, colonized the island in 1896. Slavery was abolished, and over 1 million slaves were emancipated. Governor Joseph-Simon Galliéni unified the island by force under French administration, imposed the teaching of French in schools, improved sanitary conditions, and built roads. Life became Westernized, and half the population was baptized, but rebellion continued. In 1947, political struggle in Madagascar erupted into violence, and thousands perished. Madagascar gained independence thirteen years later, in 1960.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Decolonization; French Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; War and Warfare

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Magellan, Ferdinand (c. 1480–1521)

An explorer and navigator, Ferdinand Magellan was born in Portugal and educated at the court of

Manuel I, where he studied astronomy and navigation. Between 1505 and 1512, he sailed repeatedly to India with Portuguese expeditions to seize control of sea-lanes around Africa and in the Indian Ocean, secure the Malacca Strait, and explore the Moluccas. Travels and studies convinced him that a western route to the Moluccas could be found south of South America and across the ocean that Vasco Balboa had sighted. King Manuel, however, did not trust him, so Magellan turned to Manuel's rival, Charles I of Spain. He persuaded Charles I to authorize an expedition by reminding him that under terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas, discovery of a western passage would put the Moluccas under Spanish, rather than Portuguese, domination.

In 1519, under Charles I's sponsorship, Magellan sailed to search for the passage. After landing in Brazil, he took his five ships southward, discovered the strait that now bears his name, and continued north-northwest on the ocean that he named Pacific because of its calm waters. He landed in what are now the Philippines, his forces reduced to two ships. Some crewmen had mutinied—they did not trust Magellan, whom they viewed as Portuguese—and others perished simply due to the rigors of the long and arduous voyage. Magellan had greatly underestimated the size of the Pacific, and the crews ran out of food and were stricken by scurvy. Thus, Magellan decided to stay in the Philippines for a while to load fresh supplies, establish a base, and convert natives. He was killed in a local skirmish, but both his ships headed back to Spain. One reversed the route and was captured by the Portuguese. The other, under the command of Juan Sebastián de Elcano, continued toward the Moluccas, loaded spices, and returned to Spain in 1522, completing the first circumnavigation of the earth.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Exploration; Philippines; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire

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Mahdi, Muhammed al- (1844–1885)

An Islamic mystic and anticolonial leader of the late nineteenth century, Muhammed Ahmad al-Mahdi,

as he is known in the West, led an armed campaign against British colonialists in the Sudan, culminating in the capture of the colonial capital of Khartoum and the killing of Maj. Gen. Charles George Gordon, the British military commander there. The Sudanese campaign and the Battle of Khartoum represented one of the greatest—if temporary—setbacks to British colonialism in Africa.

Al-Mahdi, whose complete name was Muhammed Ahmad Ibn As-Sayyid 'Abd Allah (al-Mahdi is an Arabic title meaning “divinely guided one”) was born in 1844 to an artisan family but quickly showed a passion for religious study, soon becoming a spiritual and political leader. Al-Mahdi gathered around him Sudanese who were angry with the British and their Egyptian allies who helped rule over the Sudan for a variety of reasons, including their oppressive fiscal policies, their brutal policing, their efforts to ban the slave trade, and their presence—as non-Muslims—in an Islamic region.

Turning against the collaborationist Sudanese elite as well, al-Mahdi revealed to his followers in 1881 that he had been divinely appointed to rid the Nile Valley of Sudan of the infidel British and their Egyptian puppets. Over the next four years, al-Mahdi led a growing army of rebels in three decisive victories over British-officered, Egyptian-manned armies. On January 26, 1885, his forces captured Khartoum after a lengthy siege, with Gordon killed in the waning hours of the battle.

With the British defeated, al-Mahdi established his Islamic empire, moving his capital across the Nile to Omdurman and setting up an administration. But his reign was brief. He died in June 1885, most likely of typhus. Without his leadership, the Mahdist empire collapsed, though it was not until 1898 that the British, under Horatio Kitchener, reestablished control over the Sudan.

Although al-Mahdi was reviled in the West as a murderer and religious fanatic at the height of his powers in the 1880s, he has since become a hero to both secular and religious Sudanese nationalists.

James Ciment

See also British Empire; Gordon, Charles G.; Khartoum; Kitchener, Lord Horatio Herbert; Sudan

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Mahmud II (1785–1839)

Cautious reformer, unlucky general, and workaholic—all these terms describe the Ottoman Empire's Mahmud II. Rising to power in 1808 after two years of coups and countercoups, he faced immediate challenges from external enemies and the Janissary Corps. The latter was a reactionary clique of soldiers, notorious for making and breaking previous sultans. Janissaries were also an obstacle to military reform at a time when predatory neighbors called Turkey “the sick man of Europe.” Russia was a principal party in the latter group, attacking Mahmud's holdings during the Russo-Turkish wars (1808–1812 and 1828–1829). These conflicts displayed the terrible state of the Ottoman army and also encouraged regional uprisings in the Balkans, the Middle East, and Egypt. The uprisings ranged from genuine wars of independence to power grabs by local warlords, such as Muhammad Ali in Egypt. This combination of internal and external threats loomed over every year of the sultan's reign. June 1826 marked a major turning point and a considerable triumph for Mahmud: the destruction of the Janissary Corps. A Western-style army followed, along with civic, religious, and educational reforms. Indeed, Mahmud's principal accomplishment was his success in legitimizing reform, thus laying the groundwork for the *Tanzimat* era of reform of his successor, Abdul ul-Mejid.

John P. Dunn

See also Ali, Muhammad; Egypt; Ottoman Empire

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Maji Maji

A popular rebellion against colonial rule, Maji Maji began in the Rufiji River valley in mid-1905 and rapidly spread across the southern and central regions of German East Africa. The rebellion involved a variety of communities and peoples, many of them frustrated by mounting colonial exactions. In the decade following the conquest by Germany, most had been forced to accept German-appointed local officials (*akidas* or *jumbes*, as they were titled) in place of indigenous political authorities. Through them, the German administration levied commodity and later cash taxes. Fur-

ther, intrusive German settlers and missions made escalating demands for local land and labor. And even though severe drought caused widespread hardship in 1903 and 1904, officials imposed a compulsory cotton-growing scheme in the coastal hinterland in 1905 that forced peasants to plant and tend communal cotton plots. Separately, these exactions disrupted rural communities—threatening social life, eroding political autonomy, and reducing food production. Cumulatively, however, they stretched resources to the breaking point.

In late 1905, various rebel groups burned cotton fields, attacked mission stations, and accosted local appointed officials. After initial successes, however, few pressed the fight beyond their own immediate regions, and thus, the rebellion unfolded as a widely scattered series of local actions. Interestingly, many of the participants were loosely united by religious ideology. Most were adherents of ancestral spirit cults and practitioners of divination and spiritual medicine. According to many oral accounts, a man named Kinjikitile, a shaman reputedly possessed by a powerful spirit, began to dispense a special war medicine, or *maji*, in 1904. He maintained that this special water would render those who took it invulnerable to German bullets. Travelers disseminated Kinjikitile's words and medicine to distressed communities throughout 1904 and 1905. The water was generally administered by blowing or sprinkling, an act referred to by the redoubled form, *maji maji*—the name German colonial writers later gave the uprising.

German colonial forces brutally put down the rebellion in several rural campaigns in 1906 and 1907. They targeted crops and livestock, burning and starving out the rebels. Colonial military and civilian casualties were light; the vast majority of deaths were caused by rural famine in the rebellion's aftermath.

Laird Jones

See also German Empire; War and Warfare

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Malaysia

Much of Malaysia’s modern and colonial history began in Melaka. Located on the straits between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, this port-state was an international entrepôt that attracted traders from around the world, including the Portuguese in the early 1500s. Merchants used Melaka to warehouse and exchange Indian textiles, Maluku spices, and other trade goods while they waited for the monsoon winds that had carried them to the region to reverse and take them home. The Portuguese, who described Melaka as having “no equal in the world,” soon realized after their arrival in India that controlling the spice trade meant conquering Melaka, which they did in 1511. The Melakan sultanate fled the Portuguese, moving down the peninsula and eventually becoming the Kingdom of Johor. In the 1630s, the Dutch East India Company, or VOC, was busy securing a monopoly over the spice trade and sought Johor’s assistance in capturing Melaka from the Portuguese in 1641. Late-seventeenth-century regicide in Johor and the destabilizing influence of Dutch occupation, Thai invasions, and Bugis immigration on the peninsula destroyed any hopes of reviving the great Malay entrepôt states of the past. Throughout the eighteenth century, Malay tin, gold, and pepper continued to attract Malay, Chinese, and eventually British East India Company merchants.

As the VOC collapsed at the end of the 1700s, the British established themselves in the Straits Settlements at Penang in 1786, Melaka in 1795, and Singapore, which was established by Thomas Stamford Raffles in 1819. The nineteenth century saw Sabah and Sarawak fall under the British sphere of influence, led by adventurers such as James Brooke, the “white rajah” of Sarawak. After the Pangkor Treaty of 1874, British indirect rule spread beyond the Straits Settlements as European residents (government advisers) became advisers to Malay polities.

Indigenous minerals and the plantation complex (coffee, tea, rubber) took British Malaya full-speed into the world industrial economy and en-

couraged additional Chinese settlers, who dominated the local economy, and South Asians (mostly Tamils), who were brought in for cheap labor; the Malays were largely left out of any economic developments. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the British governed by dividing their subjects through a tripartite social order in which economic function was tied to race. Known as the “plural society,” this social structure essentialized certain ethnic, cultural, and economic traits that each group was thought to possess, a notion that became deeply entrenched in Malaysia: the Chinese, who were mostly urban, ran the mines, construction, and the retail trades while providing most of the British revenue; indentured Indians provided the backbreaking plantation labor; and Malays languished in rural poverty. Interaction among the three groups was (and remains) slight, and little consideration was given to marginal or mixed-race groups.

Decolonization in what was to be Malaysia began suddenly on December 8, 1941. The day after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, they raced unimpeded through British Malaya, conquering all of Southeast Asia. Earlier anticolonial and nationalist movements gained momentum under the Japanese, and when the British returned, they agreed to work toward Malaysian independence. The mostly ethnic-Chinese Communists violently resisted the Japanese interregnum and subsequent British rule. Making concessions to the ethnic Malays, Britain united all its territories under the Federation of Malaya in 1948, guaranteeing Malays political supremacy. A Malaysian government led by a coalition of elite Malays and wealthy Chinese and Indians was granted independence on August 31, 1957.

Eric A. Jones

See also British Empire; Coffee; Dutch East India Company; Pearl Harbor; Raffles, Sir (Thomas) Stamford; Rubber; War and Warfare

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Malta

Malta is a rocky island measuring just 122 square miles. Yet its position near the narrowest part of the central Mediterranean, between Sicily and the

African coast, has attracted a succession of rulers: Carthaginian, Roman, Arab, Norman, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and Napoleon in 1798. Britain took Malta in 1800, formally annexing it as a crown colony in 1814. Its expansive Grand Harbor then became home to Britain's Mediterranean fleet until 1979.

Malta had a legislative assembly from 1921, but British disputes with Malta's Roman Catholic Church saw it thrice suspended. At the same time, Britain encouraged a separate Maltese identity to counter Italian influence. The Maltese economy was also heavily dependent on Royal Navy bases. In World War II, these bases became an important link in Britain's Mediterranean supply route to North Africa, attracting heavy German and Italian bombing. The island was awarded the George Cross in April 1942 for its inhabitants' resistance to the Nazis and Italians.

Internal self-government was restored in 1947. Malta's Labour Party, perhaps reflecting the interests of dockyard workers, came to support integration with Britain. Its opponent, Gïogio Borg Olivier of the church-oriented Nationalist Party (PN), did not. Facing defense cuts and mounting unemployment, three-quarters of the Maltese voted for integration with the United Kingdom in a February 1956 referendum. In March, London offered a five-year experiment. The Maltese government, annoyed by London's ambivalence and by the scope of economic aid, rejected the plan in 1958.

The basic problem was that Malta wanted base facilities maintained and compensatory aid for any reductions in the military presence, whereas Britain sought reduced defense expenditures. As tensions mounted, the governor resorted to direct rule from 1959 to 1961, and following that, both major parties advocated independence. So when self-government was restored in 1961 and Borg Olivier of the PN was returned as prime minister in 1962, independence was demanded. It came on September 21, 1964, along with ten-year agreements with Britain on defense and \$50 million in loans and grants.

Before the ten years were up, the Labour Party returned to power in 1971. It veered toward non-alignment, ending the 1964 defense agreement. A new, seven-year agreement replaced it in 1972, providing military facilities at an increased rent, before the British finally withdrew in 1979. Malta

remains a Commonwealth member and since 1990 has sought membership in the European Community (known as the European Union beginning in 1993).

Karl A. Hack

See also British Empire; Napoleon; World War II

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Malthus, Thomas (1766–1834)

In 1798, Thomas Malthus—an English clergyman and political economist—published an essay that garnered the attention of both Europeans and Americans. As a native of England, he observed the growing population and ultimate overcrowding of his own country. Malthus's observation was that population increased more rapidly than agricultural production. This observation provided him with the main thesis of his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, in which he stated that “the power of population is definitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man.” He continued in grim prose as he warned of optimistic delusions about steady improvement in the quality of human life. He predicted a future filled with escalating misery, as later populations had the potential of surpassing food supplies.

Thomas Jefferson took Malthus's warnings seriously but did not feel that U.S. expansionism or colonialism was in imminent danger. He felt that the Englishman failed to understand the massive amounts of land that would enable the United States to escape Europe's fate; the food supply could always outpace population growth. His optimism regarding the country's potential was compelling but not realistic. Later years saw the American republic sharing many of the social and economic problems that troubled Malthus's nineteenth-century Europe. America's belief in its own exceptionalism was more limited than Jefferson had imagined, but it provided the justification for population growth and expansion despite Malthus's convincing and persuasive essay.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Population and Demographics

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Malvinas, Islas

See Falklands Islands

Manchuria

Ancestral homeland of the Manchus who ruled China from 1644 until the 1911 revolution, Manchuria is located in northeast China. Rich in minerals and agricultural resources, it became an arena of imperialist competition between Russia and Japan from the late nineteenth century onward. After its victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, Japan gained Russia's rights and interests in south Manchuria, including the port of Dairen (Dalian), the naval base of Port Arthur (Lüshun), and the South Manchurian Railway.

The Japanese Kwantung army seized Manchuria after the Manchurian Incident of 1931 when Japanese troops seized the city of Mukden. In 1932, Japan installed the puppet regime of Manchukuo, and Manchuria became the strategic center of Japan's colonial empire and the model for Japanese programs in Asian regions occupied subsequently by Japan in the Pacific War. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, the wartime bloc of Asian nations under Japanese leadership, was anticipated by a bold program of coordinated industrialization in Japan and Manchukuo to create a self-sufficient production sphere. A plan was launched to settle 5 million Japanese farmers in twenty years to relieve economic depression at home and to create a new generation of "continental Japanese" to secure colonial domination. The representation of the Japanese colonial state as an ally of anticolonial independence and techniques for the mobilization of local support for Japanese rule set the pattern for later collaborationist regimes in occupied China and Japanese administrations in Southeast Asia.

After Japan's defeat in 1945, reprisals and violence were directed against Japanese settlers; only 140,000 out of 223,000 made it back to Japan. Manchuria became the base region from which the Chinese Communist Party subsequently launched a successful civil war campaign, culminating in its victory in 1949.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Chinese Communist Party; Japanese Empire; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War; World War II

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Maniam, K. S. (1942–)

K. S. Maniam was born in Malaysia and still lives in that country. He is one of Southeast Asia's major novelists writing in English, despite the fact that in the postindependence era, English, considered to be an imperial language, fell into official disuse in the country. Although many of Maniam's characters are Malaysians of Indian ancestry, the author's preoccupations go far beyond the ambitions and struggles of any single ethnic group. His characters live in a multiracial world that resembles modern-day Malaysia, a world still reeling from the overindulgences of colonialism and now caught up in the throes of yet another hegemonic enterprise. Maniam's characters are recognizable folk with familiar foibles and strengths.

In his plays, novels, and short stories, Maniam employs and creates myths to tell the story of the self—migrant, half-formed, unformed, and dismembered. In the works, the self is remade from creative reintegration and a series of metamorphoses; it takes as parts of itself all influences and personages that have affected it, afflicted it, lived with it, and died with it. In the making and remaking of the individual, these elements and influences are reborn into things unlike themselves, although the individual is still faced with the temptation to take the side of this or that race. At their best, the characters are all dedicated to building families, a nation, and a world

that favor no one on the basis of ethno-political affiliation.

Daizal R. Samad

See also British Empire; Literature; Malaysia

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Manifest Destiny

American journalist John L. O'Sullivan wrote in 1845 of the expansionist fervor that gripped the United States, claiming it was the nation's "manifest destiny to overspread the continent." Yet the United States was not alone in its fervor; O'Sullivan not only gave a dramatic voice but also supplied a long overdue label to a well-developed national disposition that had deep roots in Western tradition. The concept of manifest destiny evolved long before 1845 and was not limited to the American people. The United States, beginning with its colonial past, utilized the essence of the concept and placed it on a higher philosophical plane. The nationalistic expansionist movement in the United States was based on a moral ideology and appeared as an inherent quality justifying itself as a natural right.

Natural right formed the historical foundation that was later used as an explanation and underlying ideology for the manifest destiny movement. The beginnings of this idea can be traced back to Greek philosophers; later, stoic philosophers and indeed basic Roman legal beliefs followed the same reasoning that natural rights were among the truths contained in natural law. This logic formed a rational basis for the physical and moral universe in the centuries that followed, and thus, the concept of natural right came to embrace two principles in Western tradition—secular and sacred—setting the stage for expansionist nationalism and colonialism and imperialism as well.

This version of a "chosen people" doctrine became an early cornerstone of popular ideology among the Germanic peoples and later in England as the New Anglican Church under Elizabeth I adopted the essence of its message in the late sixteenth century. These ideas were planted especially

well on the frontiers of English expansionism. The intellectual ship that carried English settlers across the Atlantic also altered and then adopted an expansionist vision based on natural right as an essential principal of their colonial fervor. Similar philosophies motivated other European colonialists, as well as Chinese, Islamic, and other peoples bent on colonial expansion. In the United States, these ideologies were expressed in the doctrine of manifest destiny, and the main ingredients consisted of republicanism, democracy, freedom of religion, and Anglo-Saxonism.

The end of the American Revolution empowered the new nation and set it along a course that engaged the country in an unprecedented continental expansion under the guise of what Americans came to call manifest destiny. This total embrace of a powerful movement suggested to some that manifest destiny was a uniquely American philosophy. Certainly, the extension of the United States into the international arena in the second half of the nineteenth century drew on this idea. Leading Americans—notably Albert J. Beveridge, Theodore Roosevelt, and Alfred T. Mahan—turned the originally continental-based philosophy into wider aspirations of an American empire, notwithstanding the hemispheric limitations canonized in the early foreign policy pronouncements of President James Monroe. Thus, manifest destiny became a fundamental justification for American colonialism even though its roots actually lay deep in the Western intellectual tradition.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Indian Wars; Racism; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States

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Manila

Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is a product of the Spanish colonization of the Philippine archipelago. Originally called Intramuros, the city was established in 1571 by Miguel López de Legaspi in a deep and sheltered harbor on the shore of Manila Bay (in the southwest of the Luzon island). Gradually, it grew from a small seaport, which largely served military needs and colonial trade, to the twelfth largest metropolitan center in Asia.

For centuries, Manila was developed under the strong colonial and missionary influence of the Spanish Empire. During its early days, the city was heavily fortified to withstand military assaults from rival powers or raids by pirates. The inner part of the city was planned and built according to the classical seventeenth-century Spanish architectural tradition, and it was home to a seminary (founded by the Jesuits in 1601), churches, and office and residential buildings. By the late nineteenth century, Manila became famous for its beauty and was often referred to as “the Pearl of the Orient.”

British troops captured the city in 1762, but they departed two years later without leaving any significant marks on Manila. In 1898, after the Spanish troops were defeated in the Spanish-American War, Manila was occupied by the United States, which controlled the city for almost half a century. During the first half of the twentieth century, the city and especially its suburban areas grew rapidly into a major industrial center of the Philippines, with cigar and cigarette manufacturing, hemp and textile plants, and various industries producing leather goods and other items. During World War II, the Japanese Imperial Army invaded the Philippines and occupied Manila from January 1942 until February 1945. The Allied liberation of the city at the end of the war involved heavy bombing and house-to-house fighting, which destroyed most of the city. In fact, the destruction was so severe that it took more than a decade to rebuild the city.

Manila became the capital of the country after independence was granted in 1946; two years later, that designation was transferred to Quezon City. However, in 1976, Manila regained its former status as the capital of the Republic of the Philippines.

Rafis F. Abazov

See also Jesuits; Philippines; Spanish Empire; United States; World War II

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Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) (1893–1976)

Mao Zedong was chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and founder of the People's Republic of China. Born into a peasant family in inland China, he became a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and gained experience as a labor and peasant organizer. After Chiang Kai-shek broke the Kuomintang's alliance with the Communists and purged them in 1927, Mao established a peasant base at a mountain stronghold in central China, where he began to perfect the mobilization of peasant support through radical land reform and the military strategy of mobile guerrilla warfare. From 1930 to 1935, Mao was the chairman of the Communist base area called the Kiangsi (Jiangxi) Soviet, but with his peasant-based political and military ideas, he ran afoul of central party leaders who emphasized urban assaults using workers and positional warfare.

Mao emerged as a top leader of the Communists during the Long March, when central leaders and their Comintern advisers were discredited by failed strategies, necessitating this strategic retreat from the Kiangsi Soviet to the border region centered at the northwestern town of Yan'an.

The Kuomintang again allied with the Communists against Japanese imperialism during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). By 1943, Mao had established his credentials as a theoretician by adapting the tenets of Marxism to Chinese conditions; he had also become party chairman and had triumphed over his Moscow-trained rivals.

The defeat of Japan in 1945 led to a resumption of full hostilities between the Kuomintang and the Communists in the 1946–1949 Chinese Civil War. With the victory of the Communists imminent, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's

Republic of China at Peking (Beijing) on October 1, 1949. One part of the new nation's policies was the encouragement of decolonization throughout much of the world, and Chairman Mao became a heroic figure to many anticolonialist campaigners.

After the end of the Korean War (1950–1953), China embarked on an ambitious program of national reconstruction on the Soviet model of central planning, collectivization, and heavy industrial development. Mao inaugurated the Great Leap Forward in 1958, with the consolidation of 740,000 agricultural cooperatives into 26,500 giant communes and the mass mobilization of labor in rural industrialization and water conservancy projects. This utopian campaign to achieve a Communist paradise resulted instead in a massive famine.

Policies instituted by other leaders to rehabilitate the economy were viewed by Mao as steps toward the restoration of capitalism. He therefore launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966, leading to ten years of turmoil during which many party leaders were purged, 100 million people suffered political persecution, and the country plunged into violent disorder.

Ironically, during the Cultural Revolution China also began to repair fences with the United States, hitherto seen by Mao as the foremost imperialist power. Mao's challenge to the Soviets for the leadership of world revolution had contributed to the rift between China and the Soviet Union, which threatened to escalate into war by 1969. Mao now perceived the Soviets as the greater menace to China's security and sought rapprochement with the United States. Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972 began a process of normalizing Sino-American relations.

Mao's era ended with his death in 1976. Although he was a successful revolutionary who restored national unity and pride to mainland China, his role as a nation builder was tarnished by the upheavals and sufferings brought on by his political movements and economic programs.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Chiang Kai-shek; China; Chinese Communist Party; Communism; Kuomintang; Soviet Union; War and Warfare; World War II

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Maori

The Maori are a Polynesian people who settled the islands of New Zealand around 800 C.E. They first encountered Europeans in 1642, in a brief and violent exchange with the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, but sustained contact with Europeans only followed James Cook's "discovery" of New Zealand in 1769. Encounters with whalers, sealers, and Protestant missionaries introduced a host of new technologies, commodities, and beliefs that tribal leaders quickly appropriated. From 1830, many Maori embraced the Bible, fashioning a range of sectarian traditions and syncretic practices. In 1840, after intense debate, over 500 chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi, which protected their authority and guaranteed the ownership of their resources and possessions while ceding sovereignty over New Zealand to the British Crown.

In the wake of the treaty, the previously small and scattered *pakeha* (settler) population expanded rapidly, occupying Maori lands and undercutting chiefly authority. In wars of resistance in 1845 and 1846 and from 1860 to 1868, many Maori tribal groups attempted to prevent pakeha expansion. But as the influx of settlers continued and the Maori struggled to combat the impact of new diseases and land alienation, the pakeha reasserted their dominance, and at the conclusion of the wars, they illegally confiscated "rebel lands." Maori resistance did not die, however, as prophetic leaders from Te Whiti to Rua Kenana offered millennial visions that promised Maori liberation and reformists such as Apirana Ngata elaborated models of a Maori modernity. In the twentieth century, the Maori population grew quickly, but rapid urbanization in the 1940s and 1950s weakened tribal bonds. From the early 1970s, the emergence of the Maori Renaissance spawned a revival of interest in Maori language and arts and stimulated sustained critiques of colonialism. This flowering of political activism and cultural production continues to reshape New Zealand's cultural life.

Tony Ballentyne

See also Cook, James; New Zealand; Tasman, Abel Janszoon

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Maroons

Perhaps the most successful acts of resistance against the colonial system of slavery were committed by the Maroons of the Americas. These were communities of Africans and their descendants who had escaped from their plantations to locales far into the mountains of Jamaica, the jungles of Brazil, and other remote and sparsely populated sections of the Caribbean and North America. Also known as *palenques*, *cimarrones*, *quilombos*, and *mocambos* in various parts of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, these societies lasted as long as the institution of slavery itself.

The most successful Maroon villages were located in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica, the dense forest of the Sierra Maestra of Brazil, the rocky coastlines of Oriente, Cuba, and the jungles of Suriname. These villages, as well as others, were self-sufficient, autonomous communities that were socially and politically independent of the European colonial system in the New World. Though the people were predominantly African, their ranks included increased numbers of Creoles after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Geographic location, organization, and inaccessibility were keys to success for Maroon communities. They relied on the cooperation of slaves, free people of mixed race, and free whites in the neighboring communities for support, tools, utensils, and sometimes food.

Maroon success, however, went beyond escape from a life of slavery. Many bands proved to be constant thorns in the sides of the European colonial powers. The years between 1795 and 1798 witnessed Maroon wars in Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Colombia, Venezuela, Suriname, and Dominica. Notable Maroon leaders such as Nanny and Cudjoe of Jamaica, Macandal of St.-Domingue, and Coba of Cuba combined religious and political ideologies with a keen sense of their surroundings in order to successfully challenge the colonial system. They were so successful that

many colonial powers made treaties with them, often granting legal recognition to Maroons in their respective colonies to guard against Maroon attacks. Some communities lasted for only a short amount of time, but others persisted for centuries; their presence and interference were sharp reminders that the system of colonial rule in the Americas was neither permanent nor secure. These communities helped chip away at the institution of slavery by challenging the stronghold of colonialism in the Americas.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Brazil; British West Indies; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Marquette, Jacques (1637–1675)

Jacques Marquette joined the Jesuit order at the age of seventeen and for ten years continued his studies while also teaching school. All along, he aspired to become a missionary and was delighted when his superiors sent him to New France (Canada). He spent two years in Quebec familiarizing himself with the area and learning six Indian languages. Over the following five years, he preached in missions near Lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan. He was much beloved by the Ottawa and the Huron among whom he lived. Visiting Illinois Indians had told him about their land and about the “great river” (the Mississippi), and he was eager to explore new territory and convert more Indians. His chance came in 1673 when he was chosen by the governor of New France, the comte de Frontenac, to accompany the explorer Louis Jolliet on an upcoming expedition.

The expedition team was composed of seven men, who paddled for five months in two canoes, covered a distance of 2,500 miles, and preached in numerous villages. Although warring Indians and the fear of being captured by Spaniards prevented them from reaching the Mississippi Delta, they succeeded in mapping most of its course. They correctly guessed its southward flow but believed that it would go westward and lead to California. Marquette’s health was compromised by the hard-

ships of exploration, and he died less than two years later on the way to establishing a new mission in an Indian village on the shore of the Illinois River.

His travel journals reveal Marquette as an enthusiastic explorer and a keen observer. He described landscapes, flora, fauna, and, above all, people. Primarily intent on bringing salvation to the Indians, he related their mores with warmth and expressed his gratitude for their kindness and hospitality and his admiration for their intelligent adaptation to difficult surroundings.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Canada; Christianity; Exploration; French Empire; Quebec

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Marshall Islands

The Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), located in the central Pacific Ocean, consists of two major chains: the Ratak in the east and the Ralik in the west. It covers an area of approximately 705 square miles across thirty-four atolls. Majuro is the capital. The mainly Micronesian Marshallese are citizens of the Marshall Islands, which are part of the geographic region known as Micronesia, meaning “Little Islands.” In addition, there are substantial enclaves of U.S. military personnel, private contractors, and their families.

The islands were claimed by Spain in 1592 and in 1885 came under German administration. In 1914, Japan assumed control of the islands, first under civil and then under naval administration. Six years later, Japan received a League of Nations mandate over the islands. In 1943 and 1944, U.S. forces took the islands. After World War II, in 1947, they became part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), administered by the United States until 1986. In 1979, the United States recognized the Marshall Islands constitution, establishing the government of the Republic of the Marshall Islands; the name change became official in 1982. The following year, the voters approved the Compact of Free Association with the United States, which was signed by the RMI and U.S. governments on June 25, 1983. The compact, composed of fifteen-year renewable agreements,

was signed as Public Law 99–239 on January 14, 1986, and entered into force later that year, on October 21.

The status of free association recognizes the Marshall Islands as a sovereign, self-governing, independent nation with the capacity to conduct foreign affairs consistent with the terms of the compact. The United States retains full responsibility for the self-defense of the RMI. The basic relationship of free association continues indefinitely; the economic provisions of the compact were further negotiated in 2002. The U.S. State Department is responsible for government-to-government relations and has the final say over foreign affairs. The Department of the Interior is responsible for funding, oversight, and coordination of U.S. programs, which include Head Start, the Job Corps, and services from the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Aviation Agency, and the National Weather Service.

Under a lease agreement with the RMI, the U.S. Department of Defense uses the largest island, Kwajalein Atoll, as the site of a U.S. missile range. The neighboring Bikini Atoll, about 200 miles to the east, has been used for weapons testing, including the dropping of atomic bombs. Over the years, sixty-six atomic and hydrogen weapons have been exploded in the area. As a result, Marshallese and Bikinians have been subjected to radiation poisoning, displacement, and the destruction of a self-sufficient island way of life.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also German Empire; Guam; Japanese Empire; League of Nations; Micronesia; Northern Marianas Islands; Spanish Empire; United Nations; United States; World War I; World War II

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Marx, Karl (1818–1883)

Prussian historian, economist, and social theorist Karl Heinrich Marx developed a socio-economic theory of history that identified what he believed to be crucial components in the growth

and ultimate demise of capitalism. Providing a theoretical foundation for later socialist and communist ideologies, particularly as formed by Russian revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924), Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), and Chinese Communist revolutionary Mao Zedong (1893–1976), Marxist doctrine draws correlations between the rise of capitalism and the expansion of European colonialism that continue to influence philosophers, historians, and economists across ideological lines.

According to Marxist theory, just as capitalism replaced feudalism as the economic norm, a proletarian revolution will eventually overthrow bourgeois society when capitalist monopolies become financially inviable in the face of surplus production. Viewing capitalism as an exploitative system that would overtake the global economy, Marx considered European colonial expansion and imperial consolidation central to the overall process. As “barbarian” societies are forced to embrace bourgeois modes of production, thought Marx, production levels will unavoidably outpace consumption. Once surpluses decrease the salability of capitalist goods, he argued, economic exploitation will ultimately give way to the formation of a classless society worldwide as capitalists lose control of their markets and therefore are forced to relinquish their economic and political dominance.

After initially forming his philosophical views during an uneasy affiliation with the Young Hegelians, a group of political anarchists at Berlin University (1836–1841), Marx developed his unique ideological perspective during a brief period among communist revolutionaries in Paris (1843–1845) and through his lifelong collaboration with Prussian philosopher Friedrich Engels (1820–95). Marx’s ideas were as timely as they were revolutionary, establishing an unlikely fusion of German philosophical positions: Friedrich Hegel’s (1770–1831) intellectually focused approach to historical determinism and Ludwig Feuerbach’s (1804–1872) emphasis on material conditions as the primary causes of change. While Hegelian philosophy provided Marx with a framework for historical development as a dialectical process between opposing ideas resolved through syntheses, Feuerbach’s identification of material pressures as the primary catalysts of change grounded Marxist ideology in economic theory.

Following revolutions in France, Italy, and Austria in the early months of 1848, Marx found himself embroiled in continental politics as an advocate for social and economic reform. His views earned him little favor with many governments, however, and in 1849 he was forced to move to London, where he joined the Communist League and later became a leading figure in the First International labor movement. Although his collaboration with Engels produced the major works of Marxist ideology, the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and later *Capital* (1867, 1885, 1894), Marx’s perspective on colonialism was voiced largely through his numerous dispatches as a London correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune* (1851–1862). Having become interested in the dynamics of colonial expansion while covering parliamentary debates over the renewal of the British East India Company in 1853, Marx rapidly expanded his coverage of colonialism and traditional “Asian” economic systems to include some 500 articles—many identifying what later came to be called the “development of underdevelopment” as a necessary step toward internationalization and ultimate global reform.

John Lalla

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism;

Communism; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Soviet Union; Theories of Imperialism

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Martí, José

José Martí was born in Havana, Cuba, on January 28, 1853, to Spanish parents. Known for his writings and poetry as well as his political views, Martí was an ardent supporter of Cuban independence. Charged with disloyalty to Spain before he was seventeen years old, he was sentenced to six years of hard labor, a punishment that was later dropped in favor of deportation to Spain.

After the Pact of Zanjón ended the Ten Years' War, Martí returned to Cuba, but his support for independence forced him to face charges or leave the island. He chose the latter, and while in the United States, he worked with other exiled Cubans and raised money for the cause. In 1881, New York City became the center of his political activities. Fearing that rebel leaders Antonio Maceo and Máximo Gómez would establish a military dictatorship after independence, Martí broke with them in 1884. By 1887, however, the three were again working together to free Cuba from Spain. Martí formed the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892, again soliciting funds and support from Cubans living in New York and Florida. Independence from Spain and the United States, he believed, was the only solution for Cuba, and he felt a quick war was necessary to prevent any U.S. intervention.

Martí returned to Cuba as a major general in the Army of Liberation when hostilities resumed in 1895. Less than a month later, he was made the supreme chief of the revolution, with Gómez as the commander in chief. On May 19, 1895, Martí was killed during a skirmish with Spanish forces at Dos Ríos, in Oriente Province.

Charlotte A. Cosner

See also Cuba; Spanish Empire; Ten Years' War

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Mau Mau

The Mau Mau Rebellion movement of the 1950s found its roots among the Kikuyu people of Kenya. It allegedly took its name from the Mau escarpment, a range of mountains bordering the Rift Valley on its western side, northeast of Lake Naivasha. This movement was borne of Kikuyu social and economic consequences associated with colonialism and the disenfranchisement of land. The ensuing sense of anger, despair, and urgency among the Kikuyu created the preconditions for the Mau Mau uprising.

The initial protestations arose in 1946, as a rebellion of landless peasants and underpaid workers. Subsequently, attacks were launched against police stations and other government offices as

well as white settler farms and African sympathizers or loyalists (Kenyans supporting British actions against Mau Mau). By 1952, the organization of the movement had become secretive and had gained notoriety among the panic-stricken white settlers, who, in their anger and fear, lashed out against native peoples, thereby further popularizing the movement. Central to the Mau Mau uprising were the oath-taking ceremony and the recruitment of willing and unwilling Kikuyu. Mau Mau bases were established in the Rift Valley forest, where the leaders launched more militant campaigns. Many innocent African and European victims were slain as the rebellion intensified. The Mau Mau insurrection continued primarily in the Central Province, Aberdares (Nyandarua), Mount Kenya, and Nakuru District. The self-proclaimed Land Freedom Army was said to have swelled in number to 30,000. Armed with homemade weapons and dependent on popular support, the soldiers of the movement were difficult to stop because they were organized in different cells. British troops fought the Mau Mau in the forests, and the colonial government took strict measures against civilians who were suspected of supporting the movement. In 1952, Jomo Kenyatta and approximately 200 other Kenyans were tried and interned for complicity with the Mau Mau uprising.

In April 1954, the Mau Mau Central Committee was neutralized by the government, effectively destroying the movement's only organized supply network, and 17,000 young Kikuyu were interned in concentration camps. The movement lost most of its support in the particularly shocking murder of ninety-seven loyalists during the Lari massacre of 1955. The British gained an upper hand against the Mau Mau in the same year, but it took 21,000 paramilitary police, thousands of armed loyalists, and a full division of British troops supported by the Royal Air Force with jets and bombers to accomplish defeat the Mau Mau in 1956. Dedan Kimathi, a well-known Mau Mau leader, was captured and later executed by the British (in 1957). In the final analysis, Mau Mau established that the Africans of Kenya were prepared to fight and die for their land, ending all hopes for white minority rule. As a direct result of the rebellion, the British government began planning for Kenyan independence under majority rule.

James Mulli

See also Kenya; Kenyatta, Jomo; Kikuyu; War and Warfare

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Maugham, W. Somerset (1874–1965)

Author W. Somerset Maugham was born in Paris, where he lived until he was orphaned at the age of ten. He was then sent to live with his uncle in England, and Maugham's experience there was miserable. He was educated in medicine in Heidelberg and at London's St. Thomas's Hospital. Maugham qualified as a doctor and began to practice, but he preferred to pursue a writing career, especially after the success of his first novel, *Liza of Lambeth* (1897), which drew on his experiences as a young doctor in the slums of London. He also worked for the Red Cross in France and for British intelligence in Switzerland. After he made a fortune from his plays, he bought a villa on the French Riviera, where he entertained high society and the literary elite. He also traveled extensively.

Maugham was listed among the best 100 writers of the age in 1909. He was a prolific writer who trained himself to become an outstanding storyteller. He wrote plays, novels, short stories, essays, and travel books until he died at the age of ninety-four. He admired the work of many writers, including Anton Chekov, Guy de Maupassant, and Edgar Allan Poe. His fiction, like that of Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad, was a portrayal of British colonies, and his travel books depicted the lives of people who lived in remote parts of the empire. Maugham believed that the purpose of fiction was to entertain, not to inform life. He resented critics, but his responses were often contradictory: sometimes he bitterly attacked the critics, but at other times he claimed he did not care what they wrote about his work. His most famous story, "Rain" (1920)—made into a play and several movies—was inspired by a prostitute and by a missionary. *Cakes and Ale* (1930) is acknowledged to be Maugham's best novel.

Naceur Amakhmakh

See also British Empire; Literature

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Mauritius (Isle of France)

Arriving in 1598, the Dutch settled this small, tropical Indian Ocean island, which lies about 500 miles east of Madagascar, in the seventeenth century. They named it after their ruler, Prince Maurice of Nassau. After heavily exploiting Mauritius's ebony trees and faced with drought and cyclones, the Dutch left in 1710. (Unfortunately, the flightless dodo bird left first, having become extinct around 1691 in the face of deforestation and newly introduced predators.) Following French occupation in 1715, the island was renamed Isle de France and passed to the control of the French East India Company.

The French government took over in 1767, using the capital and naval base, Port Louis, to attack British India during the Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815). But with the Royal Navy growing and Indian troops now being used for expeditions, Britain soon dominated the Indian Ocean, and Mauritius was duly taken in July 1810 by a force of 8,000. British sovereignty was formalized by the 1814 Treaty of Paris.

Most of the inhabitants of Britain's new colony were slaves from East Africa and Madagascar. They worked sugar plantations on Mauritius's rich, volcanic soil. After slavery was abolished (effective in 1835), indentured laborers were imported from India. This practice stopped in the early twentieth century, but enough of these individuals stayed to boost Mauritius's population in the 1930s to 465,000 (increasing to over 1.1 million by 2000, on just 788 square miles of land). Mauritius became a classic case (with Malaysia, Fiji, Trinidad, and others) of a mixed population, or "plural society." Mauritians are, by and large, the descendants of Indian Hindus, Africans, and Asian Muslims; a small minority are descended from Europeans, mainly French. English is the official language, but the lingua franca is French-derived Creole. The press uses French, whereas Hindi, Tamil, Marathi, Urdu, and Chinese are all spoken.

Mauritius had dependent territory as far away as the Chagos Islands, one of which, Diego Garcia, lay 1,200 miles to the northeast. It still claims the Chagos, which were carved out of Mauritius in November 1965 and joined with three island groups from the Seychelles to create a new colony—the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT). Britain paid Mauritius £3 million in compensation and deported the Diego Garcia and Chagos populations, comprising 1,200 Ilois (descendants of slaves bought to farm copra plantations). In this way, Britain secured a staging post in the mid-Indian Ocean to project military power eastward—one that, unlike populated colonies, could not demand independence. In November 2000, the British High Court ruled that the 1971 barring of the Ilois was illegal. This finding may pave the way for some Ilois to return.

In 1966, Britain signed a fifty-year agreement to allow the United States to use Diego Garcia for military purposes, and facilities were built from the 1970s. As of 2000, Diego Garcia was administered by less than fifty Royal Navy personnel, whereas the U.S. facilities employed several thousand. The forces stationed on Diego Garcia have projected military power to the Middle East, notably in Operation Desert Storm in 1991. Ironically, Britain abandoned plans to develop BIOT's Aldabra Island as its own base because protesters argued this would disturb the nesting of frigate birds and because the British had made a decision in the late 1960s to withdraw from bases "East of Suez," that is, east of the Suez Canal.

In regard to the history of Mauritius itself, a council of government assisted the governor from 1825. Some nonofficials were added to this council in 1832, as were elected members from 1886 onward. After the 1947 constitution introduced a legislative council with a wider franchise, based on literacy, Indian-led pressure for independence began to build. Other groups remained more skeptical. Mauritius received a ministerial form of government and universal adult suffrage in 1957. A September 1965 constitutional conference paved the way for independence on March 12, 1968, despite ongoing racial tensions. A republic from 1992, Mauritius remains in the Commonwealth today.

Karl A. Hack

See also British Empire; Dutch Empire; French Empire; Servitude, Indentured; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Maximilian, Emperor (1832–1867)

Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph was archduke of Austria and briefly (from 1864 to 1867) emperor of Mexico. As the younger brother of Emperor Francis Joseph I, he was frustrated in his desire to govern; when Napoleon III, for his own imperialistic reasons, deceived Maximilian into believing that the Mexican people had expressed a desire to have him as their emperor and offered him French military support, he accepted. The new Mexican government had suspended repayment of debts to European powers. Sensing an opportune moment, Napoleon III sent troops to occupy Mexico. Other European nations did not oppose his plans, and the United States was preoccupied with its own civil war. However, the enterprise was doomed from the start. In their Eurocentric fixation, neither Napoleon III nor Maximilian understood the depth of the Mexicans' determination to achieve independence.

Accompanied by his wife, Carlota, daughter of Leopold I of Belgium, Maximilian arrived in Mexico honestly believing he could he could bring peace and prosperity to a country plagued by years of civil war. Unable to grasp the real situation, he wavered between liberal and repressive actions and in the end pleased no one. Moreover, when the American Civil War ended in 1865, the United States turned its attention to enforcing the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon III, already severely criticized in the French press for expenditures caused by the intervention in Mexico, had to withdraw the French military under diplomatic pressure. Left with only a few troops under his orders, Maximilian decided to defend his honor rather than abdicate. But after local republican forces reconquered Mexico, Maximilian was captured, tried, and executed. The republican victory, followed by the presidency of Benito Juárez, marked the end of Mexico's colonial era.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Juárez, Benito; Mexico; Napoleon III; War and Warfare

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See also Americans, Native; Central America; Mexico; Spanish Empire

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Maya

Although the Spanish conquests of the mid-sixteenth century destroyed its centers of power and its economic and religious “empire,” the Mayan culture has spanned the millennia and survives today in hundreds of villages in Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. The Maya can point to cultural continuity from around 2200 B.C.E., but anthropologists have set the emergence of Mayan civilization proper in the period between 400 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. This civilization created a complex system of writing (the most complex of the pre-Columbian New World) and monumental architecture, with pyramids reaching 230 feet in height. The Maya also developed metallurgy and sculpture that rivaled that of Europe. The early capital, Tikal, boasted a population in excess of 100,000 in 800 C.E.—a size that European cities would not achieve for many more centuries.

The Spanish began to assault the Maya in the early 1500s, with a smallpox epidemic in either 1515 or 1516 often viewed as the beginning of this process. The last major independent capital city, Tayasal, fell in 1697, and the Spaniards’ brutal conquest policy of killing and destroying all they encountered took a terrible toll on the Maya.

After centuries of external domination by hegemonic modern nation-states, the Maya have emerged as a dominant political force in the areas in which they still live. The uprising of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, in a struggle to maintain their land base and way of life is an indigenous movement dominated by Mayan people. Also, after suffering decades of brutal treatment at the hands of the Guatemalan state (with the aid and complicity of the United States), the Maya have begun negotiations with officials in Guatemala that could lead to the world’s first indigenous government—a Mayan institution that could draw on its 4,000-year history to envision its future.

Phillip Bellfy

McKinley, William (1843–1901)

As the twenty-fifth president of the United States, William McKinley significantly engaged U.S. power across the globe. During his administration (1896–1901), the United States formally colonized the Philippines and fostered U.S. expansionism in Asia through the Open Door notes, which called for free trade for all countries with China.

Born in Niles, Ohio, on January 29, 1843, McKinley grew up as one of nine children in a working-class family. He fought in the Civil War and practiced law in Canton, Ohio. He quickly rose to the top in the state’s Republican politics. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives (1877–1882, 1885–1891) and was twice elected governor of Ohio (serving from 1892 to 1896). He had no international experience and little interest in foreign policy before he became president. And although the Republican platform in 1896 included calls for the annexation of Hawaii, reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine, and U.S. support for Cuban independence, McKinley displayed little concern for diplomacy during the campaign.

The foreign policy activities of his administration were concentrated on the Spanish-American War and its consequences. McKinley had urged Spain to institute a cease-fire in the Cuban rebellion, which had broken out in 1895, and allow the United States to mediate the conflict. His mediation efforts failed, however, and when the *Maine* was sunk in Havana harbor in February 1898, the president demanded the withdrawal of Spanish forces from Cuba. War was imminent. It was declared by Congress on April 19.

The U.S. intervention in the Spanish-American War resulted in victory. And although McKinley had seriously supported the Teller Amendment, which promised that the United States would not annex Cuba (that text was appended to the declaration of war), he believed that the Cuban people

required a period of U.S. tutelage to prepare them for full independence.

As a result of the war, the United States acquired a number of overseas possessions, such as Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. During the peace negotiations, McKinley insisted on the acquisition of colonies for political, strategic, and economic reasons and argued along the lines of social Darwinism and benevolent racism that the white race was destined to rule over the nonwhite races of the world.

His decision to turn the Philippines into a U.S. colony inspired a long and bloody war with Filipino rebels under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo. But McKinley believed in the civilizing mission of the United States and supported the acquisition of the islands for geostrategic and commercial reasons. The islands would serve as a springboard to Asia and would bolster the U.S. position in the competition for the China market.

McKinley was assassinated by anarchist Leon Czolgosz while visiting the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, on September 6, 1901. Together with his secretaries of state and war, John Hay and Elihu Root, he had laid the foundations for the American empire and the superpower status the United States would attain in the twentieth century.

Frank Schumacher

See also Aguinaldo, Emilio; Cuba; Guam; Monroe Doctrine; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Spanish-American War; United States

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Media

Humans have used a wide variety of media to communicate rapidly and at a distance for several thousand years. In the present context, however, the discussion will focus more narrowly on the news media—the press, newsreels, and radio. Beginning with a look back at the press in colonial America, it will highlight developments that occurred between the nineteenth century, when cheaper printing techniques and increased literacy rates led to the creation of the first large-circu-

lation newspapers and periodicals, and the 1960s, when most of the former European colonies had achieved their independence.

One of the earliest examples of the role played by the media in the formation and destruction of the European empires occurred several decades before the appearance of what is normally considered the mass media. In the British North American colonies of the eighteenth century, newspapers and periodicals were an important part of the political education of the colonial elite in spite of their limited circulation (they rarely exceeded a few hundred copies). When the king began to rein in the independence of the American colonies, criticism of his colonial policies grew there. This eventually led the king to adopt an act requiring that a special stamp be affixed, for a fee, on all paper used for legal documents or publications; the purpose of the 1765 Stamp Act was to make the publishing of periodicals uneconomical. Although the law was never successfully enforced, it angered many people in the colonies, and news publishers who opposed the Stamp Act and various other taxes imposed by the Crown stepped up their press campaign against the measures. The king's attempt to censor the colonial press was, in fact, one of the factors that helped to pave the way for the American Revolution of 1776.

Once the United States gained independence from Great Britain, the press helped to forge the new country's emerging national identity, especially after the 1790s when public education was provided in each of the states. The crucial role of the press during and after the Revolution accounts, in large part, for the central position it occupies in U.S. society today. To varying degrees, the press played a similar role in the newly emerging Latin American countries in the first half of the nineteenth century.

On the whole, however, the media began to impact the lives of the general population only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when a dramatic rise in literacy rates was combined with cheaper and more efficient printing methods. With increased readership, America's appetite for accurate international news grew. Since most newspapers could not afford to gather this information themselves, they usually relied on news agencies to do it for them. By the 1850s, Europe had three major agencies: Havas (France), Reuters (Great Britain),

and Wolf (Germany). Not surprisingly, each of these agencies covered its own country's colonies with particular zeal and established offices in the most important colonial cities. The agencies convinced people that having European eyes and ears across the globe was important in order to gather and disseminate vital information. Even when the colonial empires fell, the major European news agencies were often allowed to continue operating in the newly independent nations, transmitting news from many different parts of the world.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, many of the large European newspapers were read by hundreds of thousands of people, especially in France and Great Britain; at the turn of the twentieth century, the circulation of some of the major dailies exceeded 1 million readers. And as the popularity of newspapers grew, so did the public's taste for the recounting of adventures in exotic locales. Henry Morton Stanley (born John Rowlands) was among the first and, at least in the English-speaking world, best-known journalists to write such reports. He had visited various spots in Asia Minor, the American Far West, and Africa. He gained his reputation as a daring reporter in 1868 by covering Lord Napier's Abyssinian campaign for the *New York Herald*. But his most famous journey occurred in 1871, when he was commissioned by the *Herald* to find the Scottish missionary-explorer David Livingstone, who had gone missing in Africa several years earlier. After an eight-month voyage, Stanley found Livingstone on the island of Ujiji in modern-day Tanzania. When he met him, he supposedly exclaimed, "Doctor Livingstone, I presume!"

Stanley's adventures inaugurated an important tradition of reports by seemingly daring journalists from the European colonies. This kind of reporting generally emphasized the savagery of the indigenous peoples and the places that had not yet been settled by the Europeans. At the same time, it underlined the necessity of Europe's "civilizing mission" in its colonies. In this way, the media of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries more or less directly supported Europe's colonial policies and helped to increase the population's support for them.

Like Great Britain, France had several great journalists who wrote vivid reports of their journeys in the colonies, including, most notably, Al-

bert Londres and Pierre Mille. Although both of these men gave an exotic flavor to their reports, they also were not afraid to give the unvarnished truth about the condition of the Africans under the European colonial system. In fact, in the 1920s, both of them wrote articles and books highly critical of the horrible working conditions inflicted on the native Africans by the Europeans; both also demonstrated that African workers received wages far below the actual worth of their work. In 1929, for example, Londres and a colleague revealed the enormous human cost of the Congo-Ocean Railway. These journalists may well have revised their notions of the inherent superiority of European culture after having witnessed the horrors and the barbarity of the Great War.

Newsreels remained the most important source of moving-picture news until the last decade or so of European colonialism, when it was displaced by television. The filming of newsworthy events began in the earliest years of the cinema. The true revolution occurred when sound was added to the pictures, allowing an off-screen speaker to comment on the news. By the 1930s, millions of people saw these newsreels every week within the borders of the major colonial powers, such as France and Great Britain. Although newsreels rarely analyzed the news in any depth, the power of the images they presented and the simplicity of their narratives ensured that they had a significant impact on their audiences.

Like the press, the newsreels in various countries generally supported the colonial policies of their respective governments. In Great Britain, for example, when the government insisted that British rulers had to remain in India to prevent it from descending into chaos, the newsreels defended this point of view. Similarly, when the government decided to pull out, the newsreels defended that choice, although they were also quick to point out that massacres were occurring in the areas that were no longer under British control. Things were essentially the same in France during the conflicts in Indochina and Algeria. But those who opposed colonial rule could also use the power of the newsreel. No one did this more effectively than Mohandas Gandhi in India during the 1930s, when he used this medium to publicize his nonviolent campaign against the British in India and abroad.

Radio remained one of the most influential forms of mass media for most of the period between the 1930s and the disappearance of the European colonies in the 1960s. In fact, Great Britain and France developed their international radio networks in the 1930s in large part because of their empires. The importance of these networks grew as shortwave technology improved, allowing them to broadcast programs from the homeland to the farthest reaches of the world. At the same time, local radio stations were founded throughout the colonies, normally in the major cities. These stations were usually controlled by the white settlers or colonial officials, but when the colonies gained their independence, most of them fell under local control and became important tools of national consolidation and nation building. For their part, the shortwave stations of the European countries continued to broadcast news to and from the former colonies, helping them, to some extent, to integrate into the international community.

As with the press, radio broadcasting both increased the cohesion of empires and gave a powerful communication tool to those who opposed colonial rule. In Vietnam, for example, the Viet Minh controlled a radio station in the region of Hanoi in the 1950s that allowed it not only to pass its social and political messages to the population but also to communicate coded messages to its guerrilla troops. This was an especially important tool, since the troops were thinly spread throughout the country and often had no other modern method of communication.

The Algerian conflict clearly illustrated the ambiguous and even tenuous role played by the media. For instance, although reports of the dubious tactics employed in Algeria by the French army appeared for several years in periodicals and newspapers, such as *L'Express* and *Le Monde*, public opinion was barely swayed by them. People were convinced by the official version of events and believed that France should remain in the region. They began to question the conduct of the French army and, in some cases, the very necessity of the war only when Charles de Gaulle openly said, in 1960, that the conflict would end when Algeria became independent. Public opinion was also shaped by an increasing number of television, radio, and press reports explaining the underlying reasons for the French pullout from the region.

The media played another important role during the Algerian conflict. In April 1961, several French generals serving in Algeria decided to defy the government because they did not agree with the decision to negotiate an end to the conflict with the Algerian nationalists. Thanks to their portable radios, however, soldiers and officers who served in Algeria heard appeals by officials and by General de Gaulle to remain loyal to the French government. Because the overwhelming majority of soldiers decided to follow this advice, the generals' putsch failed utterly. The failure paved the way for the signature less than a year later of the Evian Accords that granted independence to Algeria.

In conclusion, the media played an ambiguous role in the formation and consolidation of Europe's colonial empires. On the one hand, they contributed to the cohesion of the empires by improving communications between the colonial powers and the colonies themselves and by allowing governments to convince their populations that their colonial policies were beneficial. On the other hand, some of the colonists or the original inhabitants of the colonies skillfully used the media to communicate their ideas and their plans to the public during their struggles against the colonial powers. Various groups also used the media to defend or attack imperial policies within the borders of the colonial powers, in the hope that shifts in public opinion would change the governments' resolve.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Algeria; American Revolution; Cinema; Communications; de Gaulle, Charles; Education; Gandhi, Mohandas; Literature; Livingstone, David; Stanley, Henry Morton; Technology; Viet Minh; Vietnam

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Medicine

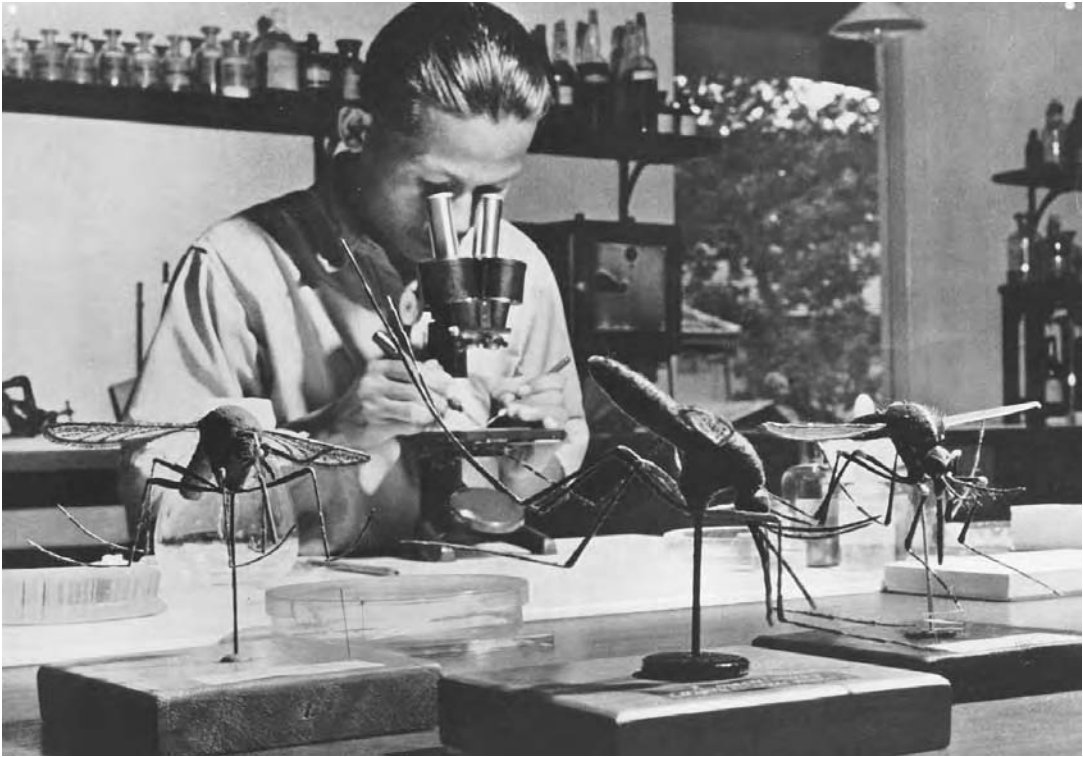
The European colonial endeavor played a large role in expanding biomedical knowledge, medical

institutions, and the pharmacopoeia of Europeans. Likewise, biomedicine played an important part in colonial expansion and social control of the colonized. Tropical diseases slowed colonial penetration throughout the world. Malaria and yellow fever, for instance, largely repelled European colonialism into Africa's interior until the late nineteenth century, when quinine (derived from the cinchona tree native to the Andes), itself a by-product of European expansion, enabled Europeans to penetrate and settle in the Tropics. The colonial expansion, in turn, further exposed Europeans to new ailments, as well as new remedies and new knowledge. Advances in biomedicine gained through the colonial experience, however, did not always benefit the lives of the colonized; rather, medicine became what many historians and sociologists have termed a "tool of empire."

Colonial governments invested significant money into improving medical research and infrastructures during the early colonial period, due largely to the profits or potential profits that the Tropics represented. St.-Domingue, now Haiti, a

small island in the Caribbean, for instance, accounted for half the world's production of sugar in the 1780s, proving at the time to be the richest and most productive colony in the world. Yet when 100 French soldiers took up occupation 100 miles outside of Port-au-Prince in 1777, 66 became sick within only 8 days; after 45 days, 25 had died and only 9 remained healthy. Likewise in 1826 and 1827, a British parliamentary study commenting on mortality rates in West Africa found that between 33 and 56 percent of all individuals died within a few years of arriving on the African continent. Indigenous tropical diseases also posed a threat to the colonial host country, such as the cholera epidemic in the British colony of India in 1816 that spread to China, Mongolia, Siberia, Russia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Persia before eventually striking Europe and the Americas in the late nineteenth century. Such incidents and high mortality rates highlighted the need for research on tropical diseases and provided a new impetus to these efforts.

Colonialism not only resulted in the expansion of medical research but also led to the discovery



A colonial scientist studies malarial parasites at the Institute of Medical Research in Malawi in 1949. Defenders of empire cited such public health efforts as justification for continued European rule in Africa. (Library of Congress)

and production of new *materia medica*. Believing that nature provided local remedies for local diseases, travelers, traders, and biomedical doctors within the colonies initially sought local cures for local ailments. Colonial doctors interested in the biological efficacy of indigenous medicine wrote about it extensively and sent samples to their host countries for examination. Thus, the Americas provided coca, mescaline, nicotine, quinine, pectin, psilocybin, dopamine, and camphor; India provided yarrow, cutch, the India stinging nettle, the prickly chaff flower, *cannabis sativa*, and nut grass; the Pacific provided the kava plant; and Africa provided buchu, castor oil, devil's claw, and various forms of aloes. In addition to improving the general health of the colonists, investigations of local remedies could also be quite lucrative. In a popular medical journal in 1896, Andrew Smith of South Africa, who had published a book on medicinal plants from the Cape Colony, implored his fellow doctors to collect as much information on indigenous medicinal plants as possible, with an eye to replacing the more expensive imported European herbs. He wrote: "A wide field and a well-paying one lies open to anyone with sufficient knowledge, business capacity, time and capital to devote to the investigation, cultivation, and exportation of South African drugs" (Smith 1896). Many colonies, in fact, did produce medicinal herbs—and not necessarily indigenous ones—for export. Botanic gardens in Calcutta, Bangalore, Sharanpar, Ootacumund, and Poona grew various herbs, including atee tubers, camilla powder, deadly nightshade, castor oil, *cannabis*, opium poppies for the production of morphine, coca for the alkaloid cocaine, and cinchona for quinine. The largest cinchona plantations were in India, the East Indies, and Java—which became the world's largest producer of this herb until World War II. It is ironic that even as European colonies were collecting and producing indigenous herbs for export and local consumption, they were also criminalizing and discrediting the very healers from whom they had secured these numerous remedies.

Colonialism not only expanded Europe's pharmacopoeias but also provided new subjects and labs for medical experimentation. Inoculations against smallpox in St.-Domingue, for instance, were first tried on slaves. Other colonized people often found themselves exposed to different med-

ical experiments, including inoculations, trials involving new medicines or the effects of poisons, and new surgical procedures. The colonized were also measured and probed by colonial doctors and scientists who sought to establish biological differences between the "races." Some European scientists interpreted empirically suspicious data taken from measuring the skulls and pelvic bones of indigenous people to support the racial superiority of the colonizer. However, although ideas of racial superiority were already in the European mind, medicine naturalized "racial" and cultural distinctions and was instrumental in influencing European ideas of normality and abnormality—what is healthy versus unhealthy or sane versus insane—in racially defined ways.

Notions of hygiene and germ theory were used to justify the segregation of the colonized from the colonizers and to exercise social control. Disease also served as a social metaphor, and fear about the sexual, social, and political implications of racial mixing were often expressed in these terms: indigenous people represented the locus of sickness and were described as dirty, unhygienic vectors of disease that threatened to contaminate colonists. Further, medicine was used to justify segregation legislation and coercive forms of medical intervention during epidemics. In Dakar, Senegal, segregation resulted from a plague measure but continued long after the threat had diminished. This tying together of race, culture, and disease influenced much of the urban planning done by colonists, as they sought to maintain public health and prevent racial degeneration that was thought to result from the social and sexual mixing of the so-called races.

Lastly, medicine was employed directly in the service of colonialism. In the French colony of Algeria, West Indian psychologist Frantz Fanon wrote about how the French government forbade pharmacists from giving penicillin, antibiotics, alcohol, cotton, or antitetanus serum to Algerians fighting against French colonialism. Medicine was used as a weapon, as well: doctors administered truth serum to captured rebels and kept dissidents alive with heart stimulants and massive doses of vitamins so that colonial officials could torture them. Furthermore, missionaries hoped that by saving lives with biomedicine, they would convert the colonized to Christianity and a belief in the

racial and cultural superiority of the colonizer. Given the often contentious history of medicine in the colonies, it is little wonder that so many indigenous people have maintained a skeptical attitude toward biomedicine.

Karen Flint

See also Health, Public

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Meiji Emperor (1852–1912)

The Meiji Emperor of Japan, whose personal name was Mutsuhito, was born November 3, 1852, in Kyoto, the only surviving son of the Komei Emperor and his concubine Nakayama Yoshiko. Raised in seclusion by his maternal grandfather, Mutsuhito was trained to be a traditional emperor—that is, to live in a highly ornamental court, speaking archaic Japanese, while the country was run by the shogun, or military dictator, of Japan. The arrival of Matthew Perry and other foreigners so destabilized Japan that the shogun and emperor joined forces to resist the outsiders, only to be defeated by the united Satsuma and Choshu clans, who, in 1868, seized power and proclaimed Mutsuhito emperor, following his father's death from smallpox.

Unlike other emperors, though, the Meiji Emperor was now the central figure in the Japanese state. Embarking on a national public relations tour, he and his bride, Haruko, whom he married in 1868, introduced the Japanese people to a style of modern royalty, copying their ceremonies and dress from European customs. Sufficiently popular to weather a revolt of the samurai, who were being displaced by the creation of a modern bureaucracy and the end of their privileges, the emperor encouraged full modernization. And as a royal, he could provide a link with the elite of the United

States and Europe. Under the Meiji Restoration, Japan adopted a constitution based on Otto von Bismarck's German government, while also promoting Western-style university education, a conscripted and professional military, and the building of infrastructure such as railroads with no outside funding. Both the emperor and his wife were active in philanthropy, founding the Japanese Red Cross. Meiji's reign also saw Japan become a major world power, defeating China and Russia to take possession of Korea and making a treaty alliance with Great Britain. Unlike China, Japan ended up as a strong and independent nation as a result of its encounter with the West.

Meiji and Haruko had no children, so they formally adopted Meiji's children by his concubine Lady Naruko. Meiji, suffering from diabetes and kidney failure, collapsed and died after participating in the graduation ceremonies at Tokyo University in July 1912. He was succeeded by his son Yoshihito, the Taisho Emperor.

Margaret Sankey

See also Japanese Empire

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Menelik II (1844–1913)

Menelik was born in 1844 in Ankober, Ethiopia, a strategically well-placed town that his father, Haile Malecot, the king of Shewa (an Ethiopian province), used as his capital. The boy was raised there in the traditional manner, not only learning how to read and write in Amharic and do basic arithmetic but also how to ride horses and mules, shoot, administer small provinces, and lead troops into battle. He also learned enough Ge'ez, the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, to say his prayers and follow the mass and a sufficient amount of religious lore to appreciate that Christian princes once governed many more provinces than currently fell under the church's sway.

During Menelik's reign as emperor (1889–1913), the Solomonic dynasty regained its hegemony over Ethiopia, sparked in part by irredentist ideology. It also resisted Italian colonialism partly by pointing out the dramatic theological differ-

ences between the bicephalous Western churches and the Monophysitic Ethiopian faith. Beyond that, it undertook modernization in order to maintain Ethiopia's sovereignty and independence in the face of colonial encirclement. Ironically, Menelik learned national statecraft at the court of Tewodros II (1855–1866), whose hostage he became when the upstart emperor rebelled against the petty government officials of the fractious Gondar State and returned Ethiopia to fragile unity. Tewodros was ultimately pushed from the throne by a population scandalized by his use of terror as a political weapon, by his inability to compromise on issues, and by his effort to confiscate church properties. Desperate to hold on to power, Tewodros sought a foreign adventure to eject the Turks from holy Jerusalem. In the wake of this effort, Menelik and a congeries of hostages successfully fled for home, infused with the idea of national unity but fully aware that change required patience and diplomacy. As for Tewodros, he tweaked the tail of the British Empire by taking subjects of Queen Victoria hostage, and London responded not by offering alliance but by mounting an expedition into Ethiopia to depose him.

With Tewodros gone and the new emperor, Yohannes IV (r. 1868–1889), busy consolidating his government, Menelik moved to ensure that the slave and primary products trade of southern and western Ethiopia transited Shewa on the way to the coast. In order for European and other merchants to benefit, they had to sell Menelik reasonably priced modern weaponry. Meanwhile, he retained his political autonomy by opening independent relations with adjacent European powers. Among them were the Italians, much hated by the emperor because they controlled the port of Mitsiwa, through which a large portion of northern Ethiopia's trade moved. Rome immediately turned to Menelik, hoping he would act as its cat's-paw and balancer of power; the king cooperated, since the Italians offered Remington rifles and ammunition. Through diplomacy and leg-erdemain, Menelik strengthened his power and position in Ethiopia during his reign as king of Shewa from 1865 to 1889. When Yohannes died on March 9, 1889, the king declared himself emperor and quickly signed a treaty of amity and commerce with his European benefactors at Wuchale on May 2, 1889.

Rome took advantage of a mistranslation of the Italian version of the treaty to declare a protectorate over Ethiopia. After repeated Ethiopian requests to correct the matter, Menelik broke off diplomatic relations in 1893 and denounced the treaty. The Italians long had coveted Ethiopia and had decided to make it the salubrious jewel of its East African desert empire by force. The masters in Rome had no understanding that Menelik was a first-class general, that Ethiopians were typically good soldiers, and that whites would not naturally vanquish blacks. They did not credit Menelik's empire with political unity, and they ignored the success of his rearmament programs and the depth of the support for Ethiopia among France, Russia, the United States, and other nations.

Everything that Menelik had strived for came together on March 1, 1896, between 5:00 A.M. and noon on the battlefields of Adwa. The Battle of Adwa was a resounding victory for Ethiopia and an ignominious defeat for Italy, which immediately sued for peace. The success gave substance to Ethiopia's assertions of sovereign independence for another generation; ultimately, it led to general diplomatic recognition for the independent nation of Ethiopia.

Menelik was able to consolidate Solomonic authority over the periphery of the state, doubling Ethiopia's size; he built a permanent capital at Addis Ababa; he facilitated the construction of the Addis Ababa–Djibouti Railway; he organized the country's first telephone and telegraph systems; and he permitted schools and hospitals to be opened in the capital and elsewhere. As he grew older and in an effort to reduce his workload, he pioneered reforms in local government and in the judiciary, and he named Ethiopia's first cabinet. After 1906, he suffered from debilitating third-degree syphilis attacks, which left him paralyzed and speechless by 1909. A regency regime, in which the cabinet played a vital role, took over, but the succession was not really settled until 1916, when Ras Tafari Makonnen (later Haile Selassie I) and Empress Zawditu (r. 1916–1930), Menelik's daughter, took power.

Harold G. Marcus

See also Adwa, Battle of; Ethiopia; Haile Selassie I; Italian Empire

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Mercantilism

Mercantilism was an economic policy that shaped the relationship between the imperial powers of Western Europe and their colonies between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Although mercantilism took varying forms and often occurred at different historical moments—and differed somewhat from nation to nation—certain general comments apply.

Mercantilist economic policy emphasized domestic production and control of export markets and sources of raw materials. This economic framework was grounded in a number of basic assumptions that, it was believed, would lead a nation to economic self-sufficiency. Key to the idea of mercantilism was bullionism—the notion that the state of the national economy could be measured by the amount of precious metal, usually gold or silver, that it possessed. Bullionism required that a nation or, more specifically, the various European imperial powers always maintain a favorable balance of trade. In other words, to increase the amount of gold in the national treasury, the value of the European state's exports would have to be greater than the value of its imports. This could be accomplished by discouraging the importation of manufactured goods through high tariffs and taxes and encouraging the importation of raw materials by keeping tariffs and taxes low. The colonies of imperial powers such as Spain, England, France, and Holland were seen as potential markets for the manufactured goods produced in the metropolis and as a source for the raw materials needed. Some of the main goods imported from the colonies were sugar, tobacco, and cotton.

Europe's reliance on the colonies for such goods meant that a large population was needed to meet the labor demands of the colonies. These labor needs were initially met by transporting indentured servants from Europe and later by taking slaves from Africa across the Atlantic. Mercantilist policies also encouraged the development of a strong agricultural sector in the metropolis, as domestic production reduced food imports. In addition, a strong merchant fleet was necessary to con-

trol foreign markets and avoid dependence on foreign assistance for shipping goods. Mercantilism began its decline with the coming of the Industrial Revolution and as more laissez-faire economic policies gained popularity and the idea of a government-directed economy lost support.

Audra Diptee

See also Economics; Theories of Imperialism

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Metternich, Prince Klemens von (Austro-Hungarian Empire) (1773–1859)

A conservative Austrian statesman and foreign minister from 1809 through 1848, Prince Metternich was instrumental in creating the Grand Alliance that defeated Napoleon Bonaparte and establishing the return of conservative imperial rule to much of Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. A despised symbol of reactionary politics in his later years, he was forced to resign in the wake of the revolutions of 1848 that rocked the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Born Klemens Metternich in Trier, Austria, in 1773 to a noble family, he studied diplomacy at the Universities of Strasbourg and Mainz in the late 1780s and early 1790s. Fleeing French revolutionary armies, he joined his diplomat father in the Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium) and then was sent to England on a diplomatic mission in 1794. The following year, he married into the highest circles of Austrian aristocracy, gaining an entrée into the empire's halls of power.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Metternich rose through the diplomatic ranks until he was appointed foreign minister by Emperor Francis I in 1809. Aware of Austria-Hungary's weakness vis-à-vis Napoleon and his French imperial army, Metternich tried to stave off further fighting and further inevitable losses by marrying one of the emperor's daughters to Napoleon—a stratagem that played to Napoleon's ego, which Metternich was adept at manipulating.

Hoping to bolster Austria's chances further, Metternich tried to streamline the state's administration by devolving powers to the component national entities, but he was resisted in this by the absolutist emperor. Frustrated in this regard and convinced that an alliance with a weak Russia would further undermine Austria-Hungary, Metternich arranged for the empire to remain neutral during Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. That, he hoped, would buy the empire the time it needed to rebuild its army.

Through clever diplomacy, Metternich won Austria-Hungary a leadership position in the growing alliance against Napoleon in 1813, the same year he was granted the title of prince. In 1814 and again in 1815, this alliance of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Great Britain proved successful, and Napoleon was forced into exile.

Beginning in 1814 and lasting into 1815, the great powers of Europe met at the Congress of Vienna, a conference, largely organized by Metternich, to establish the future political outlines of Europe. Metternich's goal was to create two great confederations—one among the German principalities and one in Italy—with Austria as the linchpin of both. Neither plan came to fruition, though his goals of bringing France back into the fold—once a conservative monarch was put on a newly revived throne there—and staving off Russian advances into Europe were. More generally, Metternich reestablished Austria's position as a key power in Europe and stabilized a conservative monarchical order for Europe that would last through the revolutions of 1848.

Although Metternich continued to be an important figure in Austrian politics through the first half of the nineteenth century, he was often thwarted in his efforts to streamline the monarchy and frequently lost out in his political turf battles with other ministers over domestic reforms. Confined largely to foreign affairs, he nevertheless remained a hated figure to those in Austria-Hungary and Europe generally who sought liberal reforms. When revolution broke out in Vienna in 1848, Metternich became its first victim and was forced into exile in England. Three years later, he returned to Vienna, where he died in 1859.

James Ciment

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bonaparte, Napoleon; French Revolution; Hapsburg, House of; Russian Empire; Vienna, Congress of

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Mexican-American War (1846–1848)

Two developments in the United States were central to the outbreak of the Mexican-American War (also known in Mexico as the North American Invasion). The first was the ideology of manifest destiny—the belief that the United States was destined to possess all of the North American continent from the original thirteen colonies to the Pacific Ocean. The second was the Texas War for Independence, in which U.S. immigrants to the Mexican territory of Texas, along with Tejano allies, seceded from Mexico in 1836.

In declaring independence from Mexico, leaders in Texas also redrew the boundaries of the area, ignoring the former boundary of the Nueces River and claiming instead all the land to the Rio Grande. In 1846, realizing that his country could not afford a full-scale war with the United States but concerned that U.S. leaders might use the Texas boundary dispute to provoke a conflict, Mexican president José Herrera proposed a confidential meeting with U.S. representatives to negotiate a new Mexico-Texas border. President James K. Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico to negotiate the border and to attempt to purchase New Mexico and California for the United States. However, Slidell's lack of discretion in Mexico lost him the mission and José Herrera the presidency. Having failed to purchase Mexico's northern territories, President Polk moved to provoke a war with Mexico. He sent Gen. Zachary Taylor into the Rio Grande area claimed by Mexico, and when fighting broke out between Taylor's troops and the Mexican army, he went to Congress and claimed, "American blood had been shed on American soil."

In California, filibusterers, calling their movement the Bear Flag Revolt, had initiated aggression against Californio residents prior to the U.S. declaration of war. When news of the war arrived, the filibusterers declared themselves part of the larger war and exchanged their bear flag for that of the United States. Fighting continued until January 1847, when Californios, acting independent of the

government in Mexico City, signed the Treaty of Cahuenga.

To the south, Gen. Winfield Scott marched to Mexico City. At Chapultepec Hill, outside of the capital, his troops were confronted by 100 military cadets, today known as Los Niños Heroes, who struggled in vain to protect their capital. On September 14, 1848, the U.S. Army occupied Mexico City. On February 2, 1848, a treaty was signed at the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding Mexico's northern territories to the United States; this land encompassed what is now the American Southwest. Although the protocol that accompanied the treaty included assurances that Mexican land titles would be respected, most Mexican landholders were disposed of their land by the close of the century.

Linda Heidenreich

See also California; Manifest Destiny; Mexico; United States; War and Warfare

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Mexico

On September 16, 1810, a small town parish priest, Padre Miguel Hidalgo, rang his church bells and exhorted the oppressed peoples and races of New Spain to rise up and overthrow the Spanish colonial government with his infamous “grito de dolores” (“shout of sorrows”). Although Hidalgo’s followers successfully sacked a few cities and killed the resident *gachupines* (their derisive name for Spaniards), the insurgents failed to take Mexico City and alienated conservative *Creoles* (native-born Americans of Spanish ancestry), who were terrified by the prospect of a race and class war.

Following Hidalgo’s capture and execution in the summer of 1811, another parish priest, José María Morelos Pavón, assumed command of the *guerrilleros* (guerrilla army) that continued to fight for the cause of Mexican independence. In November 1813, the rebel leader convened the Congress of

Chilpancingo, whose platform envisioned an independent, Catholic Mexico; proposed universal male suffrage and popular sovereignty; and promised to abolish slavery, forced labor, and government monopolies. In the winter of 1815, Morelos, too, was captured, defrocked, and executed, and the remnants of the rebel army scattered.

The independence movement gained new impetus in 1821 when an ambitious conservative Creole, Agustín de Iturbide, made common cause with the guerrillas, agreeing to set up an independent Mexican monarchy, to make Catholicism the nation’s official religion, and to recognize no distinctions with respect to caste or Creole status among the citizenry. Although the reconstituted army of the “three guarantees” defeated the royalist army and forced the Spanish Crown to recognize Mexican independence by the Treaty of Córdoba, signed on September 27, 1821, the uneasy alliance of liberal and conservative liberators did not last long. Iturbide briefly reigned as Mexico’s constitutional emperor, but his autocratic behavior provoked a rebellion among the liberal elements in the army. They deposed him in 1823 and executed him when he defied exile orders.

Iturbide’s abdication and execution did not resolve the new nation’s crisis of legitimacy; rather, it ushered in an era of anarchic republican rule in which liberal and conservative *caudillos* (regional military commanders) seized the presidency or else “pronounced” against the weak federal government from their provincial strongholds. In spite of a crippling financial crisis and the political chaos and strife that accompanied each presidential succession, important reforms were enacted in this period, including the abolition of slavery in September 1829 under the liberal president Vicente Guerrero. In April 1834, the self-declared savior of the nation, Antonio López de Santa Anna, deposed another liberal president, dismissed congress, and assumed dictatorial powers. Between 1834 and 1855, Santa Anna occupied the presidency ten times, but being more interested in military glory than in the responsibilities of rule, he failed to finish a single term and as commander in chief presided over the loss by war and by sale of more than half of the nation’s territory to the United States.

Following Santa Anna’s final resignation and self-imposed exile, Mexico’s dissident and exiled



Mexican defenders unsuccessfully battle against French invaders at the Battle of Puebla in 1863. The French—in a quixotic bid for a new empire in the Western Hemisphere—would eventually be defeated by Mexican nationalists and driven from the country later in the decade. (Library of Congress)

intellectuals returned to power and attempted to rid Mexican society of the vestiges of colonial privileges. As minister of justice and the unofficial architect of the liberal constitution of 1857, the Zapotec Indian lawyer Benito Juárez and his fellow anticlerical reformers tried to abolish the military *fueros* (privileges) and to curtail the power of the church but instead provoked a three-year religious civil war. In 1861, a victorious Juárez moved into the national palace, but later that year, the country's insupportable foreign debt provided Spain, England, and France with an excuse to occupy Mexican ports and collect customs duties until the loans were repaid. Vainly dreaming of reestablishing his nation's imperial glory, the French emperor Napoleon III used the debt issue as a pretext for launching a full-scale invasion from Veracruz in January 1862, with the intent of reconquering and recolonizing Mexico.

With Juárez's liberal government forced from the capital, his conservative enemies welcomed the French occupation forces as liberators, invit-

ing the emperor's puppet, Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph von Hapsburg of Austria, to assume the Mexican throne. Juárez and his generals refused to capitulate, however, and in 1867, they routed the occupying armies and captured and executed the foreign monarch. Juárez again assumed the presidency, and during the so-called restoration period (1867–1876), Mexico enjoyed a brief respite from the despotism and anarchy that characterized its early political life. It seemed that the bitter experience of foreign intervention and occupation had at least temporarily persuaded the Mexican people to forget their differences and unite as a nation.

Francis X. Luca

See also Juárez, Benito; Maximilian, Emperor; Mexican-American War; New Spain; Santa Anna, Antonio López; Spanish Empire

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Micronesia

The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) extends 1,800 miles across an archipelago of the Caroline Islands and comprises four states: Kosrae, Pohnpei, Truk (now Chuuk), and Yap; the capital, Kolonia, is on Pohnpei. The population of the FSM is predominantly Micronesian. The Portuguese, seeking the Spice Islands, were the first Europeans to arrive there, and the Spanish, who claimed sovereignty over the Caroline Islands until 1899, followed. After Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War, all of the Spanish Pacific was sold to Germany, with the exception of Guam, which became a U.S. possession. In 1914, Japan took military possession of the Marshall, Caroline, and Northern Marianas Islands; it assumed formal administration under a League of Nations mandate in 1920, thereby ending German administration.

In 1947, the United Nations created the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), which consisted of Pohnpei (then including Kusaie), Truk, Yap, Palau, the Marshall Islands, and the Northern Marianas Islands. The United States accepted the role of trustee, and this territory became the only UN trusteeship to be designated a "security trusteeship," whose ultimate status would be determined by the UN Security Council. In 1951, the TTPI was placed under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of the Interior, with the U.S. president appointing a high commissioner to administer the trust territory. In turn, until 1979, the high commissioner appointed a district administrator for each of the Federated States of Micronesia to oversee their programs.

Evolution in the political status of the FSM resulted from U.S. recognition of its constitution in 1979 and the establishment of the government of the FSM (GFSM) at both national and state levels. The governments of the FSM and the United States signed the final version of the Compact of Free Association on October 1, 1982, which went into force on January 14, 1986, as PL 99-239. Under the compact, the political status of the FSM is that of a freely associated sovereign state with the capacity to conduct foreign affairs; the United States is responsible for its defense. The U.S. State Depart-

ment handles government-to-government relations, and the U.S. Department of the Interior is responsible for the oversight and coordination of U.S. programs and funding assistance. The FSM maintains a Washington, D.C., embassy and has diplomatic relations with fifty countries.

The constitution of the FSM separates the executive, legislative, and judicial branches and incorporates a bill of rights and a provision for traditional rights. There is a unicameral legislature of fourteen members; four are elected at large on a nationwide basis, and ten are elected from congressional districts apportioned by population. The chief executive offices are the president of the FSM and governors for Pohnpei, Yap, Kosrae, and Chuuk. A supreme court heads the judiciary branch, and each state government has its own legislative and court system.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also German Empire; Guam; Japanese Empire; League of Nations; Marshall Islands; Northern Marianas Islands; Spanish Empire; United Nations; United States; World War I; World War II

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Milner, Sir Alfred (1854–1925)

A British administrator in the Cape Colony and South Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Alfred Milner was one of the leading instigators of the Boer War and the British conquest of the independent Transvaal Republic of the Afrikaners.

Born of English and German parents in 1854, Milner was educated at Oxford University, becoming a fellow of the university and a journalist in the 1870s and 1880s before attempting an unsuccessful run for Parliament as a Liberal Party candidate in 1885. He then joined the government in an appointed post as secretary to the finance minister. An author of numerous books on the British Empire, Milner was a strong proponent of British imperialism and was appointed governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa in 1897.

The 1890s were a period of great tension in South Africa. Although Afrikaners had won a

nominally independent Transvaal Republic in the early 1880s, the discovery of gold there in 1886 led to a massive influx of foreign (largely British) miners and wealthy British capitalists, all of whom wanted the Transvaal incorporated into a British-ruled South African federation. But Transvaal president Paul Kruger and his Afrikaner followers resisted the idea, much to Milner's chagrin.

When Kruger refused to capitulate, Milner determined that the only way to achieve British control over South Africa was through force of arms. In October 1899, he issued an ultimatum to the Transvaal: either full citizenship would be granted the British people or war would ensue. When this was spurned, the Boer War—named after the Dutch term for Afrikaners—broke out. After several years of brutal guerrilla fighting, the Boers were forced to concede. Meanwhile, in 1901, Kruger gave up his Cape Colony post to become the administrator of the former Boer territories.

Although Milner was successful in resettling displaced Boer farmers back on the land, his efforts to encourage British settlement largely failed, and his attempt to Anglicize Boer education was met with much hostility. Frustrated in these schemes and in another to bring in Chinese laborers to work the gold mines, Milner left South Africa in 1905 and returned to England; he spent the next decade writing books on empire and serving in the House of Lords (he had been made a viscount in 1901). He later served in the World War I cabinet of David Lloyd George but resigned from public service after his plan for the creation of a quasi-independent Egypt was rejected in 1921. Milner died four years later.

James Ciment

See also Boer War; British Empire; Cape Colony; Egypt; Kruger, Paul; South Africa

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Mining

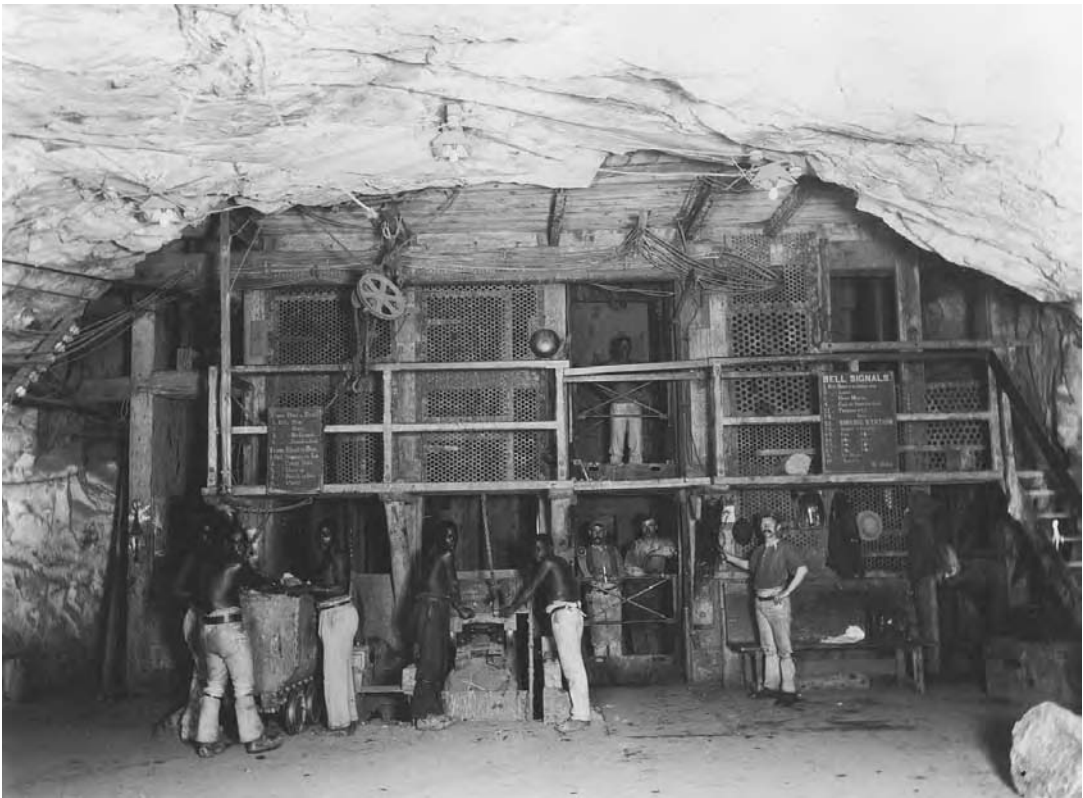
Mining played a major role in the economic activity and development of colonies from the very early stages of colonialism. Spanish looting of

gold artifacts gave way to gold and silver mining, surpassed in value by silver mining in Mexico and Upper Peru (Bolivia) where traditional methods sometimes proved superior to those imported from Spain. The Spanish also mined other metals, such as tin in America. In Brazil, the Portuguese were primarily interested in sugar, but the eighteenth century saw diamond and gold mining in the Minas Gerais area change the colony's economy.

Traditional mining in India, with plentiful cheap labor, was generally confined to surface working. Where feasible, as in Mysore gold mines, Europeans brought in technology that was more capital-intensive. Iron mining in particular continued on a small scale until well into the twentieth century to supply localized iron- and steel-making projects. As was the case elsewhere, increased demand for nonferrous metals led to increased European interest in developing mining, but large-scale operations were often considered impracticable because of difficulties in treating specific ores or geographic location. This was also true in Indonesia, where a range of nonferrous metals were found; bauxite mining began in 1935, and manganese and nickel were also exported, although they were of limited economic importance. The only serious metal mining in Southeast Asia involved Malayan tin, which began to be commercially exploited in the nineteenth century, dominated by the Yukon Gold Company. Some mining of gemstones also occurred.

Mining played a much more significant role in imperial rule in parts of Africa. Especially diamonds and gold attracted the very large amounts of capital required, particularly as surface and alluvial workings were depleted. The need to import major quantities of machinery from Europe also required the building of railways; such projects most often were financed by the government to serve wider political or strategic aims, but they were privately funded if mining profits were expected (though not always accurately) to be substantial, as in the Rhodesias and the Congo.

Transvaal gold mining and Cape diamond mining were mainstays of South Africa's economy. In the years between World War I and World War II, the Anglo-American Corporation opened up the Orange Free State gold fields, and iron mining began to feed the infant iron and steel industry.



Black and white miners await transport to the surface from Kimberley diamond mine in South Africa in the 1890s. Mineral wealth was a primary motivation for European colonial expansion in southern Africa in the late nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

Coal and various nonferrous metals were also important. Elsewhere in the region, the mining of diamonds in South West Africa (now Namibia), Angola, and the Kasai Province of the Congo as well as copper and eventually uranium, tin, and other metals from Katanga made major contributions to the colonial economies. The Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) copper belt only became exploitable in the interwar years with the development of appropriate technology. Similarly, lead and zinc ores found around Broken Hill (Kabwe) could not be treated successfully until many years after they were first discovered.

In West Africa, mining played a less dominant economic role. In many parts of this area, gold was mined, especially in the Gold Coast. There was less mining activity in France's West and Equatorial African colonies, apparently in large part because of a general French preference for less-speculative investment opportunities. In addition, gold-mining rights continued to be held by Africans in some cases.

In North Africa, mining was also rather less important than it was farther south, but it was not without some significance. Iron ore that had supplied precolonial shipbuilding continued, as did the mining of zinc and lead in Algeria and Tunisia; the latter also produced mercury. The region's most important mining involved phosphates, of which Morocco had the world's largest reserves.

Australia also has a wide range of minerals. Gold was first worked in Victoria and later in Western Australia, followed by copper, silver, tin, lead, nickel, and other minerals that indeed gave Australia "a rush that never ended."

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Angola; Australia; Bolivia; Brazil; British Empire; Coal; Copper; Diamonds; Dutch East Indies; French Equatorial Africa; French West Africa; Gold; Gold Coast; Mexico; Northern Rhodesia; Peru; Silver; South West Africa; Spanish Empire

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Monroe Doctrine

In his December 2, 1823, message to Congress, U.S. president James Monroe announced the three key principles of what came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. The key components of the doctrine were: that the United States was to abstain from European wars unless U.S. interests were involved, that what were considered the “American continents” were no longer to be the arena for future colonization by any European power, and that any European colonization attempt would be interpreted by the United States as an unfriendly act. This doctrine provided a rationalization for the country’s desire for empire and overseas markets. Previously, the United States had appeared uninterested as it watched England, Spain, and Germany scramble for overseas colonies.

U.S. leaders became acutely aware of the profits, as well as the prestige, to be derived from access to overseas markets. But though profits were to be had, there were also risks of involvement in foreign incidents. The Monroe Doctrine blatantly targeted and attempted to limit European colonization efforts, a tactic that was not likely to be embraced or adhered to. According to the doctrine, European actions that the United States deemed unfriendly guided the country’s reaction to European powers in the late 1800s. The country was nearly drawn into war with Germany over the Samoan Islands, with Germany apparently misunderstanding what the United States claimed as its sphere of influence as well as what the reaction to an intrusion would cause. In 1893, U.S. sugar companies staged a rebellion in Hawaii that prompted the United States to consider and then push for annexation of the islands. Additionally, in 1895, the country risked war with Great Britain over the right to be the arbitrator of any border dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. Breaches into the U.S. hemisphere occurred again and again as the United States continued not only to expand but also to control the countries in what it considered to be its own backyard. The Monroe Doctrine’s attempt at preventing European colo-

nization became a source of contention for decades.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; United States

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Montezuma (1467–1520)

At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Aztec ruler Montezuma II was at the pinnacle of his power and the Aztec Empire was at its greatest extent. Montezuma rose to power in 1502 on the death of Ahuitzotl, and he consolidated his power through war and conquest and by advancing the cause of the noble classes while diminishing the power of the commoners and meritocratic leaders. His ruthless war making had created any number of enemies, a situation that the Spanish conqueror Hernán Cortés exploited. When the Spanish arrived, the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, was (as far as can be determined) the largest and most beautiful city in the world, containing perhaps 1 million people in the city itself and another 1.5 million in the surrounding Valley of Mexico.

Much has been made of Cortés’s seemingly impossible conquest, since his forces were very badly outnumbered, and many have attributed the fall of the Aztec Empire to the supposed indecision and blundering of Montezuma. When Cortés reached Tenochtitlán on November 8, 1519, he was welcomed by Montezuma and was apparently given the throne to the empire. Two explanations of Montezuma’s actions have been offered. First, it has been claimed that Montezuma was following a religious precedent, believing that Cortés was the emperor/god Quetzalcoatl returning to reassume the throne. An alternative explanation suggests that Montezuma was being extremely clever by offering Cortés the throne: the Spaniard had only a small number of conquistadores with him in the city, and by accepting the throne, he was essentially held as a prisoner in Montezuma’s palace. Whatever the Aztec ruler’s intent, Cortés accepted the offer and immediately took Montezuma hostage.

After accepting the Aztec throne, Cortés was called out of the city and had to return to the coast to intercept a force sent to arrest him as a traitor; his competitors among the conquistadores had helped convince the court that he was disobeying its orders. As he had done before, Cortés simply bought off these soldiers, who then joined with him in his war of conquest, and he returned to the capital to discover that the Aztecs had killed or expelled the Spaniards left to hold the city. Cortés laid siege to Tenochtitlán on May 21, 1520, but was forced to abandon his siege in July. Montezuma was killed during the siege, with the Spaniards claiming that he was killed by his own people for his abdication and the Aztecs claiming that he was killed by Spanish soldiers. Montezuma was succeeded by Chauhtemoc, who was taken prisoner when Cortés took the city on August 13, 1521.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Aztecs; Conquistadores; Cortés, Hernán; Mexico; Spanish Empire

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Morel, E. D. (1873–1924)

Born in Paris on July 15, 1873, George Edmond Pierre Achille Morel-de-Ville, better known as E. D. Morel, rose from the lower middle class to become a major journalist and humanitarian crusader of early-twentieth-century colonialism. His widowed mother could afford to give him only a modest education, but his command of French and English secured him employment as a clerk for Elder Dempster, the Liverpool shipping firm, in 1891. Morel supplemented his meager wages by writing for British newspapers and soon acquired a reputation as an outspoken authority on the West African trade. His defense of British commerce as a vehicle for “civilization” forged close bonds with travel writer Mary Kingsley.

In 1900, Morel published a series of articles on “the Congo scandal” detailing unfair trade practices based on forced labor in the Congo Free State of the Belgian king Leopold II. With funds from rival Liverpool shipping magnates Sir Alfred Jones

of Elder Dempster and John Holt, Morel founded a newspaper in 1903, the *West African Mail*, to promote British commerce. A year later, he helped found the Congo Reform Association to campaign against atrocities in the Congo. Under public pressure, the British Foreign Office sent Roger Casement, British consul in the Congo, on a fact-finding expedition. The 1904 Casement Report documented the systematic violence against Africans in the commerce for wild rubber, accusations heatedly denied by the Belgian king. Missionary photographs of mutilated women and children, published in the *West African Mail* and Morel’s book *Red Rubber*, rallied international condemnation, but governments were reluctant to put pressure on Leopold. A protracted and savage campaign ensued, but eventually, Leopold II was forced to relinquish administration of the Congo to the Belgian government in 1908.

The Congo campaign had exposed the duplicity of the British government. Morel’s *Great Britain and the Congo* (1909) marked a new phase in his life—the campaign against British secret diplomacy, epitomized by his exposé in *Morocco in Diplomacy* (1912). He denounced the secret alliances that led to World War I. In 1914, he helped found the Union of Democratic Control, which advocated parliamentary regulation of foreign policy and opposed British involvement in the war. He was wrongly accused of being a German agent and imprisoned for his antiwar activities in 1917. After the war, he denounced “the war guilt lie” of the Paris Peace Conference, and in *The Black Man’s Burden* (1920), he attacked the mandate system that was applied to former German colonies. Until his death in 1924, he played an active role in formulating British Labour Party foreign policies, but he was passed over for the coveted post of foreign secretary in the first Labour government.

David Dorward

See also Atrocities; Belgian Congo; Belgium; Congo Free State; Leopold II

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Morelos y Pavón, José María

As the wars for Mexico's independence began on December 8, 1810, the country's struggle for freedom from Spain engendered several capable leaders. One of these was José María Morelos y Pavón, born in 1765. Even though Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla was executed by firing squad and decapitated, with his head put on display in Guanajuato, Morelos was not dissuaded from assuming leadership of the independence movement. Morelos, like Hidalgo, was a parish priest. His parents and other ancestors were of mixed racial origins, an indigenous-European combination, which in Latin American countries was commonly referred to as the mestizo class. After more than a year of intense fighting under the leadership of Hidalgo and Domingo Allende, camaraderie among the men fighting for independence had dramatically diminished. This was, in part, due to the radical nature that the revolution appeared to be assuming, which alarmed many wealthy *criollos*, individuals of European descent who were born in Mexico. The unbridled mob attacks on aristocratic property was unnerving, and they made previous supporters of independence skeptical. Even though the *criollos* favored elimination of their Spanish rivals, they were not willing to become involved in any social revolution. Morelos, cognizant that *criollo* support was not to be counted on, divided his attention between the military and political aspects of the movement.

Militarily by 1813, he had realized his plan for surrounding Mexico City and isolating it from both coasts. Using his political prowess, he called for meetings of congress in Chilpancingo, with the main focus on deciding what would happen after

the Spaniards were defeated. In November 1813, independence was formally declared and a new constitution was drafted, incorporating the following main principles: the recognition that sovereignty resided in the people and that universal male suffrage was to be established; the abolition of slavery and all caste systems; the removal of all government monopolies, to be replaced by a 5 percent income tax; and the cessation of all judicial torture. Even though this appeared as a liberal constitution, the delegates insisted that Roman Catholicism be the official religion of the new nation.

For six months, Mexico City provided the protection that Morelos wanted, until the Spaniards broke the circle around the city and not only invaded it but also captured Valladolid, Oaxaca, Cuernavaca, Cuautla, Taxco, and even Chilpancingo (where the congress had previously convened). The delegates scattered to seek more secure environs. The constitution that they had put so much thought into became simply paper promises that the viceroy's army denied in battle. This outcome forced Morelos to become a fugitive, rather than the leader of the insurgents.

In the fall of 1815, he was captured by the enemy forces and taken back to Mexico City. Like Hidalgo before him, he was tried and convicted of treason. He was stripped of his religious vestments and met his end in front of a firing squad. For the next five years, the independence movement consisted of poorly organized, sporadic, hit-or-miss guerrilla fighting.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Mexico; New Spain; Spanish Empire

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Moreno, Mariano Garcia (1778–1810)

In its early stages, the movement for Argentina's independence was led by radical intellectuals such as Mariano Moreno, with backing from Creole militia leaders—individuals of African descent who were

born in the Americas. Moreno was an Argentine revolutionary and publicized his views throughout Buenos Aires. He constantly condemned the Spanish colonial system, and his promotion of liberal economic principles gained him notoriety. As a leader in the revolution of 1810, he was part of the movement to depose the Spanish viceroy.

His intellectual radical spirit did not wane when he founded the *Gazeta de Buenos Aires* and, as editor, championed his democratic, reform ideas in his newspaper. He went further in founding a national library to promote Argentina's nationalism and sovereignty. As with most liberals, he was in constant conflict with conservatives, who admitted provincial deputies to the junta. Moreno did not see any relief or sign of independence, so despite all of his efforts, he resigned as legal counselor of Buenos Aires in May 1810. His resignation halted any democratic movement in the Río de la Plata and began a long struggle between Buenos Aires and Argentina's country provinces. He was appointed to a diplomatic mission abroad, one that he was most adept at, but while sailing for Europe in January 1811, he died at sea.

Representatives of the Province of Buenos Aires, who considered themselves the spokespeople and leaders of Argentina, were left in charge of determining the destiny of their province. Independence was always a goal, but it was not declared formally until 1816. It was to be left to those who followed Moreno to achieve independence for Argentina. Most notably, this included Bernardino Rivadavia, whose ultimate goal was total independence—a goal that would have many more struggles ahead.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Argentina; Spanish Empire

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by the Portuguese (in Ceuta, Tangier, and Mazagan) and the Spanish (in Melilla). At the same time, the threat of Turkish expansion also came to the area. When the Alauit sheikhs of Tafilelt reached a position of unified power, they settled the basis of the present Kingdom of Morocco; however, from the end of the eighteenth century, the government of the country was controlled by European interests, mainly through commercial treaties with France and the United Kingdom. In the mid-nineteenth century, continuous armed conflicts with France and Spain led to a deep economic crisis, made worse by the conditions imposed in the 1906 Algeciras Conference allowing France and Spain to split up the territory and effectively take control of it.

In the Fès Treaty of 1912, the Spanish protectorate was established in the north (the Rif region) and in the south (Tarfaya), and the French protectorate occupied the extensive area in between. Although the Sintra's Treaty of 1509 recognized the right of Castile to colonize the Saharan coast, it was not until 1884 that Spain, alerted by the intention of some British agencies, explored and occupied the interior. France and Spain drew the borders of Western Sahara farther to the south, marking out a territory that never had any relation with Morocco; it became a Spanish colony in 1900.

After World War II, democratic and nationalist Moroccan parties (especially Istiqlal) made claims for independence, which was achieved in 1956. Independent Morocco was constituted by the territories coming from the Spanish and French protectorates as well as the international city of Tangier, which had been a free port since 1906 and under British, French, Spanish, and Italian joint administration since 1923. In 1958, Morocco obtained the Spanish colony of Ifni and began making claims to Western Sahara, Ceuta, Melilla, Mauritania, and parts of Algeria, although making these claims was primarily a strategy to divert attention from internal social, political, and economic problems. By the Madrid Agreement of 1975, Morocco directly obtained from the Spanish the administration of central and northern Western Sahara, and Mauritania was granted the southern part; these provision came in spite of UN declarations and decisions by the International Court of Justice in The Hague urging a plebiscite for all of Western Sahara.

Morocco (and Western Sahara)

Foreign occupation of the western Magrib region in North Africa began in the fifteenth century, led

Since 1973, the Popular Liberation Front of Segúia-el-Hamra and Río de Oro (POLISARIO) has fought for Western Sahara's independence, first against Spain and then against Mauritania and also Morocco and its ally Algeria. The February 1976 proclamation of the Arab Sahawin Democratic Republic (ASDR), with POLISARIO as the core of its armed forces, was recognized by the Organization of African Unity and more than 100 countries. The ASDR brought several regions of the Saharan territory under its control, and in 1979, Mauritania renounced its claims to territories in Western Sahara. These areas were immediately claimed by Morocco. Since the end of the 1980s, a UN Security Council resolution calling for a referendum on the future of Western Sahara has been in force, but this process has been delayed many times due to obstacles introduced by Morocco. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the status of the Western Sahara remains unresolved.

Abel Albet-Mas

See also Algeciras Conference; British Empire; French Empire; Organization of African Unity

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Mossadegh, Mohammed (1880–1967)

The elected premier of Iran from 1951 to 1953, Mohammed Mossadegh presided over an administration marked by turmoil surrounding the nationalization of the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Coming at the height of the Cold War, the move prompted a successful U.S.-sponsored coup that toppled Mossadegh's government and left the nationalist leader under house arrest for the remainder of his life.

The scion of an elite Iranian family, Mossadegh earned a law degree from the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and returned to Iran in 1914, where he took a series of government posts, including minister of foreign affairs, and was elected to the parliament, or Majles. But when the military

dictator Reza Khan declared himself the hereditary monarch, or shah of Iran, in 1925, Mossadegh returned to private life. With the pro-Nazi shah forced out of power by the British and Russians during World War II, Mossadegh returned to government service as an elected Majle, or member of parliament, in 1944.

As a leading parliamentarian and nationalist, Mossadegh resented British control of the Iranian oil industry. Although Iran was never formally colonized by the British, its weakness in the early years of the twentieth century—when the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, predecessor of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, was set up—allowed the British to gain virtually total control over Iranian oil reserves.

After Mossadegh's return to the Majles, he worked to oppose a similar concession to the Soviet Union shortly after World War II. Then, during the late 1940s, Mossadegh gathered political support through his calls for a nationalized Iranian oil industry. In March 1951, the Majles passed his nationalization bill. Although the shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, son of the original shah, opposed the nationalization, he was forced to appoint Mossadegh premier because the latter's political strength appeared insurmountable.

But as popular as the nationalization move was at home, it proved extremely unpopular with Western heads of state, as the British first pulled out of the Iranian oil market and then, with the Americans, orchestrated a virtual international boycott of Iranian petroleum.

The economic turmoil caused by the boycott produced political unrest at home, particularly among the nation's business and military leaders. In August 1953, the shah attempted to dismiss Mossadegh, only to be met by huge street demonstrations that forced his own flight out of the country. Just days later, however, supporters of the shah, backed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, put the shah back on his throne. The shah quickly arrested, tried, and convicted Mossadegh for treason. The former premier was sentenced to three years in prison and then kept under house arrest until he died in 1967.

Mossadegh's nationalization was one of the first efforts by a country of the developing world to overturn economic arrangements set up during the heyday of European imperialism and considered

by Third World nationalists to be overly favorable to Western interests.

James Ciment

See also Cold War; Iran; Petroleum; Shah of Iran; Soviet Union; World War II

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Mountbatten, Earl (1900–1979)

Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, was the last viceroy of India and served as the first governor-general of India from August 1947 until June 1948. His mother was the granddaughter of Queen Victoria, and so he was related to most of the royal families of Europe. He was educated in private schools and at the British navy colleges of Osborne, Dartmouth, and Devonport. In 1919, he was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge University, and during his year there, he imbibed leftist ideas. In 1922, he married the heiress Edwina Ashley; they had two daughters. He was not known for intellectual interests but spent much of his time working on his family tree. During World War II, he became a favorite of Winston Churchill and gained rapid promotion. Mountbatten loved speed and dash. When he became captain of his own naval ship, the *Kelly*, his recklessness led to its sinking in 1942. Although some in the navy wanted him court-martialed, Churchill appointed him to Combined Operations, where he planned the disastrous Dieppe raid of August 1942. In spite of this disaster, Churchill promoted him to the rank of admiral and made him the supreme commander of Allied forces in Southeast Asia.

As viceroy of India, he advanced the idea of Indian independence from August 1947 to June 1948, but his lack of a plan for adequate security led to the death of millions of Indians in communal clashes. He also cheated Pakistan out of territory (especially in Kashmir) and armaments. In 1948, he was promoted to rear admiral; in 1953, he became second sea lord and commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization fleets in the Mediterranean. One year later, he was promoted to first sea lord. He then became admiral of the fleet in 1956 and chief of the defense staff in 1959. In

1979, he was assassinated by an Irish Republican Army bomb that also killed several members of his family.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; India; Victoria, Queen

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Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa)

A Portuguese colony on the southeastern coast of Africa, Mozambique was well known to Islamic sailors and merchants by at least the tenth century; these individuals maintained a few settlements, mostly along the coast, to support commercial activities with African populations in the interior. Kilwa was the principal center of commerce. After the arrival of Vasco da Gama in the early sixteenth century on his expedition to India, Portuguese agents destroyed Islamic settlements and built Portuguese outposts on the coast.

The Portuguese gradually eliminated African resistance to their authority, seeking to maintain control of the territory by making land grants to their nationals who would settle in East Africa. But increasingly, the colony suffered from what might best be described as a policy of benign neglect. Many settlers intermarried with local Africans, and the most important of these offspring became more like African political leaders than Portuguese colonialists. Nonetheless, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the metropolitan government managed to protect its interest in its East African possession. With little capital to support development, however, the Portuguese turned to international financiers to create companies to govern much of the countryside in the name of the Lisbon government and to develop some infrastructure, especially rail links to the interior.

Despite the resulting abuses, especially of local labor (reports of which occasionally surfaced in the international press), Mozambique managed to remain allied with other European colonial nations—especially Britain—well into the twentieth century. In 1951, it officially became an overseas province of Portugal, and all of its assimilated citizens—those who spoke Portuguese and who accepted the local variant of European culture—

were able to participate in government. But the development of the Antonio Salazar dictatorship in the home country continued to limit the rights of even the most favored Mozambiquans.

In reaction, a Marxist-Leninist organization, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), was founded in 1964 with the purpose of undertaking a guerrilla campaign for independence. With its fighters trained largely in Algeria and Egypt, the FRELIMO army, under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel, continued to pressure Portuguese forces. Even with clandestine assistance from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Portuguese authority gradually collapsed, and a people's republic was proclaimed in 1975, with Machel as its leader. The new nation continued to suffer due to its support for nationalist groups in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa as well as a very perilous economic situation.

Melvin E. Page

See also Cold War; Da Gama, Vasco; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Portuguese Empire; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia

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Mughal Empire

The Mughal Empire was created by the Muslims in north India and existed from 1526 until its formal abolition by the British in 1858, although it declined rapidly after 1739. The empire was established by Babur (r. 1526–1530), who was descended from the Mongol leaders of Central Asia. Babur supplanted the Muslim Lodi dynasty of Delhi and defeated a Hindu Rajput confederacy to establish the Mughal dynasty. He was followed by eighteen Mughal sovereigns, of whom the first six emperors, known as the Great Mughals, created the power and greatness of the empire. After Babur came Humayun (1530–1556), Akbar (1556–1605), Jahangir (1605–1627), Shah Jahan (1627–1658), and Aurangzeb (1658–1707).

Mughal civilization was a composite of Hindu, Persian, and Muslim elements. All of the arts flourished during the Mughal period—from crafts to cuisine, from music to dance, and, above all, literature and architecture, with the Red Fort in Delhi and the Taj Mahal in Agra (considered one of the wonders of the world). A new language, Urdu, also arose out of the military camps and became a refined form of expression. All of the great Mughals expanded or defended their extensive territory. Akbar brought the whole of north India under his control as well as Khandesh and Berar in the south, and he created a highly centralized system of administration divided into provinces and districts. In religious terms, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan developed a syncretist religion that stressed tolerance. Akbar was particularly tolerant of non-Muslims. His policy was reversed by the orthodox Aurangzeb, who, in 1679, reinstated the *jizya* (poll tax) against non-Muslims and demolished Hindu temples, replacing them with Muslim mosques. His intolerant policy, together with his long war against the Marathas in the south of India, crippled the Mughal state both militarily and financially. The empire declined rapidly after his death.

Roger D. Long

See also India; Islam

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Mukden, Battle of

Mukden, the last major battle of the Russo-Japanese War, was fought between February 23 and March 20, 1905, in Russian-occupied Manchuria. The Japanese (about 300,000 troops) under Marshal I. Oyama defeated an equal number of men in the Russian armies under Gen. Aleksei N. Kuropatkin. The losses were almost equal as well: about 70,000 killed, wounded, and missing in action for each side. In terms of its scale and ferocity, the Battle of Mukden was the greatest military encounter in the history of modern imperial wars.

The Russian military defeat at Mukden marked the virtual end of czarist expansion in the Far East and destroyed the Russian de facto protectorate in the southern part of Manchuria as this territory came under Japanese military control. The results

of the battle stimulated a widespread perception that Russia had ceased to exist as a great power. This fact influenced the international colonial rivalry as well. Having concluded that Russia could give no support to France, Germany attempted to undermine the French influence and assert its own interests in Morocco as well; it also tried to weaken the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale. Three weeks after the Battle of Mukden, the visit of the German emperor William II to Tangier initiated the first Moroccan Crisis over European interests in the northern African country.

Peter Rainow

See also China; Japanese Empire; Manchuria; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War

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Music

In studying the music of the colonial era, it is possible to distinguish between traditional/primitive musical forms and “modern,” classical, and Western contexts. Western musical ideals and concepts, based on nineteenth-century classical traditions, were spread throughout the non-Western world via colonial conquest. Because colonialism influenced and transformed indigenous cultures, it is doubtful whether traditional/primitive music can still be found in a pure, precolonial form. Yet some individuals believe traditional music had an impact on the way music after colonialism developed in the West.

The most significant contact between Western and non-Western music cultures occurred through colonization. Music was utilized as a vehicle to convert and control colonized peoples. The ideals of nineteenth-century classical music closely informed contact with non-Western traditional music. The classical ideals included the concepts of harmony, composition, group performance, technical mastery, and music for music’s sake. In the most immediate sense, however, contact with Western music came in the form of military bands (a phenomenon tracing its origins to the time of the Crusades), with military forces accompanied by their own musicians. Native peoples were often

trained to play in such groups. In addition, missionaries introduced hymns to the colonized, and though some argued that music should be adapted to suit indigenous tonalities (in Africa, for example), Western forms prevailed. Instruments such as the piano were also introduced through these contexts. In addition, colonial policies had an effect on traditional music and the arts in general. For instance, due to Dutch restrictions on funding to the traditional leadership in Bali, court gamelan musicians returned to the villages and so contributed to the democratization of previously elite and ritualistic musical forms.

In 1835, François-Joseph Fétis, a Belgian musicologist, became the first European to produce a study of non-European music, in his *Resumé Philosophique de l’Histoire de la Musique* (Philosophical Summary of the History of Music). Comparative musicology emerged as a field of study in the 1880s (renamed ethnomusicology in the 1950s) and was closely tied to studies within colonial territories. These studies were based on the paradigm of the dynamic Western classical model versus traditional, static, non-Western music. This paradigm did not account for adaptation or adoption of Western music into the traditional models and in fact sought to “conserve” traditional music in the midst of foreign influences. It also reinforced evolutionary ideas and reconfirmed Western superiority; one example of this latter thinking is Richard Wallascheck’s *Primitive Music* (1893), which began with a discussion of African music. The academic pursuit also resulted in some famous studies among American Indians, including Theodore Baker’s work with the Seneca Indians (1882) and Carl Stumpf’s with the Bella Coola (1886). This field of study was further aided by the development of the phonograph in 1877, from the successive inventions of Thomas Edison and Emile Berliner. The new device was used for recording traditional music, and it allowed detailed analysis and documentation of previously undocumented musical forms.

The colonized world was depicted through Western music as the “exotic Orient” and a spectacle for public consumption. W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan’s Japanese-inspired *Mikado* (1855) and other operettas such as *The Geisha* (1896) and *Chinese Honeymoon* (1901) were pro-

duced in response to a demand for subjects on the Orient. The Italian composer Giuseppe Verdi's famous "Egyptian" opera, *Aida* (first performed in 1871 and commissioned for the opening of the Cairo Opera House), typifies the influence of the colonial world on Western musical imagination. *Aida* presented the grandeur of an exotic and distant Egypt to European audiences and still enjoys considerable popularity today.

Music within the colonial territories also influenced Western forms. In colonial Africa, popular music forms such as "highlife" and "juju" developed and incorporated Western musical instruments; they also enjoyed commercial success. In the United States, spirituals adapted by Negro slaves from hymns and plantation songs were recognized as important musical forms through such publications as William Allen's *Slave Songs of the United States* (1868). Colonialism also played a role in the fusion between traditional and Western music (for instance, British-Pakistani music), and in more recent times, the influence of African music can be seen in the development of pop and rock music.

Donna Brunero

See also Gilbert and Sullivan; Suez Canal

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Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945)

Beginning as a revolutionary socialist journalist propounding antimilitarism and anti-imperialism, Benito Mussolini came out of World War I preaching nationalism and the need for a dictator to restore order in Italy. His magnetic personality and oratorical talent earned him fame. He gathered the nucleus of what was to become the Fascist Party, and its ranks swelled rapidly. In 1922, he organized a mass march on Rome that induced Victor Emmanuel II to appoint him prime minister, with dictatorial powers. Thereafter, unrest ceased, working conditions improved, and public works were started, to the delight of all classes of society. In Italy and abroad, Mussolini was admired. His undoing was an egomaniacal foreign policy inspired by dreams of re-creating the glory of ancient Rome.

He turned his attention to Africa. Italy already ruled most of Eritrea and Somalia; occupying Ethiopia, which lay between the two, would enable him to rule an empire and also avenge the 1896 defeat Italy had suffered at Adwa at the hands of Ethiopian emperor Menelik II. Using the excuse of border disputes between Somalia and Ethiopia, he sent an expeditionary corps to the area in 1935. Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations, which in response imposed sanctions on Italy. These notwithstanding, Mussolini was able to announce victory over Ethiopia to cheering crowds within one year.

Then, diplomatically isolated in Europe, he formed an alliance with Adolf Hitler's Germany. When Hitler's victorious armies occupied most of Western Europe by 1940, Mussolini, envious and eager to get his share of the spoils, declared war on the Allies. However, Italian troops suffered defeats, he lost much popular support, and in 1943 he was deposed by his own Fascist Grand Council and arrested. German soldiers rescued him, and Hitler

400 Myanmar

appointed him head of a puppet republic in northern Italy. When the Allies liberated Italy in 1945, Mussolini fled but was caught by Italian partisans and shot.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Adwa, Battle of; Ethiopia; Fascism, Italian; Hitler, Adolf; Italian Empire; Somalia; World War II

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Myanmar

See Burma

N

Naipaul, V. S. (1932–)

Vidiadhar Surajprasad Naipaul was born in Trinidad and left for England in 1950. Writing has been his singular career, and the sheer volume of his work and its consistent excellence establishes him as one of the greatest novelists of all time. Naipaul has unquestionable mastery over the language, and his use of it is always simple and lucid. Not since Joseph Conrad has the world witnessed a writer whose vision of the colonial and postcolonial worlds is so penetrating and uncompromisingly honest. His analyses of societies, past and present, in many parts of the world—the West Indies, Asia, Southeast Asia, the United States, and Africa, for example—make the work of conventional academics seem feeble and worn. Naipaul’s vision is usually dark; the analysis often reveals hopelessness and haplessness. For him, the world is often an alien place that mocks humanity’s attempt to conquer and construct. Imperialism, whether of the Arab/Islamic or European/Christian order, is destructive for its impure motives. At the same time, attempts at postindependent construction are rendered futile because of learned impurity of motive, sheer intellectual incompetence, and moral corruption.

Naipaul’s scathing analysis of political leaders and political and religious systems has resulted in much criticism from around the world; a good deal of this is personal, and most of it is juvenile. The author’s apparent disenchantment with sys-

tems, religions, and civilizations often seems to spring from a personal hurt and from a desire to belong. His harshness, after all, may have its roots in deep disappointment. Beneath Naipaul’s cutting humor and his scathing commentary lies the writer’s compassion, often overlooked.

V. S. Naipaul has been the recipient of numerous literary awards. He was knighted in 1989 and was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 2001.

Daizal R. Samad

See also British Empire; British West Indies; Literature

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Nairobi

Nairobi (from the Maasai word meaning “the place of sweet waters”) is the capital of Kenya. Its history dates back to 1890, when the Imperial British East

Africa Company maintained British interests in Kenya. Six years later, the British Foreign Office assumed direct control of Kenya due to a decision to build a railroad from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. Nairobi was formally founded in 1899 on the site of a water hole of the pastoral Maasai ethnic group. The location was later made a railhead camp on the Mombasa-to-Uganda railroad. From 1899, Nairobi served as the provincial capital for the British, and later, in 1905, it replaced Mombasa as the capital of the British East Africa Protectorate (Kenya Colony, 1920–1963).

Although Nairobi is only 90 miles (145 kilometers) south of the equator, it has a moderate climate and was favored by the British settlers, largely because of its high altitude (c. 5,500 feet, or 1,680 meters, above sea level), the economic value of the highlands, and the consequent natural barrier to most insects. Thus, Nairobi and its environs became the center of the prosperous European-dominated highlands farming area. Some lands were guaranteed to the indigenous people of Kenya, but all so-called unoccupied land became Crown property, preventing indigenous groups from expanding in the area. Of the 9,000 white colonists in Kenya at the close of World War I, many were in the “white highlands” (much of the highlands had been reserved for colonial white settlement), thus creating an inadequate land reserve for the Africans and forcing many of them to become squatters on the land of their birth. The British government favored the white minority, which consisted of mostly European colonists, and by the 1950s, the Mau Mau insurgency flared among Kikuyu people near Nairobi; there were related disturbances in the city as well. Although the Mau Mau Rebellion was eventually quelled with much brutality, it paved the way for an independent Kenya in 1963, with Nairobi as its capital.

James Mulli

See also Imperial British East Africa Company; Kenya; Kikuyu; Mau Mau

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Nanking, Treaty of

The Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) in 1842 brought to a conclusion the first of the Opium Wars between Britain and China over the former’s effort to force China to accept imports of the dangerous drug. The price exacted from a defeated China was a payment of \$21 million as indemnity and the cession of Hong Kong to Britain. The Ch’ing (Qing) dynasty also agreed to the opening of five ports for trade and as residences for British subjects and their families, the establishment of consulates in each of these ports, equality in official correspondence, and a fixed tariff. In a supplementary treaty in 1843, the British further added a most-favored-nation clause, stipulating that Britain would be extended the same privileges or immunities that China might grant to any other country in the future.

As the first of many unequal agreements between China and the foreign powers, the Treaty of Nanking set the pattern for the Treaty Port System, the institutional arrangement for Western imperialist penetration of China. The Western nations (and Japan in 1895) followed suit, with more treaties forced on China via gunboat diplomacy. China suffered a loss of sovereignty through numerous commercial and political concessions. By 1900, scores of treaty ports were opened, where foreigners could reside and work under the protection of extraterritorial privilege outside the jurisdiction of Chinese law. The foreign settlements of some treaty ports were governed by foreign-controlled administrations even though the vast majority of residents were Chinese. The limitation of tariffs to 5 percent ad valorem deprived the Chinese government of the possibility of using protective tariffs to foster industrial development or to keep out undesirable imports, such as opium. In addition, most-favored-nation status entitled nationals of each foreign power to automatically enjoy concessions or privileges yielded by China to any of these powers. Chinese sovereignty was not fully regained until the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Opium Wars

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Nanking Massacre (Rape of Nanking)

In the Nanking (Nanjing) Massacre, hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians and surrendered soldiers were systematically murdered, raped, and tortured by the Japanese army from December 1937 through February 1938. A turning point in the Second Sino-Japanese War, the massacre undermined Japan's claim to legitimacy as the liberator of the Asian peoples from Western imperialism, and it stiffened Chinese resolve to resist Japan's colonial aggression. The atrocities at Nanking were not random acts of violence by undisciplined soldiers but were organized and sanctioned by local commanders. Several theories have been advanced to explain how a civilized people could commit such horrors. Some attribute the massacre to a Japanese thirst for vengeance after encountering unexpectedly stiff Chinese resistance; others say Japan's brutal system of military discipline caused abused Japanese soldiers to

transfer their aggression to the Chinese; and still others point to the indoctrination of Japanese soldiers, which emphasized unconditional loyalty to the emperor and promoted contempt for the Chinese and other Asians.

Some Japanese were tried and convicted at the Nanking and Tokyo War Crimes Trials after Japan's defeat in 1945. But many perpetrators of atrocities escaped justice. Nor has Japan as a nation fully assumed responsibility for its war crimes. In part because of the atomic bomb destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the great loss of life and property suffered at home, many Japanese see their country primarily as a victim of war rather than a victimizer.

Since the 1970s, in a climate of rising nationalism, right-wing Japanese conservatives have denied or minimized the scale of the Nanking Massacre, depicting it as a fabrication of the Chinese and the Allies. Progressive Japanese, by contrast,



The railroad station in Nanking lies in ruins following a Japanese air raid in November 1937. Japan's capture of the then-Chinese capital led to the so-called Rape of Nanking, in which hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians were massacred. (Hulton Archive)

believe that their nation must come to terms with its past by assuming full responsibility for its wartime atrocities. Since the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in 1972, growing Japanese investment in China, ongoing territorial disputes between China and Japan, and the denial of the Nanking Massacre by some Japanese have combined to induce anger among many Chinese at what they see as a revival of Japanese imperialism. Diaspora Chinese communities have, from the 1980s, rediscovered the Nanking Massacre as a means to connect with China and to forge their own cultural identity; in this way, the tragedy has functioned much as the Holocaust has for Jewish communities. The Nanking Massacre has thus become a politicized and hotly contested topic among diverse groups of Chinese and Japanese citizens.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Japanese Empire; Sino-Japanese Wars; World War II

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Nantes, Edict of (April 13, 1598)

The Edict of Nantes was a law passed after much bargaining by Henry IV of France, granting civil and religious liberties to his Huguenot subjects at the end of the wars of religion that had divided Europe during the late sixteenth century. As Henry of Navarre, the king was the leader of the Huguenots until his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1593. The Huguenots had been persecuted and suffered greatly, and thus, the struggle for the edict was an important part of the history of France.

The main clauses of the edict gave liberty of conscience to all Protestants throughout France and the right to public worship in all the places they had frequented before 1597. They were to have full civil rights to trade freely, hold property, enter universities, and assume official positions, and their pastors were to be paid by the state. They

could hold religious synods and political assemblies, and as a guarantee of their safety, they could occupy 100 strongly fortified areas for eight years at the king's expense. The edict has been seen as a milestone in the history of toleration, but to contemporaries, it was a compromise justifying the coexistence of two religions in one body politic.

In 1629, Cardinal Richelieu annulled its political provisions, and on October 13, 1685, King Louis XIV ordered the full revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As a result, Huguenots left France in a mass exodus to England, Ireland, Holland, and Brandenburg and eventually to colonial destinations in the Americas and Africa as well.

John J. N. McGurk

See also Christianity; Huguenots

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Napoleon III (1808–1873)

Charles-Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew and stepson-in-law of Napoleon I, was president of the Second Republic from 1850 to 1852 and emperor of France from 1852 to 1870. He ruled autocratically, yet he supported social, political, and economic modernization and reform and tried to bring stability to France.

In foreign policy, he pursued a series of unrelated initiatives to perpetuate the Napoleonic legend and have France regain its status in Europe. He participated in the Crimean War (1854–1856) and in an expedition to China, and he supported construction of the Suez Canal. He sent troops to help the king of Sardinia-Piedmont expel Austrians from Lombardy. After a massacre of Maronite Christians, he sent troops to Lebanon to impose an autonomous region under a Christian governor.

Napoleon III enlarged the French colonial empire for both prestige and economic reasons. Only in Algeria did he pursue a relatively liberal policy, recognizing Arab rights while protecting French colonists. His course in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, and America was clearly imperialist.

He sent Louis Faidherbe to Senegal with the mission of controlling the colony at the lowest possible cost and achieving maximal economic gain, and he directed him to seize the Wolof kingdoms.

He ordered the conquest of southern Vietnam, imposed a protectorate on Cambodia, and proclaimed the formation of a new colony, Cochinchina (1862–1863). To assert French influence in North America, he rashly persuaded Maximilian of Austria to become emperor of Mexico, with the support of French troops, in 1864. Three years later, he abandoned Maximilian to his fate because of general opposition from European nations and the United States. Maximilian was executed by Mexican nationalists in 1867.

Napoleon III's undoing was that he underestimated Otto von Bismarck and the power of Prussia. In 1870, overwhelmed by invading Prussian armies, France was defeated and Napoleon III overthrown.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bismarck, Otto von; Crimean War; Franco-Prussian War; French Empire;

Maximilian, Emperor; Mexico; Suez Canal; War and Warfare

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Nasser, Gamel Abdel (1918–1970)

Gamel Abdel Nasser was a leader not only of Egypt but also of the worldwide nonaligned movement, and his strong anticolonial message and defiance of the West gave inspiration to millions beyond Egypt's frontiers. Born the son of a postal employee on January 15, 1918, he was wounded by the British in 1935 while protesting against their imperial presence in Egypt. Subsequently, he attended a military academy and later distinguished himself in the 1948–1949 Arab war with Israel. He became a leader of the Free Officers' Movement,



Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser waves to citizens in Cairo in August 1956, shortly after his announcement that he had “taken over” the Suez Canal Company from the French and British. Nasser’s move prompted an unsuccessful French-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt in October. (Hulton Archive)

which overthrew the Egyptian monarchy on July 22, 1952, and proclaimed a republic the following year.

Nasser subsequently maneuvered to emerge as absolute leader of his country and embarked on a moderate course, even initially looking to the United States as a prospective ally. Yet he became increasingly populist and nationalist, soon challenging Western influence in the region. He opposed the U.S.-sponsored Baghdad Pact (1955), seeing the West's anti-Soviet containment strategy as a neoimperialist scheme, and his opposition to Israel stemmed, in part, from his perception of it as the handmaiden of Western influence in the region. He envisioned Egypt—at the crossroads of Arab, Islamic, and African civilizations—as the leader of a populist movement of neutralism in the world and boldly emphasized this at the 1955 Bandung Conference of nonaligned leaders, where he met Jawaharlal Nehru, Sukarno, and Marshal Tito. Nasser also negotiated Sudanese independence from Egypt and the removal of British troops from Egyptian soil in 1956.

Yet the West increasingly saw Nasser as a destabilizing presence, particularly after his July 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal. In the fall of that year, Britain, France, and Israel launched coordinated attacks on Egypt, which failed to gain U.S. support and thus led to Nasser's ultimate triumph. His prestige was never higher than after the Suez incident, and subsequently, Syria and, later, Yemen, joined with Egypt to form the short-lived United Arab Republic (1958–1961) under Nasser's guidance. At the time of his sudden death from a heart attack on September 28, 1970, the Middle East, with the decline of European power and the emergence of numerous independent Arab states, scarcely resembled the region of his youth. He is considered the most revered Arab nationalist of the twentieth century.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Bandung Conference; Egypt; Sinai War; Suez Canal

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Natal

Founded in 1845 as a colony of the British Empire, Natal made its most important contribution to the

creation and maintenance of colonial rule in southeastern Africa by implementing a policy referred to as indirect rule. Although this policy was confined to Natal at first, it eventually became the central mode of domination throughout the region as well as the rest of the continent, and more specifically, it helped to set the foundations for what became the South African apartheid state in the mid-twentieth century.

The issues facing Natal's leaders in 1845 were not unlike those that most colonial officials faced in Africa. Lacking sufficient funds from the British government and confronting an indigenous African population that greatly outnumbered the white settlers, the obvious question was how to establish effective political control. In addition, both the white British settlers occupying the coastal region of modern-day Durban and the white Afrikaner settlers in the interior pressured the colonial state to protect them from the Zulu kingdom to the north as well as from over ninety individual chieftaincies occupying territory in Natal itself. Under these conditions, Theophilus Shepstone, who served as a colonial administrator in Natal from 1846 to 1872, began to implement a series of decisions that would eventually form the basis of indirect rule. Rather than depending on state money or institutions, Shepstone believed land should be demarcated for different "tribes" and that the tribal leaders should continue to govern as they had in the past. Of course, certain customary laws and practices were disallowed if they were not "civilized," and individual chiefs who chose not to cooperate with the state were deposed and replaced. The colonial state also gave the chiefs nominal salaries for the performance of certain duties, such as maintaining order, collecting taxes, and providing cheap labor.

Natal refined and rationalized indirect rule during the nineteenth century, culminating in 1896 with limited autonomy under "responsible government." In 1910, Natal was incorporated into the Union of South Africa, where it was still able to maintain its system of indirect rule. Finally, in 1927, with the passage of the Native Administration Act, the so-called Shepstonianism system of indirect rule became policy for the entire union, and the foundation for subsequent apartheid legislation was set.

J. Michael Williams

See also Apartheid; Boers; British Empire; South Africa
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Navajo

Modern Navajo is a tribal nation of people in the southwestern United States residing on a reservation of 26,110 square miles and occupying portions of three states (New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah). The name *Navajo* likely evolved from the name *Apachés de Nabajú*, which was assigned to these people by the Spanish during exploration and colonization of the region early in the sixteenth century. The Navajo refer to themselves as *Dine’*.

The Navajo evolved culturally and politically from the Athabascan-speaking peoples believed to

have migrated, by way of a land bridge at the Bering Strait, from Asia to North America between 40,000 and 8,000 years ago, arriving in the southwestern United States in the fifteenth century. This theory of their origins is disputed by some Navajo because it contradicts oral traditions that attribute their existence in this world, as with many indigenous peoples, to a point of origin at or near their traditional homeland. The Navajo traditional homeland is a small region in north-central New Mexico, known to them as Dinétah.

After the United States took the southwestern region by military force in 1848, the Navajo people suffered great hardships and relocation in the face of massive westward expansion by Americans. Following an intense campaign led by Col. Christopher “Kit” Carson, from 1862 to 1864, most Navajo people were forcibly rounded up in a “scorched-earth” effort and marched east from their homelands to an encampment at Fort Sumner (Bosque Redondo), New Mexico. The professed purpose of this relocation was to civilize and make sedentary farmers of these traditionally nomadic hunter-gatherers. During the Long Walk to Bosque



Two Navajo horsemen pause in this 1855 lithograph. Among the largest Indian tribes in North America, the Navajo survived Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. rule. (Library of Congress)

Redondo, several hundred Dine' died, were shot, or were simply left behind to perish, and during their four-year confinement, approximately 2,000 succumbed to exposure, famine, illness, dysentery, and despair. This tragic experiment was so costly that Congress cut off funding for the relocation and in 1868 established a Navajo reservation of approximately 3.5 million acres. Tribal leaders signed a treaty establishing the boundaries and committing the surviving 7,000 Navajo to remain there.

It is doubtful that many of the Navajo people understood the terms of the treaty of 1868. In the years that followed, Navajo sheep flocks increased to the tens of thousands as the tribal population grew. As grazing needs increased, the animals moved in all directions outside the boundaries of the reservation, causing competition for land with the rapidly advancing white settlers; the prospect of renewed violence loomed. Washington was determined to control Navajo expansion and direct it away from white settlements while accommodating Navajo growth needs, and numerous congressional and administrative actions between 1868 and 1934 increased the Navajo Reservation to its current size of 16.7 million acres. This rapid expansion occurred largely to the detriment of the Hopi Indians of the region, as it almost entirely consumed their traditional territories. By some definitions and assuredly from the perspective of the Hopi, the colonized Navajo became colonizers by virtue of their consumption of over 90 percent of Hopi lands.

The modern Navajo Nation, with a local population approaching 200,000 and a tribal enrollment in excess of 270,000, considers itself a sovereign nation by virtue of its government-to-government relationship with the federal government. It is governed by a tribal government led by a tribal council of chapter representatives, a Navajo Nation president, and a Navajo Nation court system. The impetus for this system came from energy developers wishing to establish a central government with the authority to approve land leases for the extraction of minerals. To many Navajo, this is an alien and culturally incompatible form of government. They believe it was forced on them by an overzealous Bureau of Indian Affairs and politicians in the 1920s in their efforts to civilize these very traditional people and to impose on them a form of government both

familiar to U.S. politicians and amenable to "rubber stamping" mineral leases.

William Havens

See also Americans, Native; Mexico; Spanish Empire; United States

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Nazism

The ideology of the German National Socialist Party drew its inspiration from the speeches and writing of Adolf Hitler. Although this ideology had its greatest influence in Europe, the ideas did find their way into the colonial world. Drawn to the notions of romantic nationalism and a quest for "racial purity" at the expense of other social groups, a few colonial Europeans began to accept and espouse many of the core tenets of Nazi rhetoric.

The most significant group of these Nazi admirers was found in South Africa, particularly among the Afrikaner community, which traced its roots to the original European colonists who arrived in South Africa in 1652. The Afrikaners conceived of a nation based on the racial superiority of the "original" colonists and the subjugation and exploitation of other groups, particularly Africans. During the 1930s and 1940s, many of them became very sympathetic to the ideas of racial characteristics and superiority of blood and the *volk* (people) promoted by the Nazis; such ideas were easily applied both to white-black relations and to Afrikaans-speaking whites and their Anglophile counterparts.

Germany's defeat in World War II did not diminish the Afrikaners' adherence to Nazi philosophies. In fact, the political ascendancy of the Afrikaner-dominated National Party in 1948 led to the adoption of apartheid, a rigid system of racial separation. By constructing a strict caste system with each group in isolation and whites in every position of power, the white minority imposed a tyrannical dictatorship over its subjugated groups that bore a striking resemblance to the callous disregard for human life that charac-

terized the policies of Nazi Germany. The Nationalist government did not repeal the apartheid laws until the early 1990s, as the country began a transition to majority rule under heavy pressure from the United Nations.

Chad R. Fulwider

See also Apartheid; German Empire; Hitler, Adolf; South Africa; World War II

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Ndebele

A central-south African people swallowed up by the imperial ambitions of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, the Ndebele originated from the fragments of clans broken up during the formation of the Zulu nation in Natal in the early nineteenth century. These fragments—initially commanded by an exiled *induna* (chieftain) of Shaka, the leader of the Zulu nation during its expansionist phase in the early 1800s—gradually drifted to the northwest under Boer and Zulu pressure to settle what was to become Southern Rhodesia. Like the Zulu, the Ndebele were a warrior society who raided their neighbors for cattle and captives.

The Ndebele remained relatively untouched by European expansion until the 1890s. Great changes had occurred to their south, however. Massive gold and diamond strikes provided funding for the dreams of Cecil Rhodes. He was convinced the lands across the Limpopo River held yet undiscovered mineral wealth and, as a fervent imperialist, believed the government was moving too slowly in expanding the empire. If British interests were not extended into the area quickly, he argued, some other ambitious imperial power was sure to do so. His ultimate goal was to see a swath of British red on the map extending from the Cape Colony to Cairo. Squarely in his path lay the Ndebele.

Rhodes acquired a charter for his British South Africa Company in 1889. The following year, he obtained extensive mining concessions across the Limpopo in return for cash, rifles, and a spurious promise of a river gunboat to the Ndebele king, Lobengula. At the same time, his company pushed a heavily armed pioneer column through Loben-

gula's domain and established a fort in adjoining Mashonaland. The intent was to build a mining and farming settlement and gradually assimilate the Ndebele as client-laborers for the company.

The Ndebele, however, did not give up their warrior society, and continued raids on the tribes in Mashonaland provoked war with the company in 1893. The Ndebele outnumbered the company forces by a factor of at least ten and had acquired over 1,000 Martini-Henry rifles. The company could field only 1,100 men but had the advantages of mounted mobility, a pair of light artillery pieces, and eight machine guns. Technology provided an edge that numbers could not overcome, and after a few battles, the Ndebele were forced to seek terms of surrender. A second rising took place in 1896, with similar results. Rhodes himself negotiated the settlement with the Ndebele chiefs to end the conflict and establish company rule in the region. With that, the Ndebele lost their independence entirely.

Melvin C. Smith

See also Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia; Zulus

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Ne Win (Maung Shu Maung) (1911–)

Born on May 24, 1911, to a Sino-Burmese family that called him Maung Shu Maung, Ne Win attended Rangoon University. Leaving without a degree, he joined the Dobama Asiayon (We Burmans Association) and was one of the young nationalists known as the Thirty Heroes or Thirty Comrades. These individuals fled Burma and helped found the Burmese Independence Army, which returned with the 1941–1942 Japanese invasion.

Burmese forces switched sides to the Allies between 1944 and 1945, by which time Maung Shu Maung had taken the nom de guerre Ne Win (Son of Glory). After the war, he became deputy to the commander in chief of the armed forces. Promoted to commander of the armed forces when his predecessor, a Karen, revolted, he held ministerial posts in 1949 and 1950.

In 1958, he was invited to assume control of the government, but he relinquished his post after arranging for the 1960 elections. The restored civilian government of U Nu did not last long. Economic deterioration and continuing ethnic insurgency saw Ne Win install a military government again in March 1962.

Ne Win then became prime minister (1958–1960, 1962–1974), chairman of the Revolutionary Council, and state president when Burma was declared the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma in 1974. Though he retired in 1981, he continued to dominate affairs as chairman of the executive committee of the ruling Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) from 1973 to 1988.

Under his rule, Burma followed a policy of non-alignment and a “Burmese path to socialism.” Far-reaching nationalization of businesses, state planning, and international isolation saw the country sink into stagnation. Combined with political repression, this sparked nationwide protests in 1988 and forced Ne Win’s official resignation in July 1988. Burma then came under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) in September 1988 and the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), ostensibly under Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt, in November 1997. The military dominated these councils, and many assumed Ne Win still wielded influence behind the scenes.

Karl A. Hack

See also Burma; Decolonization; War and Warfare

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Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889–1964)

Born in India on November 14, 1889, the son of Motilal Nehru—one of India’s richest lawyers and a leader of the Indian National Congress—Jawaharlal Nehru was educated at home and then at Harrow (1905–1907) and Cambridge University (1907–1910), where he studied natural sciences. In 1912, he was called to the bar in London. After his return to India, he dedicated his life to politics. He married in 1916, and his only child, Indira, was born the next year. He met Mohandas Gandhi in 1915, became one of his most important supporters, and succeeded him as leader of the Indian National Congress. He joined the Home Rule League

in 1916, started the *Independent* newspaper in 1919 with his father, and took part in Gandhi’s first noncooperation movement in 1920. One year later, he began serving the first of several imprisonments that would total some nine years. While in prison, he wrote *Glimpses of World History* (1934–1935) and *An Autobiography* (1936). In 1946, he published *The Discovery of India*.

From 1923 to 1925, he was general secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, and in 1927, he participated in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels, Belgium. In November of that year, he attended the tenth-anniversary celebration of the Russian Revolution in Moscow, and in December, he moved the resolution at the Indian National Congress demanding complete independence for India and became president of the congress.

After India was granted independence in 1947, Nehru became the new nation’s prime minister, and he led the country until his death on May 27, 1964. As prime minister, he began a large-scale industrialization through five-year plans. He gave women equal rights in regard to divorce and inheritance, and he pushed for land reform. India became the world’s largest democracy under Nehru’s leadership, and he also was one of the leaders of the nonaligned movement. He is remembered as a man of great ideals, erudition, sophistication, and charm.

Roger D. Long

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Gandhi, Mohandas; India

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Nelson, Lord Horatio (1758–1804)

A British naval hero of the Napoleonic Wars and a symbol of the naval superiority of the British Empire, Horatio Nelson entered the Royal Navy as a “captain’s servant” to his maternal uncle, Capt. Maurice Suckling, in 1770. He was appointed midshipman in 1773 and was promoted to second lieutenant four years later. His first command was of the brig *Badger* in the Caribbean during the American Revolution.

Nelson's early career was marred by conflicts with other officers but enhanced through connections with influential naval officials such as Lord Hood and Prince William. He married the widowed Frances Nisbet in 1787 and spent the period from 1789 to 1793 without command, convinced he had angered his superiors at the Admiralty. He returned to sea in command of the HMS *Agamemnon* and accompanied Hood's squadron into the Mediterranean in 1793. There, he was instrumental in the capture of Corsica, losing the sight in his right eye while commanding a shore party bombarding Calvi in 1794. He also played a pivotal role in the February 14, 1797, Battle of Cape St. Vincent by preventing the broken Spanish line from reforming and engaging the 130-gun *Santisima Trinidad* with his own 74-gun *Captain*. His actions allowed the British fleet to adjust its dispositions and win a decisive general victory.

Nelson was again severely wounded ashore in an abortive attack on Santa Cruz, Spain, on July 24, 1797, losing his right arm at the elbow. He returned to command in the Mediterranean and won a signal victory on August 1, 1798, with the destruction of the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir Bay, Egypt, thereby hamstringing Napoleon's army in Egypt. Nelson was made Baron Nelson of the Nile and Burnham-Thorpe (his birthplace) after this victory. His next service came in the Baltic Sea, where he commanded a strike on Danish naval forces at Copenhagen, opening the Baltic to British operations. Nelson was further elevated to viscount and given command of the Southeastern Defense Flotilla of the home islands.

Nelson's greatest and final victory came, fittingly, aboard the HMS *Victory* on October 21, 1804, off Cape Trafalgar, when his slightly outnumbered command defeated a combined Franco-Spanish fleet. While engaged at point-blank range with the 74-gun French ship of the line *Redoubtable*, Nelson was shot by a French marine and died three hours later. His body was preserved in rum, returned to Britain, and accorded a state funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral. One of the most visible landmarks in London, Trafalgar Square, is dedicated to his memory.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; War and Warfare

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Nepal

The only official Hindu kingdom in the world, Nepal is a nation of 25 million people situated in the Himalayan Mountains and foothills, with India to the south, west, and east and the Tibetan province of China to the north. Nepal was one of the few Asian nations that remained independent during the heyday of European imperialism in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

The history of Nepal in the modern era of the Indian subcontinent—that is, since roughly the late eighteenth century—has been marked by three important historical facts. One was the struggle of various noble families for hegemony. Ultimately, the Rana family won out in the mid-nineteenth century, exiling leaders of rival clans to India and turning the *sah*, or king, into a puppet ruler. The second fact was warfare. Between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the Nepalese fought and lost a series of wars with Tibet, China, the Sikhs, and the British that fixed the modern, constricted boundaries of the nation.

The final element of Nepalese colonial-era history was accommodation with the British. As London consolidated its power in the subcontinent, many Nepalese feared their kingdom would be absorbed into the Raj. In 1860, the ruling Rana family established a working relationship with the British. The latter largely controlled Nepalese foreign policy and were permitted to recruit the highly prized Nepalese Gurkha soldiers for the imperial army. At the same time, the British granted the Nepalese ruling family control over domestic affairs and protection from internal and external enemies.

With British withdrawal from India in 1947, London's protection of the Ranas—resented by many for their corruption and repression—disappeared, and the family was overthrown in the revolution of 1950. The new government order featured a king with newly enhanced powers and an administration dominated by the Nepali Congress Party, itself strongly influenced by the

nationalism of its namesake Indian Congress Party to the south.

James Ciment

See also Gurkhas; India

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Nerchinsk, Treaty of

The August 27, 1689, Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China was the first agreement that the Chinese Middle Kingdom signed with a European nation. Concluded in the frontier outpost of Nerchinsk on the Shilka, a tributary of the Amur River, it settled for four decades the smoldering conflict over control of the Amur Valley that began when Russian Cossacks intruded into the borderland in search of furs and grain. The clash with Chinese troops was the consequence of the Russian colonization of Siberia and the subjugation of the Siberian peoples. Before the Russian advance to the Siberian-Chinese border, several Siberian tribes, such as the Tungus in the Amur Valley, paid tributes (furs, copper, silver) to the Chinese court.

Russian incursions into that territory were ventures of individuals, mostly Cossacks, unauthorized by the Muscovite government. Peter the Great, the czar of enlightenment, saw the future of Russia's prosperity in the Far East and therefore wished to live in peaceful coexistence with China. Peter's counterpart, Emperor Kangxi, wanted to open his country for trade with its northern neighbor. The Russo-Chinese accord had an extreme significance because through it, the Qing (Manchu) dynasty entered for the first time into diplomatic relations based on equality. Before that, Confucian emperors had a hierarchical perspective of the international order. According to that perspective, China stood at the core of the world, surrounded by other "enlightened" Confucian societies such as Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. The outer periphery—composed of Mongolia, Turkestan, Siberia, Russia, and the West European nations—was inhabited by barbarians (*yenmanren*).

The Russo-Chinese rapprochement was, in part, a product of the mediation of two Jesuits, Fa-

thers Jean-François Gerbillon and Thomas Pereira, who advised the Chinese court on European diplomacy. To the Manchu advantage, the Russians had to give up the fortifications along the Amur, but most of the east Siberian boundary was left undefined. Trade was the most decisive outcome of the treaty and let Siberian outposts such as Nerchinsk and later Kiakhta experience a boom, which Western travelers euphorically described as the golden age of the "Siberian Venice and Genoa." The range of merchandise involved in this trade was quite manifold: furs, tea, silk, fabrics, chinaware, and gold. Russo-Chinese trade was mediated not only by Siberian and Chinese traders but also by a specially privileged group, generally known as Bukharans—a label that referred both to Central Asians and also to Persian, Turkish, Greek, and Indian merchants as participants in Russia's commerce. The oriental merchants turned Nerchinsk and many other trading posts into an interethnic conglomerate. Peter the Great's mercantile policy toward China reflected his cosmopolitanism, that is, his view that Russia needed to be opened up to influences from other countries.

Trading on the border proved to be a dangerous adventure. The route along the Rivers Selenga and Argun and through mountains and steppes was difficult, especially in harsh winters. Russians and Chinese were vague about the area's geography, and caravans from and to China were often plundered by nomads and Cossacks. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Chinese imperial government announced that trade with Russia was unnecessary. Chinese trappers in northern Manchuria and European ships at Canton satisfied Peking's needs for furs. Siberian outposts along the Amur fell into oblivion.

One hundred years later (in 1860), in an imperialistic overture, Russia took advantage of a gap in the Treaty of Nerchinsk—the nondemarcation of the border—and annexed the Amur Valley. Although under Russian tutelage, this area experienced a gradually growing Chinese influence in the late nineteenth century due to the influx of Chinese migrants who were hired on the Amur gold fields and for the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The border remained unruly in the twentieth century when Maoists during the Cultural Revolution declared that the Amur was Chinese soil. Finally, in May 1989—300 years after

the Treaty of Nerchinsk—Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping announced that the two countries should settle their border disputes and begin fruitful cooperation.

Eva-Maria Stolberg

See also China; Peter I; Russian Empire

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New Amsterdam

Present-day New York City was originally called New Amsterdam. A Dutch commercial settlement at the mouth of the Hudson River, New Amsterdam was established in 1626 by the Dutch West India Company. It was the administrative center and principal trading port of the colony of New Netherlands (centered in the Hudson River valley and including parts of modern-day New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Delaware).

The Dutch presence in New York can be traced to the fact that the Netherlands struggled for years to achieve its independence from Spain. As a rising maritime power, the Netherlands was eager to weaken its foe, especially after Spain annexed Portugal and won rights to the Orient trade. With its country's consent, the Dutch West India Company commissioned explorer Henry Hudson to seek an Arctic shortcut to the Indies. Instead, weather conditions forced the navigator westward, and he discovered the Hudson River in 1609. The Netherlands laid claim to the area, and Dutch merchants began to commercially exploit the rich fur trade there. When early private trade initiatives did not result in colonization, the Dutch West India Company was granted an exclusive, twenty-four-year monopoly to all Dutch trade and navigation in the Americas. Since colonization was a means of securing its commercial interests, the company transported thirty French-speaking Walloon fami-

lies from the southern Netherlands to establish its agricultural base in 1624. Initially spread across the colony, these families were moved back to the mouth of the Hudson River when Indian conflicts threatened their safety in the outlying areas. Resettled on Noten (Governor's) Island, the colonists were relocated across the harbor to Manhattan Island in 1626 after the island was "purchased" from the Lenapes (who did not recognize the concept of land ownership) for the equivalent of sixty guilders in goods. Taking its name from the fortification at the south end of the island, the settlement was called New Amsterdam.

As a company town, administered by the Dutch West India Company, New Amsterdam manifested great religious and ethnic diversity among the settlers from its inception. Walloons, Huguenots, Baptists, Quakers, Calvinists, and Jews all lived in New Amsterdam, and some eighteen different languages were spoken there when Jesuit missionary Isaac Joques visited in 1664. Even as late as the mid-1660s, less than half of the people in New Amsterdam were actually Dutch. The pragmatic Dutch West India Company encouraged ethnic and religious tolerance, lest disharmony threaten trade or discourage immigration.

Unwise and brutal policies in regard to the Indians, especially on the part of Director-General William Kieft, led to bloody encounters that threatened New Amsterdam from the late 1630s until 1645, when peace was finally secured. Intermittent conflicts again arose with the Indians in the 1650s but were resolved. The greater threat to New Amsterdam, however, came from England, which saw the colony of New Netherlands, positioned between its colonies of New England and Virginia, as a trading impediment. In 1664, the English pressed their colonial claim to New Netherlands by virtue of the earlier discoveries of John Cabot. Charles II granted his brother James the right to New Netherlands; on August 28, 1644, Col. Richard Nicolls blocked the harbor and seized New Amsterdam for England. Since New Amsterdam was virtually defenseless, a reluctant Director-General Peter Stuyvesant was persuaded to surrender to the English on September 9, and the colony of New Netherlands also capitulated to the English. Together, New Amsterdam and New Netherlands were renamed New York in honor of James, Duke of York. The Treaty of Breda (1667)

recognized England's claim to the area. In 1673, the Dutch recaptured New Amsterdam, but the city reverted to the English under the Treaty of Westminster one year later.

Janet Butler Munch

See also Americans, Native; Dutch West India Company; New York

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New Caledonia

New Caledonia is a French territory in the South Pacific made up of Grand Terre (250 miles long and comprising 88 percent of the landmass) and a number of lesser islands off its east coast. Capt. James Cook, the first European to visit the island (in 1774), named it after his native Scotland because of its rugged coast and apparent poverty. For the next half century, the European colonizing nations ignored New Caledonia until the French, competing with the British for the last unclaimed territories in the area, annexed it in 1853. The capital was soon located at Noumea, which has a fine harbor, on the extreme southeast coast.

European settlement and exploitation proceeded slowly. From 1864 to 1894, the French used New Caledonia as a penal colony; the main settlements ran from the Isle of Pines off the southern tip of Grand Terre up the western coast, which was suitable for cattle grazing. Free settlers also established themselves on the west coast and, together with the convicts, developed the cattle-based economy. As a result, the indigenous Melanesian population had its lands expropriated, which led to a general uprising in 1878. After putting down the revolt, the French enacted the Code de l'Indigénat (Native Regulations), which confined the Melanesians to reserves, restricted their movement, and made labor obligations compulsory.

Nickel (discovered by Jules Garnier in 1864) changed the course of colonial development and put New Caledonia on the map. The deposits were extensive, and by the outbreak of World War II, New Caledonia was second only to Canada (albeit by a large margin) as the world's leading producer of this

commodity. Nickel became the island's largest export and remains so today. Nickel mining, of course, is particularly sensitive to global politics—especially war—and thus is prone to booms and busts. The last great boom in nickel occurred from 1969 to 1971, when the Vietnam War stimulated demand.

World War II not only touched off a boom in nickel but also altered the political situation in the colony. A coup against the Vichy governor led to the installation of a Free French regime and the transformation of Noumea into the Pearl Harbor of the South Pacific. Thousands of U.S. servicepeople were based there, and many more passed through New Caledonia on their way to the battlefields in the Solomons. Americans brought with them consumerism, mechanization, and democratic ideas. The immediate effect was the abolition of the Code de l'Indigénat and the restoration of citizenship to the Melanesian population. The long-term effect can be called Melanesian nationalism, and with it came the demand for independence in line with that of neighbors that were once colonial dependencies—Vanuatu (New Hebrides), Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea.

In the twenty-first century, New Caledonia has the unique status of being one of the few colonies remaining on the globe (legally, it is a French territory under the governance of the secretary of state for overseas departments and territories, or DOM-TOM). The population, as a result of colonial and labor policies, is multiracial. Indeed, New Caledonia is a land of minorities. The two largest groups that now oppose each other are the Melanesian nationalists (called Kanaks, a name rehabilitated from a negative to a positive meaning), organized since 1984 as Front de Libération National Kanak et Socialiste (FLNKS), and the descendants of European settlers, known as Caldoches, who are opposed to independence. The key issue is land. On the fringes are smaller minorities ranging from Vietnamese to Algerian Arabs. Most recently, in the 1980s, a referendum on independence was boycotted by FLNKS, with some attending violence. As a result of the boycott, a majority voted against independence.

Ronnie Day

See also French Empire

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New Delhi

Indraprastha, first mentioned in the Indian epic the Mahabharata, was the earliest name for the city that became Delhi. The name Dilli appeared in the first century B.C.E. In 1020, Dilli became a sizable settlement, and it was much expanded a century later. In 1204, the first Muslim sultan established himself in Delhi, but the flourishing of Delhi as a great Muslim city, with its Red Fort, Jama Mosque, and other fine buildings, occurred during the Mughal dynasty in the seventeenth century.

In 1804, the British took control of the city, and it became an important administrative and military center. On December 12, 1911, they announced that they would transfer the capital of British India from Calcutta to a new center that would be called New Delhi. In 1912, this city became the capital and a province under the direct control of the central government. It was built on Raisini Hill, located 3 miles south of Delhi. Edward L. Lutyens was the architect for the new city, which originally comprised an area of 10 square miles, and the main buildings were designed by Herbert Baker. The plan for the city was based on a series of large hexagons with wide, tree-lined avenues. The major buildings were the viceroy's palace (now the Indian president's residence), the Raj Bhavan, the two houses of Parliament (now the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha), and the two secretariat buildings. Their design blended Roman classical architecture with Indian architectural details. The combination of fine buildings, elegant avenues, squares, and gardens makes New Delhi a most distinctive city. Together with the vibrant old city, which has developed as a large commercial and industrial center, New Delhi is one of the world's great urban areas. In 1952, it was made a state, and it became an Indian Union territory four years later.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; India

New England

New England, generally defined as that part of the present-day United States lying east of New York State, is an area of ecological diversity but dominated by thick forests, rocky soil, fast-flowing streams, and extensive coastlines. Its original inhabitants were mainly small tribes of Algonquian Indians with a typical Eastern Woodland culture. European exploration, beginning with the voyage of Giovanni da Verrazano in 1524, was at first largely confined to the coastal areas, where a lucrative fishing trade developed. Serious English interest in the area began with the voyages of Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, Martin Pring in 1603, and George Weymouth in 1605. The Virginia Company of Plymouth attempted to establish a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1607. Although the effort to settle at Sagadahoc failed, as did several subsequent English efforts, interest remained high. The New England coast was visited by several expeditions, including those of Samuel Argall in 1610 and 1613, Edward Harlow in 1611, John Smith in 1614, and Thomas Dermer in 1619 and 1620.

Significant European involvement in New England, however, was a result of the Puritan movement in England. A small group of English Separatists established a permanent colony at Plymouth in 1620. Mainline Puritans began arriving in large numbers in 1630, when John Winthrop and the Massachusetts Bay Company took nearly 1,000 settlers to the area around Boston Harbor. Good leadership, strong financing, and relatively peaceful relations with the local Indians led to rapid population growth. Expansion, occasionally aided by internal dissensions, resulted in the establishment of the colonies of New Haven, Connecticut, and Rhode Island in the 1630s.

Although the New England colonies differed from one another in many specifics, their similarities were such that they could be considered as a single cultural entity throughout the colonial

period. In the beginning, the colonies were largely devoted to efforts to create a Bible commonwealth in what the settlers considered a wilderness. After the 1650s rising, overseas trade and non-Puritan immigration resulted in more and more interest in worldly matters. Throughout this period, however, the center of New England social and political life was the town, and the political structure of the town meeting was probably the most distinctive contribution of the region. An early experiment in cooperation, the Confederation of New England formed by Connecticut, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and New Haven in 1643, eventually fell apart under the pressures of King Philip's War. In 1686, with the establishment of the Dominion of New England, the English government made an effort to consolidate the colonies into a single royal colony, but that effort was undone by colonial resistance and the Glorious Revolution, which replaced the rule of the autocratic King James II, who had imposed the Dominion.

Dale J. Schmitt

See also American Revolution; Americans, Native; British Empire; King Philip's War; Verrazzano, Giovanni da

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New France

New France was a French colonial possession in North America that comprised, at its zenith, Le Canada (the present-day Canadian provinces of Quebec and Ontario), L'Acadie (the present-day Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island), and La Louisiane (most of the American Midwest and portions of the Canadian west).

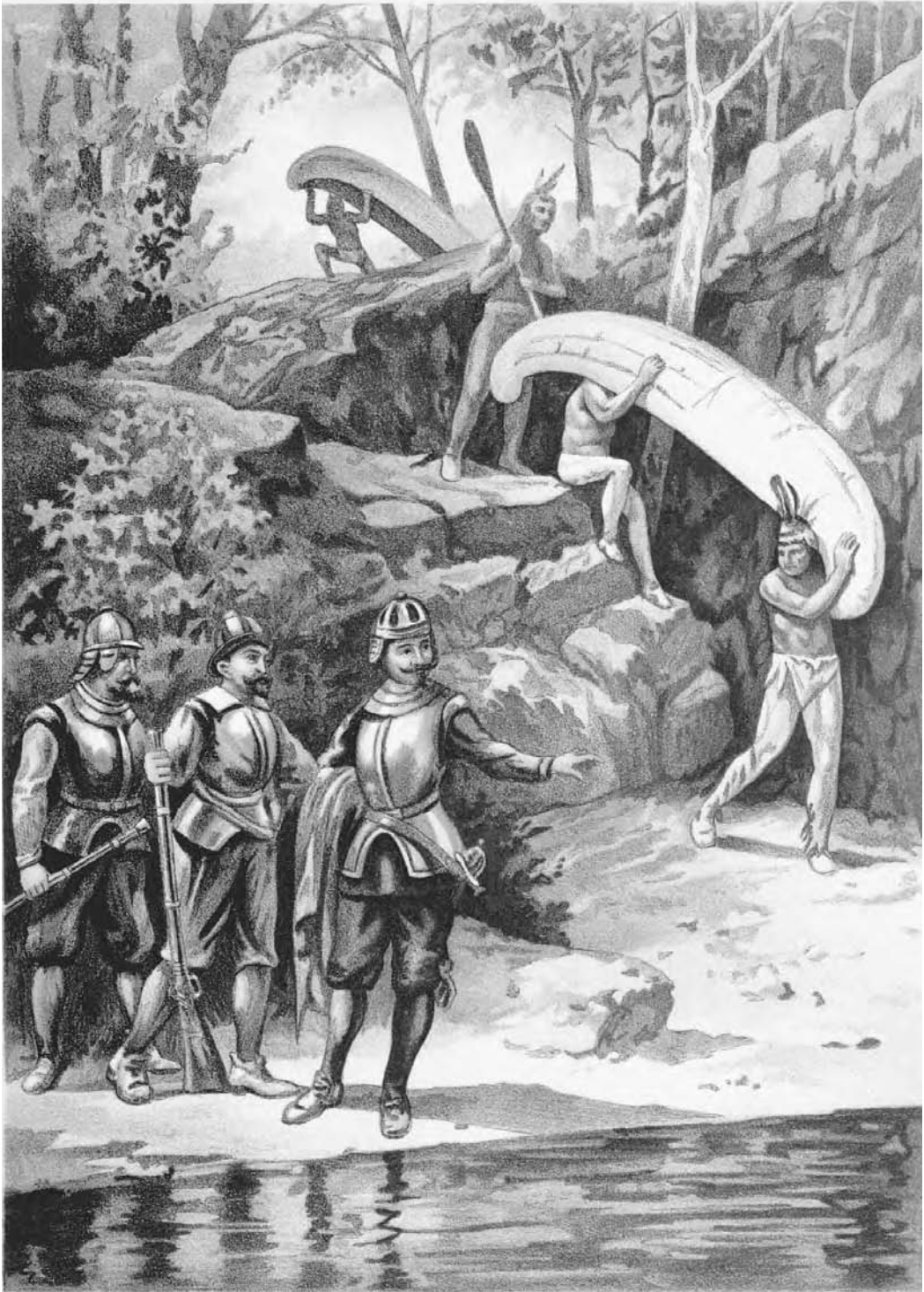
In the first half of the sixteenth century, the explorers Giovanni da Verrazano and Jacques Cartier first claimed North American lands in the name of France. In 1605, Pierre de Gua, Sieur de Monts, obtained a monopoly of trade and settlement from Henry IV and founded, with Samuel de Champlain, the first permanent settlement at Port Royal. Subsequent settlements, such as Quebec, were established as fur-trading posts. Champlain's strate-

gic alliance with the Hurons (Wendat), who had wide-ranging trade networks, greatly enhanced the fur trade. Although that trade was the economic center of the colonial program, the French colonial enterprise also mandated the conversion of Native Americans to Roman Catholicism and the implantation of an agricultural society modeled on the French seigneurial system.

Continuing warfare with competing groups such as the Five Nations Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) and the English, as well as the lack of a clear settlement strategy, resulted in an export-based colony with few permanent settlers. The French presence was instead composed of fur traders (*coureurs de bois*) and missionaries (Recollet and Jesuit priests). In a bold reorganizational move, Cardinal Richelieu established the Compagnie des Cent-Associés in 1627, to which was given, as a fief and seignury, the entirety of New France. However, the Cent-Associés suffered considerable financial losses and did not substantially increase the colonial population.

In 1664, Louis XIV granted a monopoly to the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales but withheld governing responsibilities. Instead, the king instituted an administrative body composed of a royal governor, an intendant, and a bishop. Under Jean Talon, intendant from 1665 to 1672—who granted lands to French soldiers sent to assist in warfare and who imported 1,200 marriageable women (*les filles du roi*)—the population rose to over 9,000. Talon diversified the export-based economy by establishing domestic concerns in lumbering, shipbuilding, and crafts. However, the often conflicting aims of the fur trade and the evangelization of indigenous people brought about rifts between the secular and religious branches of governance.

In the late seventeenth century, New France faced serious competition from the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade, as well as English military opposition. The French and Indian Wars ended with the cession of L'Acadie to England in 1713. Although French explorers such as Cavalier de La Salle, fur traders such as Pierre Radisson, and missionaries such as Jacques Marquette continued to expand the territory of New France, English rivalry persisted. In 1745, warfare between the French and the English resumed. The decisive battle ended in the defeat of the marquis de Montcalm at Quebec by Gen. James Wolfe in 1759. The



Samuel de Champlain was one of the first Europeans to explore what became New France. Founder of Quebec in 1608, he ruled over New France in one capacity or another almost continuously until his death in 1635. (Library of Congress)

next year, Montreal fell. In 1763, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, France ceded almost all of its North American colonial possessions to Britain and Spain. Thereafter, the term *New France* lost its meaning and fell out of usage.

Lisa J. M. Poirier

See also Acadians; Americans, Native; Canada; Cartier, Jacques; Iroquois Federation; Louis XIV; Quebec; Verrazano, Giovanni da

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New Spain (Mexico)

In 1519, the charismatic conquistador Hernán Cortés recruited a *compaña* (band of adventurers) in Cuba and sailed with them to Veracruz, where he scuttled his ships and exhorted his army to march into the heart of the Aztec Empire for God, gold, and glory. Winning the allegiance of some discontented Aztec subjects and hostile Tlaxcalan neighbors en route, Cortés entered Tenochtitlán, the capital city, and made the Aztec emperor, Montezuma II, his prisoner and puppet. Some months later, the Spaniards had to flee for their lives in the dead of night, but in the wake of a devastating smallpox epidemic in the Aztec camp and with the steadfast support of their Tlaxcalan allies, they returned in 1521 to lay siege to the city and reduce it to rubble. After the war, the *ciudad* (city) of Mexico rose from the ashes to become the new colonial capital.

Although the Spanish Crown named Cortés governor and captain-general of Nueva España (New Spain) in 1522, only five years later an *audiencia* (panel of judges) was appointed with executive, judicial, and legislative authority to oversee the governance of the new colony. Cortés's enemy Nuño de Guzman took control of the first colonial government but was so corrupt and ruthless that a second *audiencia* deposed him and sent him back to Spain in chains. In

1530, Cortés retired to his substantial estate in the Valley of Oaxaca, and in 1535, Antonio de Mendoza was appointed the first of New Spain's many viceroys, or royal representatives. In the years that followed, New Spain expanded its borders to include the regions of Nueva Galicia (1548), Nueva Vizcaya (1562), Nuevo León (1579), and Nuevo México (1583).

The military conquest, however, would have remained a hollow victory had not the religious orders been equally successful in “colonizing” the minds of Catholic Spain's newest subjects. At Cortés's invitation, the first Franciscans arrived in New Spain in 1523; the Dominicans followed in 1525, the Augustinians in 1533, and the Jesuits in 1571, winning over the Indians by acting as their defenders and by dedicating themselves to Indian education. Mesoamerican Indians were accustomed to adding the religious icons of conquering tribes to their own pantheon of gods, and many willingly exchanged images of their own mother goddess, Tonantzin, for representations of an Indianized Virgin Mary (La Virgen de Guadalupe).

The Hapsburg dynasty, which ruled Spain until 1700, considered New Spain to be a colony whose primary purpose was to fill the royal treasury with silver and gold bullion. The Zacatecas silver deposits, for example, were discovered in the late 1540s, and by the early seventeenth century, they were producing one-fifth of the world's supply, with most of the precious metal being channeled back to the home country. The Crown was interested not in fostering economic interdependence among its American possessions but in generating royal revenue and supplying Spain with raw materials and commodities not available on the European continent, such as cochineal and indigo dyes, cacao, vanilla, cotton, and tobacco. Although New Spain's largely agrarian and cattle-raising economy was primarily driven by domestic demands for wheat, sugarcane, and leather goods, the Crown imposed monopolies on salt, mercury (essential to the mining industry), pulque, and tobacco and stifled all industrial development in the colony that might compete with Spain's own industries. The money-strapped Bourbon kings enacted a series of sweeping political and economic reforms in the late colonial period, but these measures failed to stem the tide of growing

dissatisfaction with the colonial regime or to silence the calls for Mexican independence.

Francis X. Luca

See also Aztecs; Cortés, Hernán; Mexico; Montezuma; Spanish Empire

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New York

New York was unique among the thirteen original colonies in that it had a Dutch-English heritage and was characterized from its inception by its religious and ethnic diversity. Originally known as the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, New York was captured by the English (1664), lost to the Dutch (1673), and then returned to the English under the terms of the Treaty of Westminster (1674). The lands encompassed in the New York colony stretched from roughly the Delaware to the Connecticut Rivers and included the city of New York, then called New Amsterdam.

James, Duke of York, was granted personal title to all lands and resources in the Province of York by his brother Charles II. Because the English were concerned with maintaining established commerce and also recognized that few English people actually resided in the colony, the terms of capitulation for New Netherlands were moderate and included the continuance of religious tolerance, respect for property and inheritance rights, and the short-term allowance of uninterrupted trade with the Netherlands. Although New York was officially English, it maintained its Dutch identity for almost another generation.

English settlement grew slowly, and efforts at Anglicizing the colony occurred incrementally. A group of English settlers moved west of the Hudson River and established the separate colony of New Jersey in 1665. The English judicial system was reflected in the province's establishment of trial by jury (1665), the required use of the English language for all court proceedings (1674), and the acceptance of common law (1691). Other English influences were seen in the appointment of a mayor, a board of aldermen, and a common council in the charter enacted for New York City (1686) and in the use of such English land designations as shires

and manors. Many Dutch acknowledged the rising influence of the English in public life and commerce by learning their language.

The province had more concerns than the assimilation of its Dutch population. Its English settlers on Long Island, who had migrated from New England, were accustomed to self-government and balked at the duke's strictures. To accommodate their demands, the settlers were granted limited self-government under the Duke's Laws of 1665. Boundary disputes, too, were an ongoing problem and led England to relinquish its claims on Connecticut by 1668. Also of concern were the nearby French, who posed an economic threat to the stability of the strategically located province. In 1688, to strengthen its position and facilitate enforcement of its Navigation Acts, England annexed New York into the Dominion of New England. By forming an alliance with the Iroquois, the English further protected their lands against French encroachment. The difficulties of the province were compounded by the Leisler Rebellion (1689–1691), which occurred in reaction to the overthrow of the Catholic James II and the accession of William and Mary to the English throne. With the city government still in the hands of followers of James II, insurgents rose up against the aristocracy in New York, seized control, and unsuccessfully attempted to elevate the Anglican Church in the hitherto religiously tolerant province. Becoming the de facto government, Jacob Leisler and his followers assumed military control of the province and collaborated with the New England colonies in an unsuccessful attack on French Catholic settlements in Canada in 1690. Though Leisler was tried for treason and hung by the English in 1691, conflicts between England and France in America continued through a series of long wars: King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and the French and Indian Wars (1754–1763). Financially weakened by its extended military campaigns, England imposed direct taxes on the colony and enforced restrictive controls on its manufacturing and trade. These actions directly led to the American Revolution (1776–1783) and ultimately resulted in complete independence from England. British colonialism officially ended for New York and the other twelve colonies, and a new nation was formed.

Janet Butler Munch

See also Americans, Native; Dutch West India Company; King William's War; New Amsterdam; Seven Years' War

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New Zealand

The islands of New Zealand were first settled by migrants from Polynesia around 800 C.E.; these tribal communities are now known collectively as Maori. In 1642, people of the Ngati Tumatakokiri tribe encountered two ships under the command of Abel Tasman. This first meeting was tense, culminating in the violent death of four Dutch sailors. Tasman's hasty retreat meant European knowledge of the islands that the Dutch cartographer Joannes Blaeu named Nieuw Zeeland remained limited; it was only in 1769 that James Cook rediscovered them. Cook's three visits to New Zealand marked a crucial turning point as he established strong trading relationships with many Maori communities, and his journals transmitted knowledge of New Zealand's rich natural resources to European and American audiences. From the 1790s, whalers, sealers, and timber merchants plied New Zealand's coasts, but these pioneers were mobile and transitory.

The arrival of Church Missionary Society missionaries in 1814 marked the beginning of a permanent settler population. These Anglicans enjoyed limited success until the 1830s, when they (and their Methodist and Catholic counterparts) began to attract large numbers of Maori converts. The 1830s were a turbulent period, as intertribal conflict, epidemic disease, and increased shipping traffic reshaped relationships between the tribes and Maori interaction with the *pakeha* (settlers). In light of these shifts and as a result of pressure from the New Zealand Company, which had begun elaborate plans for systematic colonization, the Colonial Office approved the annexation of New Zealand in 1839. One year later, over 500 Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi, which transferred sovereignty to the British Crown in re-



Tawaiho, the Maori king, displays characteristic Maori tattooing in this early-twentieth-century portrait. A Polynesian people, the martial Maori fought several wars against British settlers in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

turn for a guarantee of chiefly authority and the recognition of their resource rights. By the time the treaty was signed, the first shipload of colonists had arrived at Wellington, and over the next fifteen years, planned colonies were developed at New Plymouth, Nelson, Christchurch, and Dunedin; Auckland emerged as the colony's most important commercial and military center. Maori fought against the expansion of settler power in wars in the North Island in 1845 and 1846 and from 1860 to 1868, but with the help of imperial troops and "loyal Maori," this resistance was finally extinguished.

The discovery of gold in Otago (and subsequently on the west coast) boosted the economy of the colony, which had enjoyed responsible government from 1852, but these gold rushes in the South Island also sparked racial conflict as many *pakeha* opposed the presence of Cantonese miners. Despite the emergence of settler nationalism, links to Britain remained strong because New Zealand's prosperity rested on the export of agri-

cultural products to metropolitan markets. Both Maori and pakeha soldiers from the dominion (a status achieved in 1907) were prominent in World Wars I and II. After World War II, New Zealand was an active participant in the Commonwealth and devoted increased attention to its role as a regional power in the Pacific. Since 1975, the Treaty of Waitangi has played a fundamental role in New Zealand political and cultural life. The Waitangi Tribunal has investigated the Crown's breaches of the treaty, and the bicultural spirit of the treaty continues to shape policy formation and New Zealand public institutions in this postcolonial age.

Tony Ballentyne

See also Australia; British Empire; Cook, James; Maori; Tasman, Abel Janszoon

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Newfoundland

The history of European settlement in Newfoundland began around the year 1000 with the arrival of Leif Erikson and his establishment of a colony at what is now L'Anse aux Meadows. The colony failed, most likely due to hostilities with the Skraelings, the name given to the island's indigenous people by the Vikings. Newfoundland remained the exclusive home of its aboriginal people until the early eighteenth century, when the area became the base for the fishing fleets of Spain, Portugal, France, and Great Britain; its waters were also fished by the New England Puritan settlers. At first, the ports of Newfoundland were simply places to dry and salt fish for transport to Europe, but over time, several ports became permanent settlements.

Many of these fishing ports were intended to be training grounds for seamen drafted into the British navy, but large numbers of these men resisted the transport back to England and instead signed on with the New Englanders as recruits in their expanding fishing-trading complex. This "recruitment" was considered to be illegal by the British, who attempted to bring these so-called squatters under British naval authority. The Royal Navy allowed for no local rule, and the residents of

Newfoundland resisted European control, going so far as to kill the magistrate the British tried to install in 1745. Civil order (as limited as it was) was restored in 1764 by the British naval captain Hugh Palliser. Although Palliser left the island four years later, the British Parliament passed what came to be called Palliser's Act in 1775, which penalized shipmasters who failed to return to England all the recruits taken to Newfoundland to work the fisheries. The British also began to deport many Newfoundlanders that they considered to be on the island illegally.

The American Revolution returned Newfoundland to its anarchistic state. By this time, the indigenous Beothuk people had been hunted to near extinction, and the interior of the island was opened for settlement. After the American Revolution, Newfoundland shores were opened to French and New England fishers, although the territory was still viewed by the British as a seasonal fishing area. In 1824, Parliament granted Newfoundland a royal charter, essentially ending the power of the fishing-fleet admirals to administer the island. In essence, the charter established Newfoundland as a British colony, and local governments were elected beginning in the 1850s, with power split between the Protestants (fifteen seats) and the Catholics (fourteen seats). Confederation with Canada was resoundingly defeated in 1869, and Newfoundland remained a colony of the British Commonwealth until 1948, when it voted to shift its dependence from London to Ottawa and become a province of Canada.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Canada; New England

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Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963)

Born in 1901 in Quang Binh, a village near Hue in central Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem was part of a prominent Vietnamese Catholic family. After receiving a French education, he began a career as a civil servant. He was named to a variety of posts and rose very quickly in the ranks of Vietnam's

colonial administration. The French-imposed emperor Bao Dai's inability to impose his reformist agenda, however, caused Diem to resign a short while after his nomination as minister of the interior in 1933. Thus began Diem's long and often solitary struggle against French rule in Vietnam.

Diem also signaled his opposition to the Communists, whom he saw as anti-Catholic and even antinationalist, by refusing a ministerial position offered to him by the Viet Minh in August 1945. Five years later, he decided to leave Vietnam in a self-imposed exile. He eventually arrived in the United States, where officials in the Eisenhower administration began to consider him as a credible alternative to the Communists. In June 1954, Bao Dai named Diem to the post of prime minister at the insistence of U.S. officials. During the peace negotiations in Geneva in June and July, Diem's representatives steadfastly refused to cooperate with the Viet Minh or acknowledge their right to participate in the government of a unified Vietnam. Predictably, both Diem and the United States refused to sign the peace agreement concluded on July 20, 1954, because it acknowledged the role of the Viet Minh in the government of Vietnam.

In April 1955, Diem forced Bao Dai to abdicate and replaced him as head of state. A few months later, Diem was elected South Vietnam's first president. His fight against the Communists, which included the establishment of a vigorous secret police (which, to make matters worse, was headed by Diem's corrupt brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu) and the forcible displacement of civilians into controlled living areas soon revealed his autocratic tendencies. Diem's popularity at home was further reduced by his support of large landowners and by his open favoritism toward Catholics. Because of his growing ties to the U.S. government, many non-Communist Vietnamese nationalists even accused him of placing their country under the control of yet another foreign power.

Although Diem managed to remain in power for almost a decade, his government's actions eventually led to massive street protests in Saigon in May 1963 and to the highly publicized self-immolation of several Buddhist monks. After these events, the U.S. government increasingly saw Diem's regime as an embarrassment and thus more or less tacitly supported a coup d'état by South Vietnamese generals on November 1, 1963.

The following day, both Diem and his brother Nhu were assassinated in a suburb of Saigon.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Bao Dai, Emperor; French Indochina; Viet Minh; Vietnam

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Nicaragua

During the Spanish colonial era, Nicaragua was a province of the captaincy-general of Guatemala. It was named after a prominent local *cacique* (chief) whom the Spanish conquerors encountered when they first entered the region in 1522. The first Spanish governor of Nicaragua arrived in 1528, and the region remained within the orbit of Spanish rule for the next 300 years. With the end of Spain's rule in the early 1820s, the captaincy-general of Guatemala (following a brief period as part of an independent Mexico) became the United Provinces of Central America. By 1838, this polity had fallen apart, and Nicaragua, like the other provinces, emerged as an independent nation-state.

After independence, Nicaraguan politics was dominated by the struggle between elite factions: the Conservatives based in the town of Granada and the Liberals in the town of León. By the twentieth century, the United States had become a major influence in the Caribbean. The U.S. Marines were deployed in Nicaragua between 1916 and 1933. In the 1930s, political power in Nicaragua was increasingly centered on the National Guard, which had been set up with U.S. advice and support. The National Guard was run by Gen. Anastasio Somoza García, who took over the presidency of Nicaragua directly in 1937. The Somoza family, with U.S. support, went on to rule Nicaragua until 1979. Anastasio Somoza was assassinated in 1956, and his eldest son, Luis Somoza Debayle, was formally elected to the presidency in 1957. With the death of Luis in 1967, the country was ruled in an increasingly despotic fashion by his younger brother, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, a graduate of West Point and head of the National Guard.

The Somoza dynasty was eventually overthrown (in July 1979) in a popular revolution led

by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (Sandinista National Liberation Front—FSLN). Founded in 1961, the FSLN had little military success until the mid-1970s. However, from 1974 onward, a series of bold and popular military initiatives positioned the FSLN at the head of a broad opposition movement. Increasingly unable to get Washington to come to his aid, Somoza eventually fled into exile, and the FSLN rose to power on July 19, 1979. However, once Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency of the United States in 1981, a decade-long campaign to subvert the Sandinistas began, forcing them to spend more than 50 percent of the Nicaraguan government budget on defense. By the late 1980s, the ongoing war had alienated many of the country's citizens, and in February 1990, the Sandinistas were voted out of office; a fragmented opposition coalition under Violeta Barrios de Chamorro assumed power. Chamorro was president for six years. In 1996, Arnoldo Alemán, the former mayor of Managua and head of the new Liberal Alliance coalition, was elected to a five-year term as president. However, neither president grappled effectively with the country's profound economic and social problems, which had been exacerbated by Washington's war on Nicaragua in the 1980s.

Mark T. Berger

See also Central America; Cold War; Sandino, Augusto César; United States

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Nicholas II, Czar (1868–1918)

Nicholas II, a member of the Romanov dynasty, was the last emperor of the Russian Empire. During his reign, Russia's imperial expansion achieved its peak. Nicholas II and his closest associates were personally involved in Russia's extremely aggressive policy in the Far East from 1895 on—intervention into Chinese affairs, acquisition of the Liaotung Peninsula, military occupation, and creation of the de facto Russian protectorate in Manchuria. This adventurous course, as well as the

policy of Russian domination in Korea, led to the Russo-Japanese War.

After its defeat in that war, Russia managed to preserve its sphere of influence in part of Manchuria by making several agreements with Japan. In 1913 and 1915, Russia also signed accords with the Chinese to secure Moscow's special interests in Mongolia. In the Middle East, the expansionist ambitions and diplomatic maneuvers of Nicholas II's government led to the agreements with Britain and Germany that recognized Russia's spheres of influence in northern Persia. The czar was also strongly devoted to the expansionist schemes involving the Turkish Straits.

Nicholas II's ethnocentric and chauvinistic view of the “inner” Russian Empire led to an aggressive Russification policy and widespread discrimination against non-Slavs, despite the growing protests from the nationalities and the Russian liberal and radical Left opposition. From 1899 to 1905, the czar consistently eroded the autonomy of Finland. Overall, his adventurous foreign and colonial policies aggravated the crisis of imperial Russia and helped to bring about its final downfall.

Peter Rainow

See also Bolsheviks; China; Manchuria; Romanov Dynasty; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War; Trans-Siberian Railroad; Triple Entente; World War I

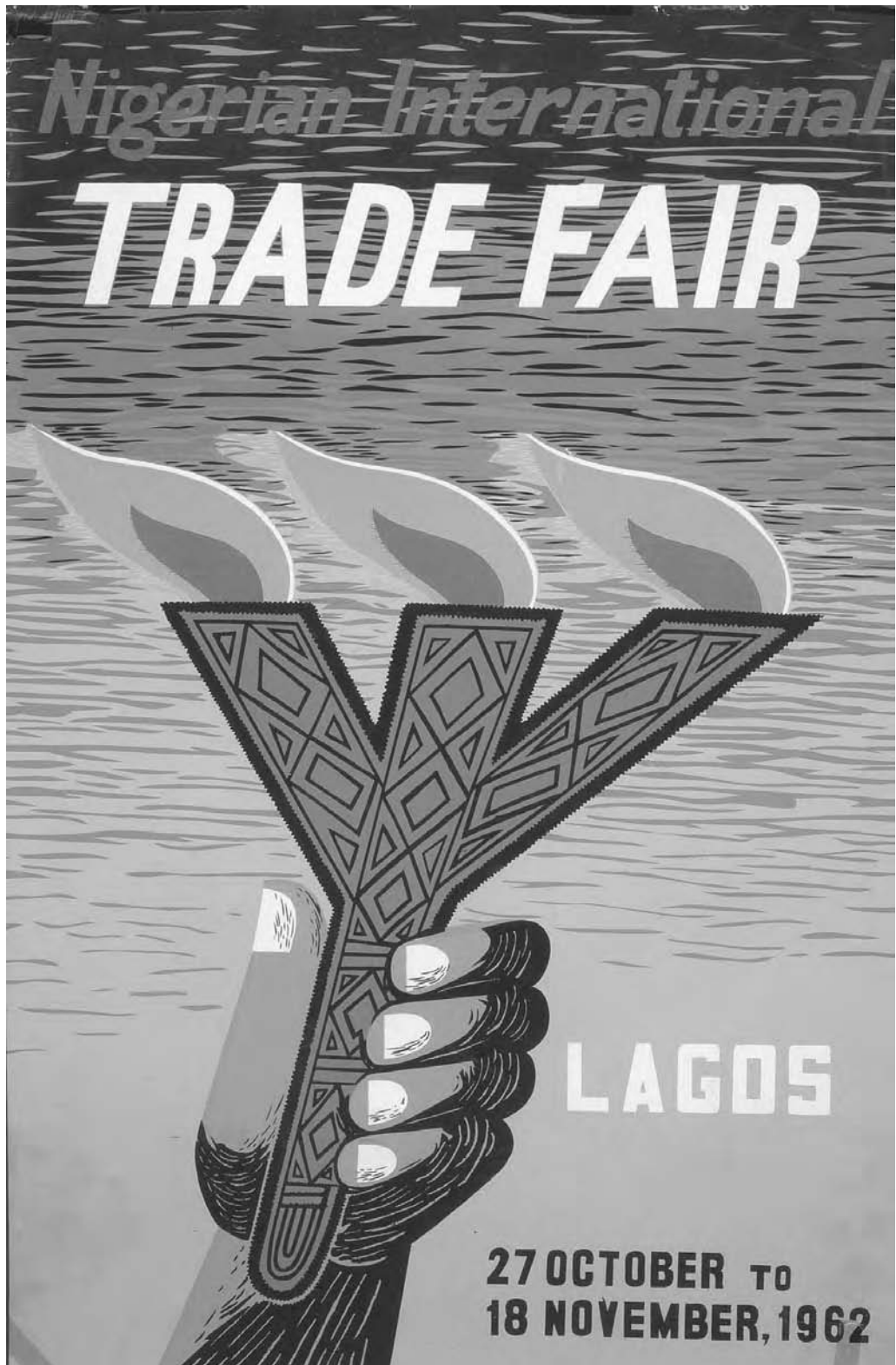
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Nigeria

Nigeria, Britain's largest West African colonial territory, had its origins in three quite distinct entities—the Colony of Lagos, the Niger Coast (Oil River) Protectorate, and the territory claimed by the Royal Niger Company.

The Colony of Lagos was established in 1851 under pressure from British missionaries and traders. The British navy bombarded Lagos, deposing the king, or *oba*, and installing his rival, Akitoye, who promptly signed a treaty giving protection to missionaries and free trade to British merchants and abolishing the export of slaves. The



A poster advertising a 1962 Nigerian trade fair captures the hopeful spirit of the newly independent country. Many former African colonies expected independence to lead quickly to economic development. (Library of Congress)

treaty did not, however, end the slave trade or political intrigue; hence, on July 30, 1861, Akitoye's successor, Oba Docemo, was forced to cede Lagos to the British as a crown colony. Under a series of energetic governors, especially John Glover (1864–1872) and Sir Gilbert Carter (1891–1897), a British protectorate was extended in a piecemeal fashion across the Yoruba hinterland to form the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos.

In 1885, the British declared a protectorate over the so-called Niger Districts, essentially the coastline from Lagos to the Cameroon. The move was intended to forestall other European powers' encroachment on Britain's vital palm oil trade. The Niger Coast (Oil River) Protectorate was administered by the Foreign Office. British consuls regularly intervened in the interest of British merchants, but it was not until 1891, under Maj. Claude MacDonald, that the British systematically asserted their authority.

In 1900, a new entity, the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, was created, and in 1906, the protectorate was amalgamated with the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos to form the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria.

The Royal Niger Company was the creation of a merchant named Sir George Goldie. He united rival British merchants under the Niger Company to resist both encroachments by other European traders and the tariff demands of local African rulers. In 1886, he obtained a royal charter from the British government to administer the territories along the Niger River and its hinterland, thus thwarting colonial rivals. In 1900, the British government revoked the charter, and the hinterland became the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria under Sir Frederick Lugard as governor. In 1918, Lugard (by then a lord) united Southern Nigeria and Northern Nigeria to form Nigeria, with the Colony of Lagos as its capital.

Though centralized under the governor-general, Nigeria was in many ways two quite distinctive protectorates, plus the Colony of Lagos. Africans born in the colony were British subjects with rights such as access to the courts. In the protectorate, Africans were protected peoples under the control of government-appointed chiefs and, ultimately, the authority of British officials. In northern Nigeria, the system of indirect rule through chiefs and native administrations held

sway, with missionaries restricted to the non-Muslim areas and potentially disruptive influences such as Western education tightly controlled. In southern Nigeria, the rule through chiefs proved less effective in many areas, and Christianity and Western education became widespread. Colonial officers were rarely transferred from one region to the other, with the result that two quite distinct administrative cultures and African responses emerged. The north, where the Muslim emirs exercised authority over large areas, remained more conservative, whereas in the south, nationalist politicians began to agitate for a greater share in governance.

In 1937, the south was divided into the Eastern and Western Provinces, laying the foundations for future disruptive regional rivalries. As postwar African nationalism grew, the British responded with the MacPherson Constitution in 1951, giving greater regional responsibility for local government. Provincial governments became the foci of parochial nationalism, often based on tribal loyalties. The Northern Nigerian traditional leaders were initially suspicious of losing control to southern politicians, but a constitutional deal was struck that maintained regional autonomy under a federal system and effectively entrenched Northern Nigeria's dominance. It was on such fragile political grounds that Nigeria secured independence in 1961.

David Dorward

See also Ashanti Wars; British Empire; Hausa; Ibo; Islam; Lugard, Lord Frederick; Nkrumah, Kwame

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Nkrumah, Kwame (1909–1972)

Kwame Francis Nwia Kofie Nkrumah was the first nationalist leader of the British colony of the Gold Coast, which he led to independence in 1957 as the nation of Ghana. A leading advocate of



Ghanaian Premier Kwame Nkrumah (right) shares a laugh with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at a New York hotel in 1960. Three years earlier, Nkrumah had led his nation—the first in black Africa—to independence from Britain. (Library of Congress)

pan-Africanism, he received his early education in mission schools and a Gold Coast government teacher-training college. He then began a teaching career and later went to the United States to study at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and for subsequent graduate training. In the States, he served as president of the African Students Association of the United States and Canada. Later, as a law student in London, he worked with the West African Student's Union and became secretary-general of the working group that organized the 1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England.

Nkrumah used his educational and organizing experiences effectively to imbue himself in the African diaspora as well as to gain a valuable background in political organization. As a consequence, he was called home in 1947 to lead the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in its ef-

forts to achieve political independence from colonial rule in the shortest possible time. That goal proved illusive, despite Nkrumah's relatively radical leadership. Following various demonstrations and his arrest by authorities, Nkrumah was forced out of the UGCC and formed his own organization, the Convention People's Party (CCP). After spending a year in prison for political agitation, Nkrumah worked with the CCP and won a series of electoral victories and eventual independence for the nation in 1957. But the creation of the small African-governed state of Ghana was only the first of Nkrumah's goals.

Drawing on his experiences in the United States and Britain, he believed Ghana needed to be the vanguard for an all-African movement. Only "a union of African states" freed from colonial control, Nkrumah believed, could effectively "project the African personality [and] command respect from a

world that has regard only for size and influence” (Nkrumah 1961). In 1958, he organized the All-Africa Peoples’ Conference held in Accra, Ghana’s capital, with representatives not only of independent African states but also of various nationalist movements from throughout the continent. This meeting later led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); however, Nkrumah was disappointed by the ineffectiveness of the OAU in achieving greater continental unity. He therefore took a leading role in the Bandung Movement, in which he encouraged greater cooperation between the emerging new nations of the Third World.

He also became disillusioned with the slow pace of change in Ghana, and his government became increasingly autocratic. Many of his opponents were jailed, and the media were censored; in addition, Nkrumah fostered an exaggerated cult of personality surrounding his leadership. He favored the title *Osagyefo* (Redeemer) and even approved of the refrain in which schoolchildren proclaimed, “Nkrumah loves us this we know, for the handbook tells us so.” These developments brought increasing disaffection, and in 1966, he was deposed by a military coup while on a state visit to China. He went into exile in Guinea and died there of cancer in 1972.

Melvin E. Page

See also Bandung Conference; British Empire; Decolonization; Gold Coast; North-South Conflict; Organization of African Unity; Pan-Africanism; Third World

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Noble Savage

The term *noble savage*, popularized during the colonial era, referred to mythical human beings who were dignified, virtuous, and unspoiled by European civilization; having remained one with nature, they were also free and lighthearted. The concept served a variety of purposes: it gave form to a desire to recapture a lost Eden, it validated the reassuring belief that humans are born good, it permitted veiled criticism of contemporary European society, and it bolstered the abolitionist movement.

Journals and eyewitness reports of explorers and travelers—from Christopher Columbus in the late fifteenth century to Baron La Hontan in the early eighteenth century—testified that the greatest part of the human race lived happily in accord with natural religion and morality. The myth kindled the imagination of European writers and readers alike. The noble savage appeared in the work of Michel Montaigne, on stage in seventeenth-century England (in the plays of John Dryden and Thomas Southerne), and in fiction (Aphra Behn). The concept was, however, most closely associated with French Enlightenment writers. In 1721, Charles-Louis Montesquieu praised the Troglodytes’ simple life. And the concept appeared in the writing of Gabrielle Mably, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, and Denis Diderot, which frequently challenged the belief that Europeans had the right—and even the duty—to colonize others. Best known, however, is Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *bon sauvage*, as described in *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755), who incarnated both social criticism and romantic idealization.

Nineteenth-century romanticism and humanitarianism adopted the myth, as expressed in François-Auguste René Chateaubriand’s fiction or in the idealized Indian of American literature, most enduringly portrayed in James Fenimore Cooper’s *Leatherstocking*. Moreover, inasmuch as the noble savage embodies a human yearning for a better life, the concept has been a recurring literary theme throughout history. It can be found peopling the nostalgia for a Golden Age expressed in antiquity by writers such as Hesiod, Tacitus, Virgil, or Ovid, as well as in modern visions of poets such as Léopold Sédar Senghor or in the dreams of some ecologists.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Literature; Racism; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Senghor, Léopold Sédar

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military organization established on April 4,

1949, in Washington, D.C. It was originally a multi-lateral guaranty pact of Western powers designed to counterbalance the potential threat from the Soviet Union. But it quickly evolved into an integrated military organization and a collective defensive alliance after the establishment of the Warsaw Pact, headed by the Soviet Union.

Although the major European powers were preoccupied with their own military and political security in Europe in the post–World War II era, the colonies controlled by member states of NATO experienced a rapid decolonization process. Over 100 new independent countries have been established either through peaceful negotiation or armed conflicts with their colonial masters. Within the alliance, there were serious disagreements as to how to handle the colonies' demand for independence and self-determination. Although the United States and several other countries generally supported the national liberation movement, Great Britain, France, and Portugal attempted to extend NATO's defensive role to their colonies so that their colonial interests would be protected. The crisis in Zaire in 1978 provoked a joint intervention from France and the United States, but NATO played only a minimal role in the operation. Due to limited resources, NATO eventually abandoned the idea of incorporating the African continent and some of NATO members' military bases in Africa into a part of NATO's command structure. Later, to compete with the growing influence of Communist countries in the African continent, the NATO nations increased foreign aid to their former colonies. But these funds only worsened the debt problem of the Third World countries.

The end of the Cold War in 1991 led NATO to redefine its political and military missions. Today, it has expanded its roles in Euro-Atlantic crisis management, conflict prevention, and peacekeeping. Its willingness to go beyond the traditional security commitment was demonstrated by the part it played in resolving ethnic conflict in non-NATO member states, as in the Bosnia and Kosovo crises.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, three former Soviet allies also joined NATO. There are currently nineteen member states, including Belgium, Canada, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal,

Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The key institutions of NATO include the North Atlantic Council, the International Secretariat, and the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers, Europe (SHAPE).

Baogang Guo

See also Cold War; Decolonization; Warsaw Pact

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Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland, a province of the United Kingdom, is still dealing with the legacies of colonialism. Although there had been some Scottish migration of people to the Northern Irish region (or Ulster, as the province is known) for many centuries, the formal and systematic colonization of Ulster began in 1610 when the lands of six of its counties were confiscated and “planted” with Scottish and English settlers. English rulers hoped to establish a “plantation,” or a close settlement of loyal supporters who would be separate from the original Irish inhabitants. These plans were never fully implemented, resulting in the retention of many Irish tenants on the land and the development of rural and, later, urban labor forces split along religious, sectarian lines.

Ulster's economy developed along different lines compared to the rest of Ireland because of the protection Scottish and English settlers received; the skills in commodity farming and linen manufacture they brought with them; their different system of land tenure, which provided for long, fixed leases; and their guaranteed access to the best land. This prosperity assisted the development of textile, brewing, and shipbuilding industries, which continued to employ people along sectarian lines. Tensions between the Protestant and Catholic communities exploded into armed conflict at different periods during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, although, on rare occasions, some members of the two communities joined forces in trying to develop a secular nationalism; one example is the United Irishmen Movement, which was formed in 1791 and rebelled unsuccessfully against British rule in 1798.

Over the centuries, the Protestant community in Northern Ireland was rewarded for its loyal support of the English royalty, but it felt alienated from the developing Irish nationalism that, after the collapse of the United Irishmen Movement, increasingly adopted a Catholic ethos that celebrated only pre-Reformation Irish culture. Many Protestants also believed the union of Great Britain and Ireland was the basis for continued economic prosperity in Ulster. As a result, when nationalist agitation for home rule in Ireland gained momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century, Protestant forces in Ulster came together to form a Unionist movement, which was able to establish a productive political alliance with the English Conservative Party. This alliance ensured the defeat of a number of home rule bills and provided powerful support for the Unionists' attempts to remain separate from the rest of Ireland during the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations. This 1921 treaty partitioned six of the nine original Ulster counties from the rest of Ireland, allowing Northern Ireland to remain a self-governing province within the United Kingdom.

The problem for the Catholic community in Northern Ireland was that successive Northern Irish governments used the overwhelming Protestant majority to entrench systematic discrimination against Catholics. This effort was also supported by the formation of a largely Protestant police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Catholic discontent with the ongoing discrimination resulted in the formation of a Northern Irish civil rights movement in the 1960s, which eventually provoked sectarian rioting, the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland (initially to protect the Catholic minority), and the reestablishment of direct rule from London. These developments provided fertile ground for the resurgence of paramilitary groups from both communities, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and a range of Protestant paramilitary groups, such as the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defence Association.

Despite a number of power-sharing experiments in the 1970s, Northern Ireland remained under direct British rule until the IRA cease-fire and subsequent peace talks of the 1990s. The Belfast Agreement between the British and Irish governments, which was voted for by the majority

of people in both the northern and southern parts of Ireland in November 2000, lays the foundation for an assembly in Northern Ireland, which will end direct British rule there, and a number of councils linking northern and southern Irish ministers and the British and Irish governments. There are cautious hopes that this agreement could represent a new beginning for the conflict-weary people of Northern Ireland. Some members of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland, however, contend that colonialism will continue in the province until it is reunited with the rest of Ireland. And many people in the Northern Irish Protestant community believe that Ulster has nothing in common with the Irish Republic and should remain an integral part of the United Kingdom. Whatever the eventual outcome, the legacies of colonialism cast a long shadow over Northern Ireland.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also British Empire; Home Rule; Ireland; Religion

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Northern Marianas Islands

The Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands (CNMI) comprises fourteen islands in the western Pacific, excluding Guam. Six are inhabited, including the three largest—Saipan, Tinian, and Rota. The principal settlement and administrative centers are on Saipan, and English, Chamorro, and Carolinian are the official languages. The population is mainly Chamorro (people of mixed Spanish, Filipino, and Micronesian descent). Since November 1986, U.S. citizenship has been granted to individuals born in the Marianas Islands, but not all inhabitants are U.S. citizens.

The islands were held at various times by Spain, Germany, Japan, and the League of Nations. After the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War, the Marianas Islands, Caroline Islands, and

Palau were sold to Germany in 1899. In 1914, control was transferred to Japan, and in 1921, sovereignty shifted to the League of Nations under Japanese administration. In 1944, the United States captured Saipan and Tinian from the defeated Japanese, and a year later, the islands were placed under the administration of a U.S. military government. In 1947, they became part of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered as a UN trusteeship under the control of the U.S. Navy. In 1951, administrative responsibility was passed to the U.S. Department of the Interior. During the trusteeship years, the U.S. government restricted entry to the Northern Marianas, and the islands were used for military training; most of Tinian was and still is reserved for potential U.S. military use.

In June 1975, the islanders voted for the political status of a U.S. commonwealth, and the islands were formally given this status in November 1986, at which time those born in the commonwealth became U.S. citizens. In 1990, the UN Security Council voted to end the trusteeship.

In March 1976, President Gerald Ford signed the Northern Marianas Commonwealth Covenant, and in October 1977, President Jimmy Carter approved the Constitution of the Northern Marianas Islands, which provided for self-government over internal affairs. The Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands in Political Union with the United States of America, signed in 1978, is a negotiated agreement defining the relationship between the two countries. U.S. federal law generally applies in the commonwealth. The CNMI is outside the customs territory of the United States, and although the Internal Revenue Code does apply in the form of a local income tax, the tax system is locally determined. According to the covenant, the federal minimum wage and federal immigration laws “will not apply to the Northern Mariana Islands except in the manner and to the extent made applicable to them by the [U.S.] Congress by law after termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.”

Although they are U.S. citizens, Chamorros do not vote in national elections. A resident representative in Washington represents the commonwealth in the U.S. Congress. The representative is not a member of Congress but works closely with it to ensure that legislation passed in the Northern

Marianas Commonwealth Legislature is compatible with the U.S. Constitution. The legislature is a bicameral body consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Nine senators are elected every four years, and the eighteen members of the House of Representatives are elected for two-year terms. Executive authority is vested in the popularly elected governor. There are two political parties: Democrat and Republican.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also German Empire; Guam; Japanese Empire; League of Nations; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Spanish Empire; United Nations; United States; World War I; World War II

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Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)

Northern Rhodesia was a British colonial possession in central Africa, bordered on the north by the Belgian Congo and in the south by Southern Rhodesia. Europeans knew little about this region before the Scottish missionary David Livingstone arrived at Victoria Falls in 1851. Livingstone's reports about the country raised interest in the region in the Cape Colony and in England. In 1889, the South African capitalist Cecil Rhodes received a royal charter from the British government granting his company, the British South Africa Company (BSAC), the right to establish a colony in the vast territory north of the Limpopo River. Rhodes's agents established a settlement in 1889 in Salisbury (modern Harare). From there, his representatives moved north across the Zambezi River, where they found many African rulers who proved willing to ally themselves with the powerful newcomers. The borders of the new territory were ultimately limited by British treaties signed with Germany, Portugal, and Belgium. Initially, the region was administered as North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia, before being amalgamated into one colony in 1912.

Company officials imposed a hut tax on Africans to raise revenue for administration and to encourage them to enter wage employment in the copper mines of neighboring Katanga. During World War I, Northern Rhodesia's mineral resources were exploited commercially for the first time, and within a



Victoria Falls, located on the Zambezi River between Zambia and Zimbabwe (once Northern and Southern Rhodesia respectively), was originally known as Mosi-oa-tunya, “the smoke that thunders,” in the Kalolo-Lozi language. Colonial explorers frequently applied European names to landmarks in Africa, ignoring existing names for them. (Library of Congress)

decade, copper mining became the colony's major industry. BSAC rule ended in 1924, and the British Colonial Office became responsible for the colony. The British government established a legislative council that came to be dominated by members representing the tiny community of white settlers.

The rapid expansion of mining led to urbanization and encouraged industrial organization among

the poorly paid African miners. By 1949, African workers had created powerful unions that helped them to bargain on equal terms with white workers. It was in the mining centers that the first effective political organization, the Northern Rhodesia Congress, emerged in 1948. However, the political aspirations of Northern Rhodesian Africans were sharply checked when the colony was federated

with Southern Rhodesia in 1953. African politicians feared that federation would allow the segregationist policies of Southern Rhodesia to be imposed in the north. Most whites in the colony hoped that closer union with Southern Rhodesia would allow them to wrestle more autonomy from the Colonial Office. Though their opposition failed in the short term, Africans who protested against federation brought together rural and urban leaders for the first time. A trade depression in 1956 accentuated the growing hostility to federation and British rule in general and led to a radicalization of the congress movement. Led by Kenneth Kaunda, a civil servant, a nationalist wing of the party split off to found the Zambia African National Congress (later renamed the United Independence Party, UNIP) in 1958. Four years later, Kaunda and his followers led a civil disobedience campaign against the government. Recognizing the vehemence of African opinion, the British held a referendum on federation in 1963. Africans in Northern Rhodesia voted overwhelmingly against federation, thus effectively ending the colony's association with Southern Rhodesia. The following year, national elections were held for an independent government. Kaunda's UNIP swept to victory, and he became the first president of the independent nation of Zambia.

James Burns

See also Belgian Congo; Copper; Kaunda, Kenneth; Mining; Rhodes, Cecil John; Southern Rhodesia

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North-South Conflict

The North-South conflict refers to tensions between the developed countries of the so-called North—specifically, North America, Europe, Japan, and other industrially advanced regions of the globe—and those of the South, primarily nations of the Tropics and the Southern Hemisphere that are less developed economically. Rooted in the

old colonial order, the division between the North and the South has been exacerbated in the post-colonial era through an economic relationship that many claim to be exploitative of the latter.

The North-South conflict was symbolized by the push for a new international economic order (NIEO) and the call for a north-south dialogue in the 1970s. The formal demand for an NIEO flowed from the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New Economic Order at the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, held in April 1974. This initiative sought to restructure the world economy in favor of the countries of the South, that is, poor nations of the Tropics and the Southern Hemisphere. The first North-South Conference was held in Paris in December 1975 in an effort to improve relations between the “developed” countries of the North and the “developing” countries of the South. The origins of these initiatives can be traced to the Bandung Conference in 1955, where issues such as the stabilization of international prices for raw materials and greater control over the processing of raw materials by governments of the South were discussed. The call for an NIEO also has antecedents in the nonaligned movement of the 1960s.

The demand for international economic equality and the North-South conflict of which it was a manifestation were apparent at the United Nations by the 1950s and were especially tied to the growing pressure to end colonialism. In 1961, the UN launched the First Development Decade and laid out an economic development program for the 1960s that coincided with the increasing pace of decolonization. The first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964 provided a forum in which the debate about economic development manifested itself clearly as a conflict between the North and the South. Prior to the meeting, a range of governments in the Third World sought to coordinate their efforts and operate as a bloc. Their efforts also led to the creation of the Group of 77, which sought to generate unity among governments of the Third World at subsequent international meetings. There was also a recognition, at least in some quarters in North America and Western Europe, that the North-South conflict was increasingly overshadowing the East-West conflict of the Cold War. This shift in

emphasis was partially reflected in the policies adopted by U.S. president Jimmy Carter (1977–1980). In his first two years in office, Carter advocated and sought accommodation rather than confrontation with the governments of the Third World. At the end of the 1970s, the Brandt Commission (chaired by former German chancellor Willy Brandt) was also set up to address the North-South conflict.

By the beginning of the 1980s, the emphasis on the need to address the North-South conflict via accommodation and reform was under serious challenge. The Group of 77 was making little headway, and the various United Nations initiatives were regularly ignored by the governments of the North. UNCTAD meetings continued to be held (the tenth UNCTAD was held in Bangkok in February 2000), but they produced nothing of substance. This situation worsened with the dramatic revitalization of the Cold War during the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1988) and the spread of neoliberal economic policies and practices around the world in the 1980s. Neoliberalism, which was enthusiastically sponsored by the British government after 1979 and the U.S. government after 1981 and taken up, willingly or unwillingly, by a growing number of governments of the South, completely rejected the ideas associated with the NIEO and related initiatives. The governments of the United States and Western Europe, along with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, increasingly recommended that governments of the South follow the U.S. and British lead and privatize their public sectors, deregulate their economies, and liberalize their trade. The end of the Cold War between 1989 and 1991 only served to deepen and broaden the trend toward neoliberalism and what is increasingly called globalization. The North-South conflict also encouraged the agenda of those groups that have demanded reparations for slavery and the slave trade.

Mark T. Berger

See also Bandung Conference; Cold War; Decolonization; International Monetary Fund; Third World; United Nations

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Nu, U (1907–1995)

U Nu was the prime minister of Burma from 1948 to 1958 and again from 1960 to 1962. In the 1930s, he was one of the students who took the title *thakin*, or master, usually reserved for Europeans. Casting aside a comfortable youth, which included hard drinking and frequenting prostitutes, he pledged himself to a more Buddhist life and graduated from the University of Rangoon in 1929. Returning to study law, he was expelled in 1936 for independence activities along with fellow activist Aung San, thus helping to spark the student strike of that year. In 1937, he joined the radical Dobama Asiayon (We Burmans Association), which sought independence through protest and action.

Jailed for sedition in 1940, he served as foreign minister when a Burmese government was established under the wartime Japanese occupation. Aung San's assassination in July 1947 then catapulted U Nu to the leadership of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). As such, it was U Nu who became the first prime minister when Burma achieved independence on January 4, 1948, and he retained this position (except for 1957–1958) until 1960.

However, he had inherited a state incinerated by war, and he compounded the problem by creating inefficient nationalized industries and soon faced widespread revolt and insurgency. At independence, the Union of Burma had promised significant autonomy for some of its upland regions, but the results disappointed many of the ethnically distinct minorities, notably the Christian Karens. In addition, the Communist Party resorted to arms in 1948.

The continuing failure of U Nu's democratic governments to deal with ethnic separatism, together with a failing economy and spiraling inflation, saw the AFPFL split in two in 1958, becoming the Clean AFPFL, under U Nu, and the Stable AFPFL.

U Nu then asked the army chief of staff, Gen. Ne Win, to assume power to control the escalating friction. Ne Win allowed elections again in February 1960, which returned U Nu and the Clean

AFPFL (called the Union Party from March onward). He was not in this position for long, though, as U Nu was finally deposed by Ne Win in March 1962.

Detained until 1966, he left for exile and protest in India in 1969. A May 1980 general amnesty for political dissidents allowed his return in July of that year to become a Buddhist monk. His final attempt to regain some power after the prodemocracy demonstrations of 1988 failed. U Nu died in 1995.

Karl A. Hack

See also Aung San; Burma

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Nyasaland (British Central Africa Protectorate, Malawi)

Nyasaland was a British protectorate in central Africa, centered on Lake Nyasa and the Shire River. Following David Livingstone's travels in the region during the 1850s and 1860s, Scottish missionaries and Christian entrepreneurs established outposts along the lake. Upset by evidence of continued slave trading from the East Africa coast and local African conflicts and with a desire to prevent further Portuguese claims, these Europeans called on the British government for protection. Their efforts were initially rebuffed as too costly, but the British consul in Mozambique, Harry Johnston, soon became convinced that only an end to slave-trading activities would bring peace to the region as well as to Mozambique.

Johnston first began signing treaties with local rulers on behalf of the British Crown (and for his other employer, Cecil Rhodes) and then declared much of the region to be under official British protection. Faced with these declarations by a foreign officer in its employ, the British Parliament officially proclaimed a protectorate over the Nyasaland districts in 1891. Johnston was appointed commissioner and consul-general, although his salary and administrative expenses were borne by

Rhodes's British South Africa Company. In 1893, the territory was named the British Central Africa Protectorate, and Johnston increased his efforts to bring an end to the slave trade, pacify the area, and introduce something approaching organized colonial authority.

Johnston also attempted to establish a colonial land and taxation policy for the protectorate and to attract a somewhat greater European presence. His success led, in part, to the newly renamed Nyasaland Protectorate being passed from Foreign Office to Colonial Office management in 1907. This change brought some recognition of local African rights and responsibilities, although it was not until after World War I that a complete system of indirect rule could be introduced. This theoretically indirect system of colonial administration, utilizing African leadership intended to represent traditional authority, continued with only slight modifications until independence in 1964.

From 1914 on, a number of African organizations arose and increasingly claimed to speak for the African peoples native to the protectorate. Most were local or regional groups, and almost all the leaders were mission-educated Africans. But not until the emergence of the Nyasaland African Congress in the 1940s was there a protectorate-wide organization attempting to speak for local peoples. A single event galvanized African opinion against British colonial rule: the proposal to create the Central African Federation of Nyasaland and both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Many Africans from Nyasaland had migrated to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa seeking work, and their experiences convinced them that closer ties with any settler-controlled colony would likely mean the end to the small benefits they enjoyed as residents of an official protectorate. The vehemence of their opposition ultimately led to the end of the federation and the independence of Nyasaland as the new country of Malawi in 1964.

Melvin E. Page

See also Banda, Hastings Kamuzu; British Empire; Johnston, Sir Henry "Harry" Hamilton; Livingstone, David; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia

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Nyerere, Julius (1922–1999)

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, often referred to as “Mwalimu” (meaning “teacher” in the Kiswahili language), served as Tanzania’s president and elder statesman for over four decades, until his death in November 1999. The massive outpouring of grief at his funeral reflected the passing of one of Africa’s most important and respected independence leaders. Born in 1922 in Butiama in British colonial Tanganyika (later the independent mainland Tanzania), he received his primary and secondary education from Catholic missionaries. He attended Makerere University in Uganda and remained in Makerere as a teacher until 1949, when he moved to Edinburgh, Scotland, to complete a master’s degree in economics and history. He returned to Tanganyika in 1952 and subsequently founded the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which would become the key mass party in Tanganyikan politics through the independence struggle and into the postcolonial period.

Nyerere was largely responsible for building TANU’s political power through a grassroots campaign that aimed to reach all parts of Tanganyikan territory. During his campaigning, he employed Kiswahili as a means of overcoming the immense linguistic and ethnic diversity of the colony and later ensured that it became the national language

of Tanzania. In 1961, after close negotiations with the British colonial authorities, Tanganyika became an independent nation, with Nyerere as its first prime minister. He immediately set about the business of building a national identity for Tanganyika, which became Tanzania with the inclusion of Zanzibar in 1964. An important component of his vision for Tanzania’s future was the notion of African socialism and especially his idea, as articulated in the 1967 Arusha Declaration, of a one-party state operating on a principle of *ujamaa* (communal cooperation). In short, he hoped to create a classless, self-reliant society through a planned and centralized national economy. Despite other modest successes in improving national literacy and health care, his “villagization,” or collectivization, scheme was harshly criticized both within and outside Tanzania for further debilitating the country’s already weak economy and worsening the lives of Tanzanian peasants. He stepped down from the presidency in 1985 but remained the head of the party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, or CCM, the successor to TANU) until 1990. He spent his remaining years acting as an international political adviser and peace broker, most notably in trying to settle the ongoing political crisis in neighboring Burundi. Despite his domestic failures while president, his diplomatic skills and humanitarian sensibilities were highly regarded, as was his willingness to peacefully transfer power in 1985 and to lend his support to Tanzania’s transition to multipartyism.

Michelle Moyd

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Decolonization; Tanganyika

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O'Brien, Conor Cruise (1917–)

Diplomat, politician, and historian, Conor Cruise O'Brien was a consistent critic of past and ongoing British, French, and American colonialism. As a member of a prominent family of Irish nationalists, he grew up with a strong commitment to anti-colonialism. His early involvement in anticolonial campaigns included anti-Franco activism as a student delegate of the Trinity College Labour Party. After he had entered the Department of External Affairs, he assisted Irish Minister of External Affairs Sean MacBride with a campaign against the partition of Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s. He was to alter his view about the partition of Ireland completely by the 1990s, when he concluded that forcing the Ulster unionists into a united Ireland was actually a form of imperialism. Many saw this reversal of his previous views as evidence that he had never really been committed to anticolonialism. One of his biographers, Donald Akenson, however, has concluded that opposition to imperialism was a genuine and consistent theme of his life and work.

His most prominent profile as a critic of Western colonialism emerged in his role as head of the United Nations section in Dublin and a member of the Irish UN delegation from 1956 until 1961. In UN General Assembly debates, O'Brien delivered speeches demonstrating Ireland's firm anticolonial stance on issues such as the Algerian struggle for independence. He was also a dedicated propo-

nent of Ireland's neutral position on the numerous Cold War issues that were debated in the United Nations, supporting, among other things, the admission of the People's Republic of China, which he suggested to his minister, Frank Aiken, as the most powerful way of demonstrating Ireland's independence at the UN. He was able to take an active role in UN peacekeeping in the Congo (the former Belgian Congo, now known as Zaire), as the secretary-general's representative in the separatist Congo province of Katanga. He paid the price of exposing the neocolonial involvement of French, Belgian, and British interests in the Katanga dispute against a background of clandestine U.S. anti-Communist interference when he was removed from his Katanga post. He subsequently resigned from the Department of External Affairs and later worked for a time as the vice-chancellor of the newly established University of Ghana. Throughout this period, he continued his involvement in various anticolonial causes, such as the antiapartheid movement. After holding the Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities at New York University in the 1960s, O'Brien was elected as the Labour member for Howth in 1969 and became the Irish minister for posts and telegraphs. He is also a prolific writer and historian, whose work, both fiction and nonfiction, has often been concerned with imperialism and its ongoing effects.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also Cold War; Ireland; United Nations

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O'Higgins, Bernardo (1778–1842)

Bernardo O'Higgins was born on August 20, 1778, the illegitimate son of Isabel Riquelme, the daughter of a modest Creole landowner, and Ambrosio O'Higgins, an Irish officer in the Spanish Royal Army. Because the Crown discouraged royal officials from establishing alliances with local families, his ambitious father only quietly acknowledged his paternity as he rose in rank from military commander to governor of Chile and ultimately assumed the coveted position of viceroy of Peru. He did, however, see to the boy's education, secretly arranging for him to attend the prestigious Royal College of San Carlos in Lima, Peru, and afterward providing him with a stipend to continue his education in Spain and England. It was during his stay in England (while pining for direction and recognition from his cold and distant benefactor) that O'Higgins came under the influence of Venezuelan expatriate and revolutionary firebrand Francisco Miranda, who converted him to the cause of American independence. The revelation of such connections embarrassed his father, who promptly disowned him. His fortunes abruptly changed in 1801, however, when his ailing father recognized him in a deathbed will, leaving him a valuable estate in southern Chile.

In 1802, O'Higgins assumed the life of a prosperous Chilean landowner, although his English education and liberal ideas and sympathies made him politically suspect. But when Napoleon Bonaparte deposed and imprisoned Ferdinand VII and attempted to install his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne in 1808, O'Higgins and other proindependence radicals took advantage of the crisis of legitimacy by refusing to recognize any Spanish authority other than that of the imprisoned king. They also clamored for the convening of congresses and pressed for "reforms" that were actually designed to dismantle the colonial bureaucracy and to put the country quietly but irre-

trievably on the road to independence. The petty squabbles and struggles of the competing juntas and political factions in Chile, however, were overshadowed by the Peruvian viceroy's 1813 decision to invade the renegade province and to crush the burgeoning independence movement.

Recognizing that Chilean independence would be decided by a contest of arms, O'Higgins sought the military training and experience that would serve him well in the independence wars and would foster his meteoric rise to political power in Chile. He quickly rose to the rank of general in the liberation army and gained notoriety for his heroic stand at the Battle of Rancagua (October 1813); after escaping across the Andes to Buenos Aires, he returned at the head of the division of the army of continental liberation that decisively defeated the royalist forces at Chacabuco (February 1817). In the heady atmosphere of the patriot victory, an assembly of notables in Santiago elected O'Higgins interim supreme director of Chile.

Although O'Higgins successfully routed the last royalist forces on Chilean soil in April 1818, promulgated a provisional constitution for the new nation, and created a navy capable of carrying the independence wars to Peru, he also made some powerful enemies in Chile. He alienated the aristocratic class by confiscating royalist property and by abolishing the trappings of nobility and title; he also offended church officials (and many religious Chileans) by imprisoning and exiling clergymen with royalist sympathies. Ironically, even Chilean nationalists turned against the supreme director, accusing him of being a puppet of the secretive Logia Lautarina (the Masonic lodge founded in Buenos Aires and dedicated to achieving continental independence). Only a few months after Chile's new constitution was signed in October 1822, an assembly of Santiago civilians executed a bloodless coup d'état on January 28, 1823, forcing O'Higgins to resign and leave the country. While in exile in Peru, he accepted a command in Simón Bolívar's army, but he arrived too late to participate in the final battles of the independence wars. From 1825 to his death in 1842, the patriot exile lived out his remaining days in relative poverty and obscurity in Peru.

Francis X. Luca

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Chile; Peru; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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See also Japanese Empire; United States; World War II

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Okinawa

The islands incorporated into Japan in the nineteenth century as Okinawa had comprised the independent Ryukyu Kingdom, which flourished as a regional trading center with a distinct cultural and linguistic tradition. The Japanese domain of Satsuma conquered the islands in 1609, but they retained a measure of independence until the new Meiji regime asserted its authority and abolished the Ryukyu Kingdom in the 1870s.

As new subjects of the Japanese state, Okinawans were subjected to assimilation policies intended to “Japanize” their language, religion, and names; they also were assigned greater duties and fewer rights than residents of the main Japanese islands. The local assembly was weaker, and the tax burden was heavier, for example. Assimilation policies reached a fevered extreme during World War II, when over 1,000 civilians were wrongfully executed as spies because they spoke the Okinawan dialect. During the final months of the war, Okinawa was sacrificed to buy time for the defense of the main Japanese islands in a battle that cost the lives of 160,000 Okinawan civilians, many of them driven by Japanese troops out of the caves where they had taken refuge from U.S. bombing.

Following its victory in 1945, the United States imposed a military government and seized much of Okinawa for military use. Japan regained sovereignty over the islands in 1972, but even today, densely populated Okinawa, which makes up only 0.6 percent of Japan's total land area, hosts some 75 percent of U.S. bases in Japan and 28,000 of the 47,000 U.S. troops stationed there. Recent years have seen vigorous local campaigns against the sexual violence and environmental problems caused by the U.S. presence, with little response from the Japanese or American governments. Tourism has overtaken the U.S. military in economic importance, but most of the profits from that industry flow to corporations in mainland Japan, leaving Okinawa the nation's poorest prefecture.

W. Donald Smith

Oman

Oman, long the world's main source of frankincense, runs along the eastern extremity of the Arabian Peninsula before turning to trace its southern shore. In this way, several hundred miles of coastline face Iran, commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and then the Indian Ocean. The main settlement of Muscat offers a fine, scorchingly hot harbor, lying on a narrow coastal plain. The latter soon gives way to high mountains. Mountains yield to plateau, and plateau to vast reaches of desert. It is a land of goats and camels, with little cultivation, though the Dhofar region in the southeast provides dates, subsistence cereal, limes, and dried fish.

Oman's strategic significance came from the overland route connecting the Mediterranean to the spices of the East, which rejoined the sea at the Persian Gulf. Oman's location at the gulf's entrance attracted the Portuguese in 1508, gaining in importance when the latter lost Hormuz, on the opposite side of the gulf, in 1622. The Portuguese were expelled in the mid-seventeenth century, an Arab empire rising in its place at Muscat. The Muscat Sultanate seized Portuguese outposts in Africa, such as Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Zanzibar (in 1730). The sultanate even transferred residence to Zanzibar in the 1830s before it was split in two, with one son ruling in Zanzibar and the East African possessions and the other ruling over Muscat.

Britain, which developed treaty relationships with several small gulf states from the 1820s, signed a treaty of friendship with Oman's Sultan Said ibn Sultan (1804–1856). Oman was never to be a colony but instead became a state with a British consul and “special relations” with Britain. These treaty relations prevented foreign powers from interfering with this staging post to India but left internal affairs untouched. Britain confirmed Oman's independence by a December 1951 treaty and in theory ended the treaty relationships it had with other, smaller gulf states in 1971, following a January 1968 announcement it would withdraw

from “East of Suez.” In practice, British officers remained in the Oman armed forces and police to the century’s end, and Britain’s assistance was instrumental in helping the Sultanate survive threats both before and after the official withdrawal.

These threats included an inland revolt between 1954 and 1959, the expulsion of the last Ibadi Imam (an Islamic religious leader who was long dominant in the interior) in 1959, and the 1965–1975 counterinsurgency in the Dhofar region. In the latter situation, British troops and Special Air Service (SAS) soldiers successfully combined small-scale operations with efforts to win hearts and minds. SAS patrols provided agricultural, veterinary, and other services, helping bring insurgency to an end. In 1980, Oman acquired extra insurance in the form of allowing U.S. forces to use facilities on its Masirah Island.

Before then, the British had helped restore tranquility in another way. In July 1970, they gave covert support for the overthrow of Sultan Said bin Taimur, who had ruled since 1932, by his Sandhurst-trained son, Qaboos bin Said. The son was less tradition bound than his father, and the production of oil after 1967 helped him transform a country that banned radios and had just 10 kilometers of tarred roads when he assumed power in 1970. Oman, a territory with just half a million people in the 1950s, grew to a relatively developed country of over 2.5 million by 2000.

Karl A. Hack

See also British Empire; Zanzibar

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Open Door Policy

The Open Door policy of the late 1800s was spawned by a perception among American leaders that China was weakening and that the United States stood to benefit from that situation. They saw in China not so much an opportunity for empire per se but rather a chance to expand economically and commercially. The United States was not alone in that perception; other nations were also hungrily looking at China, each pressuring this weak late-nineteenth-century government for spe-

cial trade and political concessions. At the same time, China was especially vulnerable to foreign intervention, for the Manchu dynasty that had reigned for 250 years was showing definite signs of strain. Indeed, the country was beginning to be informally divided into different spheres of influence among the strongest imperial powers—Russia, Germany, and Britain—all of whom wanted to secure trade positions either by land or by sea. In 1896, Russia won the right to build a railway across Manchuria and received a twenty-five-year lease on a large section of the region. Germany later forcibly secured a ninety-nine-year lease on the port of Kiaochow, along with mining and railroad rights in nearby Shantung. Britain also garnered various port and trade privileges.

In 1898, Albert J. Beveridge, a U.S. senator, aptly proclaimed, “American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours.” Senator Beveridge managed to state bluntly an attitude that underpinned the motivation of all the major imperial powers.

In September 1899, American secretary of state John Hay directed a set of notes to the major European powers with economic interests in China. These notes—which formed the basis of what would later be known as the Open Door policy—specifically requested that the Europeans keep the Chinese ports they controlled open to all nations; further, Hay asked them not to grant special privileges to traders from their own countries. The six nations he addressed basically gave noncommittal responses to his requests, but this did not dissuade Hay from announcing that the notion of an “Open Door” to U.S. business had been accepted. The Open Door policy, when coupled with the Monroe Doctrine, reflected the U.S. approach to foreign policy in that era. This quest for “informal empire,” in contrast to the direct acquisition favored by the other imperial powers, fit neatly into the *laissez-faire* mentality of that period in U.S. history.

The Boxer Rebellion that followed further weakened China’s governmental structure, as an international army was called in to quash the rebellion. In 1900, John Hay, fearing a total collapse in China that would allow the imperial



Secretary of State John Hay, shown here in his Washington office, was the author of the so-called Open Door policy, calling for free trade with China and an end to European (and Japanese) spheres of influence there. (Library of Congress)

powers to carve up the country, issued a second and more important set of Open Door notes. In them, he reaffirmed the principle of free and open trade and made a further announcement of the U.S. determination to preserve China's territorial integrity.

The Open Door policy was proactive well into the 1930s, as when Japanese expansionism threatened China's survival; it was Hay's policy that helped fashion the U.S. response, which included verbal pressure but no military efforts to get the Japanese out of China.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Boxer Rebellion; British Empire; China; German Empire; Russian Empire; United States

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Opium Wars

The First Opium War (1839–1842) ushered in the era of imperialist exploitation of China. Since 1759, Sino-Western trade had been confined to the single port of Canton (Guangzhou), with Western merchants under numerous restrictions. Moreover, Western traders were unable to find a commodity that the Chinese would buy in quantity—until they hit on opium in the early nineteenth century. The booming opium import trade that developed was exceedingly profitable for British and U.S. merchants, but it greatly damaged China's public health and economy and promoted a great

deal of crime and corruption. When the Chinese government moved to suppress the opium trade in 1838, the British seized the opportunity to declare war on China in order to get rid of the many restrictions they had been chafing under and saw as barriers to the exploitation of the vast China market.

After suffering numerous military defeats, the Ch'ing (Qing) dynasty was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, ceding Hong Kong and paying a huge indemnity to Britain, opening four more ports in addition to Canton to British commerce, and agreeing to a fixed tariff and consular representation. The floodgate was opened, with China being compelled to surrender more concessions to Britain and the other Great Powers, including extraterritoriality (or the right of citizens of the Great Powers to be protected by their own countries' laws) and most-favored-nation status.

However, opium was not legalized or mentioned in the 1842 treaty, and the subsequent course of Sino-Western trade proved disappointing. The British government therefore planned a war with China to revise the Treaty of Nanking and to expand British commercial interests. Opportunity came with the *Arrow* incident of 1856, when the Chinese allegedly made an illegal search of a ship of Hong Kong registry. In the Second Opium War (1856–1860), the French joined the British in an expedition against China after the murder of a missionary. With Peking under the threat of capture, the Ch'ing dynasty signed the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, providing for permanent resident ministers representing Western nations in Peking, the opening of more ports, foreign travel in all parts of China, freedom of movement for missionaries, and indemnities for Britain and France. But hostilities resumed in 1859, and the allied forces captured Peking and compelled the signing of the Treaty of Peking, which finally ended the Second Opium War. Indemnities were increased, and Tientsin was opened to foreign trade and residence. The British acquired the Kowloon Peninsula to add to their Hong Kong possession, and the accompanying commercial protocol finally gave British traders the legal right to import opium. Revenues from opium sales propped up the shaky finances of the government of India and the private businesses linking Bombay, Calcutta, and Canton, and it supported the British balance of

trade with Asia. The Opium Wars thus opened the way for the Great Powers, under British leadership, to impose their will on China, and they expanded and ultimately legalized the opium trade that served as a cornerstone of the British Empire.

Robert Y. Eng

See also British Empire; China; Hong Kong; Nanking, Treaty of

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Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

In the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the member states—thirty developed countries—have a forum for discussion and coordination of their social and economic policies. Its predecessor, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), was established in 1948 and was responsible for coordinating aid provided under the Marshall Plan. In 1961, the OECD replaced the OEEC when the United States and Canada joined the organization.

To strengthen the patron-client relationship with formal colonies and other developing nations, OECD established a number of institutions to coordinate its efforts. The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) was established initially to organize aid distribution. Today, the DAC's work is guided by the Development Partnership Strategy formulated in 1996. The DAC deals with issues relating to cooperation with developing countries and the coordination of bilateral donors, in an effort to increase their effectiveness in support of sustainable development. The basic aim of the DAC is to encourage aid efforts and improve the quality of the aid given. The OECD Development Center was established in 1962 to provide timely analyses and policy dialogues on developmental issues. The Club du Sahel provides an informal framework for dialogue and cooperation between Sahelian countries in northern Africa, donor governments of the West, and other concerned organizations.

Overall, the DAC coordinated \$53 billion in aid from twenty-one OECD countries from 1990 to

1991 (including debt forgiveness), but only half of this amount was spent in low-income countries with an average per capita income of U.S.\$2 a day. Some 27 percent of the aid was given on the condition that it be used only to purchase goods and services from the donor countries.

The OECD governing institutions include a council, which meets annually, and a secretariat. After more than four decades, the OECD is moving beyond a focus on its own countries and is setting its analytical sights on those countries—today, nearly the whole world—that embrace a market economy.

Baogang Guo

See also Economics; North-South Conflict; Third World
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Organization of African Unity (OAU)

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in Addis Ababa in 1963 by all of the then independent African states except the Republic of South Africa. The organization was created out of a spirit of pan-Africanism and a belief that the total independence of African peoples could only be realized with the direct participation and encouragement of those who had already achieved independence.

Shortly after gaining independence, the new nation of Ghana played host to the 1958 All-African Peoples Conference, which included representatives of many independence movements seeking to end colonialism in Africa. The spirit of that conference was influential in bringing decolonization to much of Africa. But the calls of some African leaders, notably Kwame Nkrumah, for full unity and a common African citizenship were widely rejected. Nonetheless, in a 1963 conference in Addis Ababa, thirty-two sovereign nations agreed to create the Organization of African Unity “to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States.”

After the initial wave of independence for African colonies, the OAU took up the cause of other Africans still living under colonial rule. Forming the nine-nation Liberation Committee based in Dar es Salaam, the OAU worked for the independence of Africans remaining in colonies,

as well for majority rule in South Africa. Through the OAU Liberation Committee, many organizations working for decolonization found greater international support than they might otherwise had achieved. At the same time, the OAU consistently supported the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of its members as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes between any of them. The influence of the organization in ending colonialism on the Africa continent, however, was greater than its success in encouraging the peaceful resolution of conflict between independent African nations.

Melvin E. Page

See also Decolonization; Nkrumah, Kwame; Pan-Africanism; South Africa

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Organization of American States (OAS)

The Organization of American States (OAS), known in Spanish as the Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA), was established at the Ninth International Conference of American States, held in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948. It is the direct linear descendent of the International American Union and the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, which were set up as a result of the First International Conference of American States in Washington, D.C. (October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890). The International American Union and its bureau became the Union of American Republics and the Pan-American Union in 1910.

The OAS, like its predecessors, is the institutional manifestation of a range of competing and complementary pan-American visions that have informed efforts at cooperation by the governments of the Western Hemisphere for many years. The original member countries of the OAS were the United States and twenty Latin American countries (including Haiti) that had successfully emerged as independent nations following periods of European colonial rule. In 1962, the government of Cuba was excluded from participating in the OAS, but it remained a formal member, as there was no provision in the organization’s charter for complete expulsion. By the beginning of the



Panamanian President Omar Torrijos signs the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, calling for a return of the canal and the Canal Zone to Panamanian control. Organization of American States President Alejandro Orfila, immediately to Torrijos's right, looks on. (Associated Press)

1990s, there were thirty-five member countries, with several newer members, many of them former British colonies (such as Barbados) as well as the former Dutch colony of Suriname. Canada joined in 1990, and Belize and Guyana joined in 1991. The membership has remained unchanged since the early 1990s.

Beginning with its foundation in the early years of the Cold War, the main focus of the OAS has been on conflict resolution, collective security, peace settlements, and peacekeeping. Since 1975, the OAS has also placed a greater emphasis on the protection of human rights and, more recently, the promotion of democracy. In the second half of the 1960s, the OAS formally enhanced the status of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), which led to the establishment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in 1978 (with headquarters in Costa Rica). The growing emphasis on the promotion of democracy was reflected in the *Santiago Commitment to Democracy* adopted at the General Assembly of the OAS in Santiago, Chile, in 1991. The specific resolution on

representative democracy that emerged requires the secretary-general of the OAS to convene a meeting of the organization's Permanent Council within ten days of the overthrow of a democratically elected government in the hemisphere so that it can decide on a course of action. For many years, the OAS has also played a role as an observer and monitor of elections in member nations.

Mark T. Berger

See also Cold War; Cuba; Democracy; United States

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Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was founded in September 1960 with the primary aim of stemming the decline in oil prices and presenting a unified front to foreign oil

companies. The various oil companies had dominated the Middle East following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the League of Nations' imposition of mandated territories. Though little was achieved during the 1960s, the thirteen members of OPEC, including Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Indonesia, shared information and worked for greater coordination. From 1968 onward, they increased their coordination as the demand for oil dramatically increased and prices were being pressed further downward. Libya led the way in negotiations with the oil companies; ultimately, these efforts resulted in the 1971 Teheran Agreement, which increased prices. By 1972, the producing countries sought greater control of their resources.

OPEC gained considerable power following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war. OPEC's member nations' actions had broken the neocolonial relationship with the oil companies. Following the war, production was reduced by 5 percent per month, and exports to the United States were embargoed. The result was dramatic. The so-called oil crisis of 1973 led to a quadrupling of prices by 1974. The impact was severe, as Western development and economic growth had been somewhat predicated on the cheap availability of oil. Western stock exchanges fell dramatically. OPEC representatives argued that Western powers had frequently increased the price of their food exports to the Middle East and that such reciprocation was justified.

Since 1973, OPEC members have continued to coordinate their activities, but relations with the principal oil-consuming areas—the United States, the European Union, and Japan—have been more harmonious. Moreover, divisions within OPEC, especially among the Middle Eastern countries, have undermined the organization's potential to use oil as a political weapon.

David Ryan

See also Iran; Iraq; Ottoman Empire; Petroleum; Saudi Arabia

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Ottawa Agreements

The Ottawa Agreements were a series of twelve bilateral trade agreements negotiated in Ottawa by

Canada, Britain, and other Commonwealth dominions and territories in 1932. These trade pacts were designed to reduce or eliminate tariffs and duties on goods traded within the constituent elements of the old British Empire. Britain saw the negotiations as a way to boost British exports to dominion members, yet the agreements served to increase the import of dominion members' goods into Great Britain. The agreements also called for an increase in tariffs and duties for nonempire imports throughout the Commonwealth, a policy that greatly angered other countries—especially the United States, whose largest trading partner is Canada.

Phillip Bellfy

See also British Commonwealth; Canada

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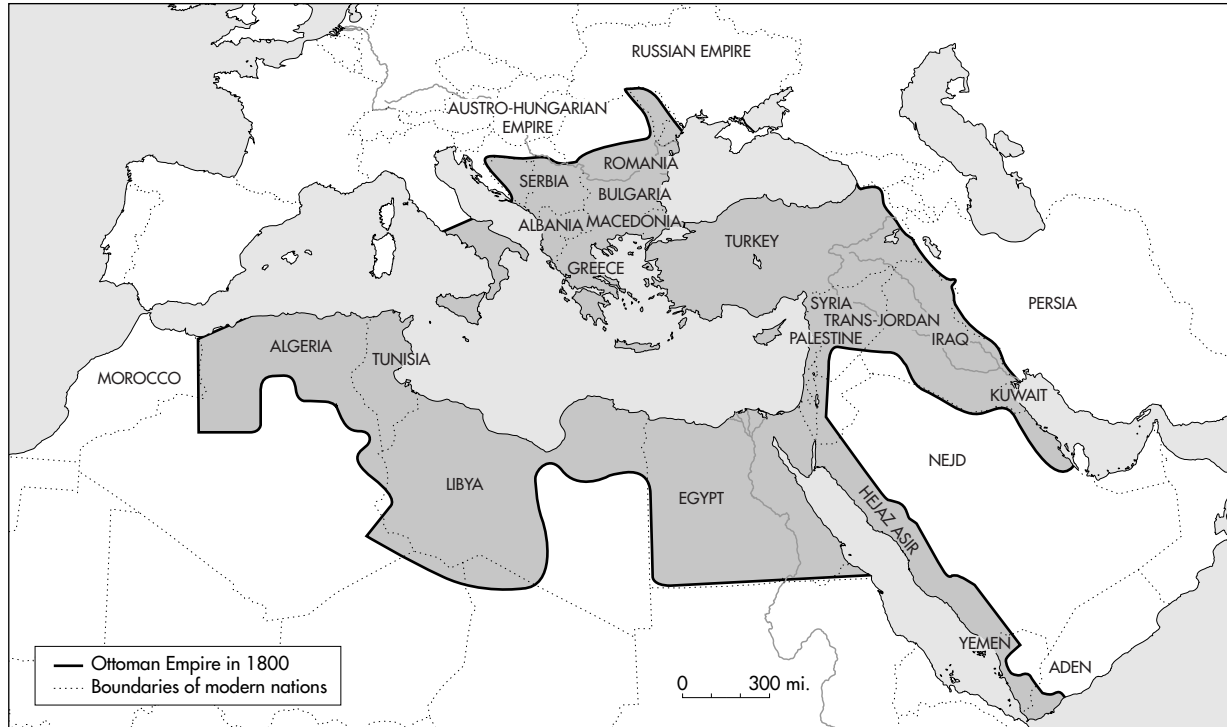
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Ottoman Empire (Sublime Porte)

Known to its citizens as *devlet-i aliye* (the exalted state) and in Europe as the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman Empire was a great power in the Middle East between 1400 and 1918. The empire was founded by Turkish clans who, although a minority, maintained control to the very end. The Ottoman domain stretched from modern Algeria to Iraq and from Romania to the Sudan, and though presenting an image of grandeur, it was a giant with feet of clay for much of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Very rough estimates number Ottoman subjects at 24 million in 1800. These people ranged from sophisticated city folk to semicivilized nomads. Although most of them lived in the country, the empire had significant urban centers, such as the capital, Constantinople, and Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad.

Ruling this sprawling, multiethnic state was the *padishah*, or sultan, who, in theory, was both an absolute monarch and leader of the state religion. In practice, sultans governed in conjunction with a confusing array of local officials. These ranged from loyal subordinates to banditlike *derebeys* (valley lords), who maintained semiautonomous fiefdoms within the empire's heartland. All such men were *ayans* (notables), distinguished by the fact that they had a following—retainers who

OTTOMAN EMPIRE



would do their bidding, even if this was contrary to Ottoman authority.

Their empire was a collection of provinces, special military zones, autonomous regions, tributary states, and local governments sometimes based on religious affiliation. The most common was the *sancak*, an administrative unit ruled by a *bey*. The latter was not only a government official but also, in the Ottoman sense, an aristocrat. Higher up was the *pasa*, who ruled a more important or larger territory. Very significant regions, such as Egypt, rated *vilayet* status, with a viceroy, or *vali*.

Ottoman government centered about the court in Constantinople, where twelve powerful officials formed a *divan*, or council. These individuals advised sultans, like European cabinets. Their leader, equivalent to a prime minister, was the *sadr-i a'zem*. Known to Westerners as the “grand vizier,” this man acted as the sultan’s agent, directing government ministries, commanding armies, and conducting diplomatic negotiations. By the late 1600s, grand viziers were sometimes more powerful than sultans. Another key office was that of the *caliphate*. This position was held by the sultan, and the ancient religious title declared him the leader, or *caliph*, of all Muslims. The relationship stretched beyond the empire and played a role in the story of colonialism. Sultans could influence coreligionists as far away as Indonesia or central Africa.

Although Ottoman leaders pushed their own colonial agendas in Arabia and along the Red Sea coast of northeast Africa, they were more often victims rather than players in the nineteenth-century world of imperialism. Indeed, their very existence was sometimes threatened by greater powers—for example, Russia, which described this rival empire as “the sick man of Europe.” Such in-

tense rivalry helped create the so-called Eastern Question, a nineteenth-century debate over Ottoman survival. Nationalism was also part of the equation, as non-Muslim minority groups, such as the Greeks and Serbs, fought wars of national liberation against their Ottoman overlords. These Balkan conflicts nearly always attracted other European powers, further exacerbating the Eastern Question issue.

Territorial problems greatly stressed imperial legitimacy and were not exclusively fixed in the Balkans. Large Muslim regions such as Algeria, Libya, and Egypt fell under varying degrees of French, Italian, and British authority between 1830 and 1912. Other parts of the empire saw Western businesspeople, missionaries, and diplomats take advantage of the old capitulatory treaties to gain ascendancy over local rivals and enjoy extraterritorial rights.

Reactions ranged from efforts at government reform to anti-Christian bigotry to the horrific Armenian massacres of 1915. The latter, corresponding with the Ottoman Empire’s fatal entry into World War I, were but one of many atrocities that befell all groups as the exalted state collapsed into a bloody mass of nationalist and sectarian conflicts. The last vestiges of imperial authority disappeared in 1923 when the new Turkish Republic abolished the caliphate, ending any role for the last Ottoman sultan, Mehmed VI.

John Dunn

See also Algeria; Armenia; Byzantine Empire; Eastern Question; Egypt; Istanbul; Libya; Turkey; World War I

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P

Pacifism

To some, pacifism stands in stark contrast to the very concept of colonialism. With an emphasis on peace and nonviolence and an appreciation for conciliation, pacifism does not seem to have any deep roots in the colonial enterprise. At best, it would appear to hold much greater appeal for the subjects of colonialism rather than the colonizers themselves. Yet even those who opposed colonial rule in their territories have, for the most part, rejected the appeal of pacifism. The campaigns against colonial rule throughout the world have instead generally emphasized the idea of a “struggle” against the colonizers and frequently been willing to call for military solutions. Indeed, some theorists—such as Frantz Fanon—called explicitly for violent solutions as a means of purging the colonized from the effects of their oppression.

This is an understandable reaction to the process of colonial conquest. In certain instances—for example, in Africa following the Conference of Berlin—some colonial powers attempted to extend their control by peaceful means such as negotiation and treaty making. But all too often, such efforts were followed by “pacification” campaigns that were undertaken by the extension of police, if not military, power. These patterns replicated experiences elsewhere—by the Spanish in Latin America, the British in Asia, and the United States in the Philippines. These situations did create some small measure of pacifist response,

although limited and often isolated. Perhaps the best-known examples were associated with the Society of Friends (also known as the Quakers) in Britain and the United States and later with the followers of Mohandas Gandhi in India.

The Quakers were members of a British non-conformist sect, founded in the seventeenth century, that became prominent in English colonization in Ireland and British North America, especially Pennsylvania. Their pacifism stemmed from religious egalitarianism and a belief that any exercise of power was contrary to the Christian principles they practiced. This was particularly evident in the Quaker opposition to slavery, which, at least initially, divided believers in the American colonies. The American Revolution severely tested Quaker pacifism, with many members of the sect supporting the colonial challenge to British colonial authority while seeking to avoid personal involvement in the conflict. Others chose to remove themselves from the conflict by relocating northward to other British colonies—such as Nova Scotia—where they were less likely to face such difficult choices.

Quaker pacifism also influenced many campaigners for reforms within the colonial enterprise more generally. They opposed violence against colonial peoples, even those who were in protest or rebellion against colonial authorities. These efforts included opposition to the slave trade and later to colonial slavery as well. Quakers were also active in



Mahatma Gandhi, Indian independence leader, consults with future Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru in a 1946 meeting of the Indian National Congress. Gandhi's successful nonviolent struggle against British imperial rule was one of the great triumphs of pacifism in the twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

opposition to forced labor in the colonies, and many joined E. D. Morel in the Congo Reform Movement and other efforts aimed at preserving peace in the colonial territories. Among the most well known of these was John H. Harris, whose growing pacifism led him from participation in such activities to acceptance of Quaker beliefs late in his life.

Perhaps the most ardent example of pacifism in opposition to colonial power, however, was embodied in Mohandas Gandhi. It was in South Africa that he first put his pacifist principles into practice to oppose the racially based discrimination he and his fellow Indian residents faced in Natal. He attempted to demonstrate his support of British authority by organizing a noncombatant ambulance corps during the South African War; however, his other activities—including nonviolent protests—led to his imprisonment by South African authorities. After his release, he returned

to his homeland, where he continued to lead nonviolent protests against various British interests in India. By 1920, he was one of the key leaders of the Indian National Congress, and he was imprisoned for various activities that increasingly were targeted at British rule on the subcontinent. His pacifism led him to refuse to support the British during World War II and to actively campaign for the Quit India Movement, which again led to his imprisonment.

Gandhi's nonviolent approach and his pacifism were much admired in India and praised around the world, but they also seemed to encourage even more violent opposition. Sometimes, this came from colonial authorities, but there was also opposition from individuals who supported his cause while broadly disagreeing with his methods. One such detractor was persuaded to assassinate Gandhi in 1948 shortly after India achieved independence from Britain. This event was a setback to

appeals for pacifist efforts on behalf of other anti-colonialist movements around the world. Not surprisingly, though, leaders of colonial regimes generally held up Gandhi as the model they most wished to see in those who opposed their continued rule. In such circumstances, it is most surprising that the processes of decolonization were frequently as peaceful as they actually were.

Melvin E. Page

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Decolonization; Gandhi, Mohandas; Religion; Society of Friends; War and Warfare

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Padmore, George (1903–1959)

George Padmore, born Malcolm Nurse in the Caribbean nation of Trinidad and Tobago, was a political activist, pan-Africanist, and author. Of the many Caribbean nationals who distinguished themselves in the international arena during the twentieth century, Padmore is the least known and least appreciated. Unlike celebrated, world-class Caribbean-born intellectuals such as C. L. R. James and Eric Williams, Padmore made his most significant contributions to the anticolonial movement not through theoretical works but instead through his strong administrative skills and his practical involvement in the fight for black liberation. Padmore also wrote several books and edited the journal *The Negro Worker*.

Padmore received his early education in Trinidad and pursued his postsecondary education in the United States. He studied at Fisk University, New York University, and Howard University. In his university years, Padmore was a militant and often the organizing force behind student protests. It was also in this period that he joined the Communist Party and, in 1929, went to the Soviet Union. He played a key role in organizing Soviet propaganda directed at the peoples of the colonial empires and at African Americans. Gradually, Padmore became disenchanted with

Stalinism, as he believed the Soviet Union's anti-colonial activity was reduced by Moscow in the hope that it would gain greater acceptance in the West. In 1934, he resigned from the party, and by 1935, he had moved to London.

It was there that Padmore met many radicals from African countries—some of whom were to lead their countries to political independence in later years. During this period, Padmore's involvement in the pan-Africanist movement became crystallized, and he emerged as one of its leading apostles. It was also during this period that he met Kwame Nkrumah—a key actor in the fight for Ghana's independence. When Nkrumah became the president of an independent Ghana in 1957, he made Padmore head of Ghana's African Bureau for the Advancement of African Unity. Unfortunately, the organization did not benefit from his experience for long, as Padmore died in 1959.

Audra N. Diptee

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British West Indies; Gold Coast; Nkrumah, Kwame

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Pakistan

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan became a sovereign state on August 14, 1947. It originally consisted of East and West Pakistan, but East Pakistan separated in 1971 to become Bangladesh. The national language is Urdu, although other major languages are used, including Punjabi, Sindhi, Brahui, and Farsi. The capital is Islamabad.

In 1930, the poet Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938) called for the creation of a state for the Muslims of India in the northwest part of the country. In 1933, Choudhary Rahmat Ali (1897–1951) coined the name Pakistan, but the Pakistan movement did not become a serious effort until the



Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last British viceroy of India (fourth from left), and Mohammed Ali Jinnah (third from left) preside over a ceremony ending British rule over Pakistan in August 1947. (Library of Congress)

election of Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948) as president and Liaquat Ali Khan (1895–1951) as general secretary of the All-India Muslim League in 1936. The league received its main support from Muslim politicians of the United Provinces. They, and Muslims in other parts of India as well, believed that the Indian National Congress was acting in the interests of the country's Hindus, to the detriment of the Muslim way of life. In its constant propaganda against the congress, the league issued the Pirpur Report in 1938 and the Shareef Report in 1939, which cataloged actions taken by the congress that were deemed inimical to Muslim interests. With the creation of the newspaper *Dawn* as a weekly in 1941 and as a daily in 1942, the league was increasingly seen to be defending Muslim interests in India. On March 23, 1940, at Lahore, the league promulgated the Pakistan Resolution, which demanded the establishment of Muslim states in northwest and northeast India, and from that point until 1947, the creation of a separate Pakistan became the league's unwavering

demand. At the Simla conferences in 1944 and 1945, Jinnah held firm to this demand, as he did during the cabinet mission of 1946. The following year, India was partitioned into the two states of India and Pakistan.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; India; Islam; Jinnah, Mohammad Ali

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Palestine

Long an area of intense conflict and rivalry and a crossroads between Asia, Africa, and Europe, Palestine experienced waves of imperial conquerors, including Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, the Roman and Byzantine Empires, Arabs, Christian crusaders, and, ulti-

mately, the Ottoman Empire. Consisting of three separate districts within the Ottoman Empire, Palestine as a modern entity came into existence due to the empire's collapse during World War I (1914–1918); for the British, this underscored the region's strategic importance due to its proximity to the Suez Canal. The November 2, 1917, Balfour Declaration, anticipating the arrival of British forces in Jerusalem, paved the way for massive Jewish immigration and settlement, thus profoundly altering demographic patterns and provoking the tensions between populations that persist today. From London's point of view, the Balfour Declaration would aid British imperial aims in the region, as would the establishment of the mandates for Palestine and Transjordan under British control.

Palestine also became increasingly important to British imperial aims as a terminus for oil from Britain's mandate in Iraq. Persistent Jewish immigration to Palestine continued to shift the demographic composition of the region and led to widespread Arab resistance, as expressed most significantly between 1936 and 1939. The British responded by limiting Jewish immigration, but the European Holocaust provoked considerable sympathy and support for the Zionist effort to create a Jewish state in Palestine after the war. As the British continued to lose their grip on Palestine, the crisis was deferred to the United Nations in 1947, which recommended a partition plan granting a majority of Palestine to the Jews (who constituted only 30 percent of the population). In subsequent fighting with the local Arab population and later with surrounding Arab countries, the new state of Israel gained an even larger share of Palestine, and as many as 700,000 Arabs became permanent refugees.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Balfour Declaration; British Empire; Islam; Israel; Judaism; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; United Nations

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during his service as foreign secretary (1830–1834, 1835–1841, and 1846–1851) and prime minister (1855–1858 and 1859–1865).

Palmerston entered Parliament in 1807 as member for Newport, an Isle of Wight pocket borough controlled by a local family called Holmes, on the condition that he never set foot on the island. He served as secretary at war from 1827 to 1830, when he took over the Foreign Office in the Whig-Canningite coalition under Earl Grey. He was out of office during Robert Peel's ministry but returned with the creation of Lord John Russell's government in 1846. He championed any cause that strengthened British influence or weakened the power of a rival and often spoke his mind in a fashion that blurred the distinction between personal opinion and official position. This habit cost him the Foreign Office in 1851, after he voiced his approval of the creation of the French Second Empire in contradiction to the official ministry position of strict neutrality. He took an unaccustomed role as home secretary with the formation of the Aberdeen government, which in turn resulted in his elevation to prime minister due to the lackluster leadership of the ministry during the Crimean War. As foreign secretary and as prime minister, he was, to a certain extent, an idealist, believing that matters of principle were as strong a justification for guiding national and foreign policy as commercial or strategic interests.

Palmerston's main diplomatic fears were that Russian and French competition would interfere with British ambitions. Central to those fears were India and the Far East and the difficulty and urgency of maintaining communications with these areas via the Mediterranean Sea. Any combinations of Russia and France were to be avoided; the former, expanding yearly into Central Asia, was a threat to India, and the latter, as a Mediterranean power, was a potential threat to imperial communications. Much of his foreign policy was based on forestalling unilateral action by rival powers; both the First Afghan War and British intervention in the Turkish-Egyptian crisis in 1839 are examples of actions taken to preclude the expansion of Russian influence. He favored imperial expansion as a means to accomplish imperial stability, observing in the wake of the Persian war in 1857 that both Kabul and Kandahar would sooner or later have to be absorbed by British India. He also

Palmerston, Lord (1784–1865)

As a British Whig-Liberal statesman, Lord Henry John Temple Palmerston had his greatest impact

influenced affairs through inaction, steering a course of neutrality during the American Civil War despite brushes with involvement in the *Trent* affair, when Britain built ships for the Confederacy, and the controversy surrounding the *Alabama*. Palmerston died in office in 1865.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; Crimean War; India

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Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is both a political and an emotional expression of the unity and independence of peoples of African descent. As such, it has had expressions throughout the world and not merely in Africa. But the strongest manifestations of the philosophy were associated with resistance to colonialism in Africa and the Caribbean.

It is impossible to pinpoint the first usage of the term, although it certainly was recognizable to many who attended—or wished to attend—the First Pan-African Congress, held in London in 1900 and organized by Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams. That first congress marked the very beginnings of the widespread development of pan-Africanist ideas, although the previous conferences on Africa held in Chicago and Atlanta in the 1890s laid important foundations for the London meeting. Among other calls for unity of the world's black peoples, the congress also considered the negative effects of colonial rule on black populations. However, few practical changes resulted from these efforts.

Attempts to develop a formal pan-African movement were stillborn, although many of the ideas found expression in Marcus Garvey's creation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica and its growth in the United States. Garvey, though, was not a participant in the 1919 Second Pan-African Congress, organized in Paris by W. E. B. Du Bois. This congress coincided with the Versailles Peace Conference following World War I. The delegates—from Europe, the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa—

called on colonial powers to ensure that “in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans.” The 1919 congress was followed a year later by a much larger meeting, organized in New York by Garvey's UNIA, which asserted a declaration of rights for blacks everywhere. Despite Garvey's absence from subsequent conferences—in part due to his personal dispute with Du Bois—the movement found expression in congresses held in London and Europe in 1921 and 1923 and in New York in 1927.

Garvey's legal difficulties in the United States and the worldwide impact of the Great Depression reduced the prominence of the pan-African movement—except in colonial capitals. Throughout the colonial world, governments were alerted to what they saw as the perils of pan-Africanism and, perhaps even more important, to Garveyism, which continued to spread its influence through networks of followers and the circulation of the UNIA newspaper, *The Negro World*. Sharing information through their European governments, colonial authorities sought to reduce the local influence of many pan-Africanists by outlawing their activities and arresting many of their leaders. The coming of World War II, however, changed the dynamics of the pan-African movement. The 1945 postwar congress, held in Manchester, England, welcomed far fewer representatives from the United States, although Du Bois was in attendance. Instead, this meeting was dominated by many more young African leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah.

Responding to the nationalist stirrings among the new leadership, the 1945 congress specifically made a “demand for Black Africa[n] autonomy and independence,” further asserting “we are determined to be free.” This signaled a fundamental pattern of anticolonialism and anti-imperialism that emerged throughout the world in the second half of the twentieth century and that led to the substantial process of decolonization. Drawing on the heritage of pan-Africanism, newly emergent African states held a series of meetings in Accra (1958) and Monrovia (1959 and 1961), leading to the creation of the Organization of African Unity at a 1953 meeting in Addis Ababa. Rejecting the situations of people of African descent in other parts of the world, the movement had shifted primarily to a focus on Africa itself, devoting its support to anticolonial movements in remaining

colonies, particularly in southern Africa, as well as the antiapartheid movements in South Africa.

Melvin E. Page

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Apartheid; British West Indies; Decolonization; Kenyatta, Jomo; Nkrumah, Kwame; Organization of African Unity; Racism; Slavery and the Slave Trade; South Africa

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Panama

Panama, located at the narrowest point on the isthmus between North and South America, attracted the attention of the explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in 1501. By 1510, the Spanish established a settlement at the mouth of the Chagres River and also founded San Sebastian de Uraba. Later, the settlers moved northeast and renamed their city Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien. The local Indians, under the domination of Balboa, revealed the existence of a large sea and an empire to the south where he could find gold in abundance. The conquest of the Incas required the shipping of confiscated gold around the tip of South America, a risky venture plagued by bad weather and pirates. Balboa decided to transport the gold across the narrow, 40-mile strip of land that separated the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans at Panama. By 1550, Panama and Portobello operated as the principal cities of the region, with English raiders continually attacking these lucrative centers of trade.

By the 1800s, agitation erupted among the Spanish colonies in the New World. In 1821, Panama seceded from Spain and joined Gran Colombia but continued to elect its own governor until 1843, when the government in Bogotá consolidated its power over the region. A proposed railroad project, with investors from the United States, spurred interest in a canal during the late 1800s, with the French negotiating rights of con-

struction. Because of the technological and financial difficulties involved, the French offered to sell their assets to the United States. Negotiations stalled after the Colombian government failed to accept the initial offer, and President Theodore Roosevelt supported a Panamanian revolt against Colombia in exchange for the rights to a 10-mile strip of land, \$10 million, and an annual payment of \$250,000. Although the Panamanian government functioned independently of the United States, the issue of sovereignty over the Canal Zone resulted in agitation for complete local autonomy over the land controlled by the United States. In 1977, the two nations signed a treaty providing for the gradual transfer of operations back to Panama by the year 2000, thus ending foreign involvement in the country.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de; Colombia; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States

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Panama Canal

One of the two most important artificial waterways in the world, the Panama Canal cuts across the isthmus between North and South America in a series of locks and lakes extending 51 miles, allowing ships to pass between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and thereby shortening the voyage by approximately 8,000 nautical miles. Founded in 1879 by Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French Compagnie Universelle du Canal Interocéanique commenced excavation of the proposed sea-level channel only to encounter financial, technological, and medical difficulties during construction. On the verge of bankruptcy, owners of the French company offered their shares to the United States in exchange for \$40 million. Negotiations with the Colombians over the long-term rights to the project ended in their rejection of the U.S. offer of \$10 million and an annual payment of \$250,000 in rent, as agreed to in the proposed Hay-Herran Treaty. President Theodore Roosevelt, anxious to secure U.S. control over the project, supported a Panamanian-led revolution, recognized the fledgling country, and authorized his secretary of state, John Hay, to negotiate the Hay–Bunau-Varilla

Treaty, which granted the United States the sole right to control and operate the Canal Zone. Internal social and political unrest resulted in U.S. intervention in 1908, 1912, 1918, and 1925. In 1936, the United States relinquished the right of intervention by ratifying the Hull-Alfaro Treaty. During World War II, Panama granted U.S. requests for additional defense sites to protect the canal, many of which reverted back to Panama immediately after the conflict but some of which the United States continued to control for decades. By the 1980s, a disputed election resulted in the imposition of sanctions and the withholding of the annual payment to Panama by President Ronald Reagan. Continued tensions led to the loss of U.S. life, with a quick retaliation that ended with the capture and extradition of Panama's leader, Manuel Noriega, to Florida, where he was tried and sentenced to prison on drug-trafficking charges. By a treaty signed in 1977, Panama gradually assumed control over the Canal Zone, with the United States relinquishing all control by December 31, 1999.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Panama; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States

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The Papacy

Derived from the Latin *papa*, meaning “pope” or “father,” the word *papacy* has four separate (but related) meanings: the office of the pope as bishop of Rome and head of Roman Catholicism and its hierarchy; the system of church government under the pope, who has supreme authority; the collective succession of popes from St. Peter to the present; and the period in which any one pope is in office. As both a human and a divine institution, the papacy served to defend and to spread the basic truths of the Christian revelation. The pope as supreme pastor took the leading role or primacy in that mission.

In its charter, or mission, from Jesus, “Go ye and teach all nations” (Matt. 28:19), the papacy drew its basic justification for the global missionary activity of Christianity throughout history. However, when the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English

conquerors also sought to legitimate imperial conquests under the religious duty to convert the heathen to the Christian faith, religion and politics often became indistinguishable. Frequently, rulers claimed papal authority for their actions, and by the sixteenth century, numerous political tracts appeared and justified the establishment of overseas colonies. For example, the papal grants of Alexander VI in 1493 to Ferdinand and Isabella—which enabled them to take over a region vaguely defined as “such islands and lands . . . as you have discovered or are about to discover”—were used to justify Spanish colonial conquests, despite the assertions of many loyal Catholic theologians that such claims were spurious. Yet ever since, the theology of Christian missions has been much abused both by popes and by Christian rulers in their efforts to justify imperial secular and territorial ambitions.

John J. N. McGurk

See also Christianity; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire

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Papua and New Guinea (Papua New Guinea)

The island of New Guinea, encompassing 306,000 square miles, is the second largest on the planet. The coastline of the western end of the island was known to Europeans as early as the sixteenth century, and ultimately, the Dutch established control as far as 141° east longitude. The eastern part of the island (as well as the Bismarck Archipelago, the Admiralties, and Bougainville) became known to Europeans only in the eighteenth century.

The European colonizing powers showed little interest in eastern New Guinea until the late nineteenth century. In 1884, faced with German penetration in the area, Queensland annexed Papua (the southeast part of the island). London disavowed the annexation but in 1884 agreed with the Germans to a partition, which gave to the former the southeast (Papua) and to the latter the northeast as well as the Bismarcks and Bougainville (German New Guinea). In 1888, Papua be-



U.S. Marines march through the mud in Papua New Guinea during World War II. After the war the territory came under UN trusteeship and won its independence in 1975. (Library of Congress)

came a crown colony, and in 1906, Australia assumed responsibility for it. Little was done in the way of exploitation. The Germans, however, with their administrative center at Rabaul, were more active in exploiting the copra trade, first under the Neuguinea-Kompagnie and then under direct colonial control from Berlin. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Australia quickly occupied German New Guinea, and under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, it received the colony as a mandate. Papua and New Guinea were maintained as separate administrative units, and with the exception of a gold rush in the Markham Valley in the 1930s, little else was done in regard to changing the status quo.

World War II ushered Papua and New Guinea into the modern era; some of the most savage fighting in the Pacific occurred there. In early 1942, to meet the demands posed by the Japanese invasion of much of Papua and New Guinea, Australia combined Papua and New Guinea under a

single administration, the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU), which was responsible administratively for civil affairs and operationally for overseeing the labor supply for civilian and military use. The indigenous population also provided military forces to the Allies. The most famous of these, the Papuan Infantry Battalion, veteran of the Kokoda Trail battle, was later joined by the First, Second, and Third New Guinea Infantry Battalions to make up the Pacific Islands Regiment, which fought with distinction until the surrender of Japan in 1945.

After the war, with the mandated territory becoming a UN trusteeship, Australia took a more active role in the area. Economic aid in particular was increased not only for postwar rebuilding but also for economic development. The highlands were opened up for the first time, and new export crops such as coffee were introduced. Politically, as the anticolonial movement gained headway, Australia began the installation of self-government,

establishing a legislative council in 1951 and local government councils in 1952. In 1964, a house of assembly was elected, and in 1972, self-government was granted. Independence was achieved for Papua New Guinea three years later.

Ronnie Day

See also Australia; Coffee; United Nations; Versailles, Treaty of; World War I

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Paris, Peace of (1783)

The Peace of Paris (also known as the 1783 Treaty of Paris) officially ended British colonial rule in the thirteen American colonies. Aided greatly by the French, the United States had won its war against Great Britain, and it sent John Jay, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams to negotiate the terms of peace. Along with the British, the French, Dutch, and Spanish all needed to be dealt with. The U.S. negotiators pursued their mission with the following goals: to complete the independence of the United States; to make a claim to the whole of British North America, including the Mississippi Valley and lands beyond the Ohio River; and to secure continued access to the northeast fisheries. Great Britain sought the resolution of two important issues—compensation for loyalists who left U.S. territory and the recovery of British debts (including the right of the British to carry away their slaves and other property). France had hoped to achieve some sort of imperial power over the former British colonies as its “reward” for its assistance to the Americans, and Spain sought to restrict U.S. westward expansion and secure the return of Gibraltar from the English. All the European powers sought to restrict the U.S. fishing fleet, as they saw it as a “nursery” for seamen who could then be engaged to make the United States a naval power.

Although the United States did not gain the whole of British North America, the ten articles of the treaty greatly favored the Americans: they

achieved complete independence and sovereignty with no European “colonial” entanglements; the U.S. territorial boundary extended to the Mississippi and included the lands north of the Ohio (the Northwest Territory); they obtained unrestricted rights to the northeast fisheries; and they agreed only to “recommend” that individual states compensate the British for their losses—the federal government itself was not to be liable for these costs. In addition to this compensation, Great Britain did manage to retain its Canadian colonies, and its right to navigate the Mississippi was assured. Although Great Britain received the signatures of France and Spain on the provisional articles of the treaty, the determined efforts of the U.S. negotiators kept the French and Spanish out of the treaty negotiations, and none of their concerns were addressed in the final treaty document. The Peace of Paris was signed by Franklin, Adams, and Jay (for the United States) and David Hartley (for England) on September 3, 1783.

Phillip Bellfy

See also American Revolution; British Empire; War and Warfare

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Paris, Treaty of (1763)

The British conquest of North and Central America neared its apex with the defeat of the French on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec in 1760. The British were also at war with Spain, officially declaring war on both France and Spain on January 4, 1762, after many years of “unofficial” imperialist expansion and conflict with both these New World European powers. By the spring of 1762, England’s foes were suing for peace. In addition to France, England, and Spain, the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) involved Sweden, Prussia, Germany, and Russia.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris recognized British sovereignty over North America in areas east of the Mississippi River; Spain retained nominal con-

trol over the territory west of the Mississippi. France retained the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the Newfoundland coast as shelter for the French fishing fleet. Great Britain agreed to allow French Roman Catholics, now subjects of the British Crown, the freedom to practice the “rites of the Romish church.” The treaty also allowed for the peaceful emigration from North America of French subjects who sought to leave.

Phillip Bellfy

See also British Empire; Canada; French Empire; Quebec; War and Warfare

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Pathet Lao

Although the Pathet Lao (meaning “Laos State”) was officially founded as a political party by the Laotian prince Souphanouvong, it was, in fact, mainly a highly structured fighting force whose major aim at first was to end French rule in Laos. It was founded in the ashes of the Lao Issara (meaning “Free Laos”), an independence party that dissolved itself in October 1949 when a new Laotian government was established by an agreement signed a few months earlier with the French. Although this document granted limited sovereignty to Laos within the framework of the French Union, foreign affairs and national defense remained in the hands of the French authorities. Souphanouvong and his allies felt that this arrangement was unacceptable and so formed the nominally neutralist but in fact pro-Communist Pathet Lao to counter the new government.

Although the Pathet Lao began as an underground movement, it gained a foothold in northern Laos in 1953, most notably after the Viet Minh successfully invaded this region in the course of their war against the French. Until the end of 1954, the Pathet Lao consolidated its hold on these regions by, among other things, enacting an intensive land reform program. A few months after the July 1954 cease-fire agreement was reached between the French and the Viet Minh in Geneva, the Pathet Lao openly fought the proroyalist and pro-French forces based in Vientiane. After a number of relatively successful campaigns, the Pathet Lao was in-

vited to join in a coalition government in November 1957 under the terms of the short-lived Vientiane Agreement. By May 1959, however, the coalition had fallen apart, and most of the leaders of the Pathet Lao were arrested.

After fourteen years of civil war, made more complicated by the Vietnam War and by U.S. military actions throughout the region, the second Vientiane Agreement, in 1973, appointed another short-lived coalition government that included the Pathet Lao. When the North Vietnamese forces defeated the southern forces, the Pathet Lao managed to take power in its own right by capturing Vientiane in April 1975. Its history as a fighting force disguised as a political party ended in December of that year when it declared the People’s Democratic Republic of Laos and became the Lao People’s Front.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also French Indochina; Viet Minh; Vietnam

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Paton, Alan (1903–1988)

Alan Paton was a prominent white, English-speaking South African novelist and political activist. A religious man, he spent most of his early working life as a teacher, primarily as headmaster of a reform school for young African men. Disillusioned by the prison system of which he was inexorably a part, Paton became a crusader for prison reform. Out of this activism, he wrote his most important work, *Cry, the Beloved Country*, which was published in 1928. Coming as it did at the same time as the National Party victory in South African elections and the subsequent development of the apartheid system in his country, this novel was not generally well received in South Africa. However, the book was a sensation worldwide and a best-seller in many countries.

The story centered on an African father and son, the latter a criminal, and highlighted the oppressive nature of South African society even before the development of the apartheid legal system. But the novel concerned more than just racial tensions, which gave it a much more universal appeal. It was translated into many languages and transformed into a musical play and a motion picture; a second motion picture version was

filmed in the 1990s. The real impact of the book, however, was that it seared the image of South Africa as an oppressive, racist society into the minds of many in the world community.

Paton's subsequent career as a political figure reinforced the message of his book, especially when he founded the South African Liberal Party, which stood squarely for universal suffrage. Ultimately, the party was banned by the South African government, although Paton himself was not. He was, however, prohibited from traveling outside the country from 1960 to 1970. This did not reduce his international appeal even though his political effectiveness within the country diminished. Paradoxically, he continued to be seen as too liberal by many South African whites while at the same time being viewed as too moderate and ineffective by most South African blacks. Nonetheless, Paton remained an optimist about the possibility of a multiracial democracy in South Africa until his death in 1988.

Melvin E. Page

See also Apartheid; Literature; South Africa

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Pearl Harbor

A key U.S. naval base on the island of Oahu in the Hawaiian Island chain, Pearl Harbor was the scene of one of the most devastating defeats in U.S. naval history when, in December 1941, an air attack by Japanese imperial forces destroyed much of the U.S. Pacific Fleet and triggered America's entry into World War II.

Originally known as Wai Momi to the native Hawaiians—a name that means “pearl waters,” a reference to the pearl oysters found there—Pearl Harbor was first encountered by an American in 1840. In 1887, the Hawaiian monarchy signed a treaty with the United States, granting the latter exclusive use of the harbor as a coaling and repair station. However, it was not until the Spanish-American War of 1898 that Americans realized the strategic need for such a station in the mid-Pacific. Construction of facilities began shortly after, and work was largely completed by 1919.

Pearl Harbor's importance grew as Japan rose to great-power status in East Asia and the western

Pacific in the 1930s. Indeed, to American strategists, the Japanese Empire represented a major threat to U.S. interests in the region. Following Japan's attacks on Manchuria and China in the early and late 1930s, the United States began to impose embargoes on the empire. Those on scrap metal and oil fell particularly hard on resource-poor Japan, compelling the militarists there to look to other sources.

Bent on taking control of Europe's resource-rich colonies in the East Indies and Southeast Asia in late 1941, Japan's military strategists decided they had to neutralize U.S. naval power in the Pacific. Their attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, was devastating but not decisive. Although some 2,000 military personnel were killed and numerous battleships destroyed, the U.S. aircraft carriers—critical in the new kind of naval warfare developing at the time—were out to sea when the attack occurred.

Nevertheless, the attack on Pearl Harbor compelled a still-reluctant America to declare war on Japan and its allies Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. In fact, because Pearl Harbor aided Franklin Roosevelt in convincing America to go to war, some historians have concluded that the U.S. military knew about the attack in advance and did nothing to prevent it. But most experts agree that although Roosevelt should have known that embargoes against Japan might force the empire to attack the United States, specific details about where and when the assault would occur were beyond U.S. intelligence.

In any event, Pearl Harbor led to America's entry into World War II—a move that proved decisive to the war's outcome, leading to the defeat of the Axis powers and the destruction of the Japanese Empire in East Asia and the western Pacific.

James Ciment

See also Japanese Empire; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; United States; World War II

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Penal Colonies

In the first centuries following the “discovery” of the New World, European nations disposed of their convicts in their colonies beyond the seas.



Arguably the finest deepwater harbor of any Pacific Island, Pearl Harbor became a center of U.S. naval power in the Pacific in the first half of the twentieth century, inviting attack by Japanese imperial forces on December 7, 1941. (Library of Congress)

During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sent heretics and criminals who had been convicted by the tribunals of the Inquisition to Brazil. Similarly, the Spanish disposed of victims of the Inquisition in their South American colonies. These so-called exiles were used as slave labor.

Besides the malefactors sent to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, there was also a steady flow of convict labor being used in the English colonies. The practice of transporting malefactors—mainly rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars—had been established by the statute 39 Elizabeth c4 in 1597, which resulted in an assortment of criminals being sentenced to penal servitude in the plantations of Virginia. In 1615, under an act of the Privy Council, the range of individuals who could be transported was widened, and felons

could be granted conditional pardons if they chose to serve in the colonies (with the exception of those convicted of burglary, witchcraft, murder, and rape). These felons were contracted to private planters, and by the mid-seventeenth century, they were mainly engaged in tobacco production in the Chesapeake (Virginia) and sugar production in Barbados. However, it was not until 1718 that a statute (4 Geo I c2) was enacted and that a transportation act to officially deter criminals and supply the colonies with labor became fully standardized. Between 1718 and 1776, an estimated 50,000 British convicts were forcibly conveyed to the American colonies, sent from such prisons as Newgate in London. Convict labor was perceived by the planters to be a cheaper alternative to black slave labor.

Due to the outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1776, the British stopped sending convicts to the thirteen colonies. As an alternative method of punishment, convicts were restrained on moored prison ships that became to be known as hulks. These ships were anchored in the Thames, and the prisoners were taken in chains to assigned work tasks each day. An act passed in 1776 (16 Geo III c4) specified that prisoners who should have been transported were “to be put to hard labor in cleaning the River Thames or any other service for the benefit of the navigation of the said river.”

However, in 1786, the British decided to establish a penal colony in Botany Bay, Australia, a decision that entailed chartering ships to convey the convicts. The first batch consisted of those transferred from the hulks and others sent from jails in London and Middlesex. It was estimated that only one in five convicts survived the voyage. The first fleet arrived in Botany Bay on January 20, 1788. A penal colony had been established at Port Jackson in Sydney Cove. Subsequent penal colonies were created at Port Phillip (Melbourne) and Norfolk Island. By the early nineteenth century, there were also settlements at Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay. The convicts who were sent to these colonies in New South Wales worked in gangs in the public sector or for free settlers. Their terms of servitude ranged from seven years to life. For good behavior, they got a ticket of leave (a kind of probation), but if they were idle or unruly, they were usually flogged. Men who worked in the public sector were mainly employed in constructing roads and public buildings. Female convicts were destined for domestic service, but some ended up as prostitutes. After 1806, men and women were sent to the colony on separate ships. Few convicts returned after they had completed their terms because they could not afford the passage back to England. The transportation of convicts to New South Wales continued until 1840, when the settlers refused to accept any more.

Transportation to Van Diemens Land, Tasmania, began in 1812. After 1840, convicts were transferred from New South Wales as well as being directly sent from England. The convicts were mainly engaged in public work, toiling in chain gangs to build roads. However, in 1853, Tasmania also objected to the numbers of convicts being

sent, and transportation ceased. Between 1853 and 1868, the only settlement that would take convicts was Western Australia, which had a labor shortage. No women were received. The British penal system of transporting criminals to Australia ceased in 1868.

Besides operating the transportation program to the Australian colonies between 1787 and 1868, the British also continued to disperse substantial numbers of convicts for hard labor to dockyards in their colonies. During the 1820s, between 200 and 300 were sent to Bermuda and were accommodated on prison hulks such as the *Dromedary*. The numbers being sent increased in the 1830s, and by the 1840s, the system was extended in Bermuda to deal with the crisis caused when Van Diemens Land refused to accept more prisoners. Rather than being classed as a penal colony, Bermuda should actually be thought of as a penal destination because the convicts were not allowed to settle there after finishing their terms but were shipped elsewhere in the empire. However, in 1862, the hulks were broken up in Bermuda, as confinement in Millbank Penitentiary in London was considered a better alternative than servitude in the colonies.

During the early nineteenth century, capital offenses included pickpocketing, stealing goods valued at five shillings or more, burglaries in which goods in excess of forty shillings were stolen, forgery, and rioting. The only alternative punishment for these offenses was death. It is therefore not surprising that between 1787 and 1868, an estimated 165,000 men were transported to the penal colonies in Australia and Van Diemens Land. Approximately 25,000 women were transported as well.

Andrea Button

See also Australia; Crime; Police and Policing

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Perry, Matthew (1794–1858)

U.S. naval officer Matthew Perry led an expedition to Japan in the 1850s that ended nearly two centuries of self-imposed diplomatic and economic isolation of that Far Eastern nation. At the same time, the successful expedition introduced the United States as a major world power.

Born in 1794 to a Rhode Island family with a military tradition—his older brother Oliver was a naval hero of the War of 1812—Perry, too, served as a sailor in that war and was the commander of the U.S. Navy's first steamship. He led an expedition against the slave trade and helped found the former slave republic of Liberia in West Africa in the 1840s.

In 1852, President Millard Fillmore appointed Perry to serve as head of a naval expedition designed to open diplomatic and trading relations with Japan. In the seventeenth century, Japan's feudal leaders had ejected virtually all foreigners from their island nation and cut nearly all ties to the West, seeing in both Westerners and Western ideas threats to the integrity of the Japanese peoples and their own power. Perry had decided that only a display of superior military strength could persuade the Japanese shogun, or military dictatorship, to open up its island home.

In July 1853, he sailed his four armed ships into the fortified Japanese harbor of Uraga and refused to obey all orders to leave. The Japanese recognized that they were powerless to resist him, and they were well aware of China's disastrous loss to another Western power—Britain—in the Opium Wars of the 1840s; consequently, they agreed to consider a treaty. A year later, Perry returned with nine ships to Edo (now Tokyo) Harbor and signed formal treaties with the Japanese government, allowing for better treatment of shipwrecked sailors, fueling and provisioning rights for U.S. ships, the opening of an American consulate, and U.S. trading privileges.

The shock to the Japanese people of this forced treaty was profound and led to far-reaching changes. The shogunate form of government was abandoned in the following decade, and Japan began its headlong modernization, becoming a major military power by the end of the century. Similarly, Perry's expedition also introduced the world to a more powerful and assertive United States.

James Ciment

See also Japanese Empire; Opium Wars; United States

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Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan. New York: Viking Press, 1990.

Persian Empire

The Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great (559–529 B.C.E.) and his successor, Darius (521–486 B.C.E.). At its greatest extent, it stretched from Egypt and the Balkans in the west to the borders of India and the steppes of Central Asia in the east. Cyrus's Achaemenid dynasty ruled until overthrown by Alexander the Great at the Battle of Gaugamela (331 B.C.E.). The Seleucid Kingdom, spanning all of the same territory except the Balkans and Egypt, was gradually displaced by the Parthians, or the Arsacids, who held much of the Middle East, at the time of the late Roman Republic and the early Roman Empire. The Parthians were displaced in the mid-200s C.E. by the Sassanids, kings of the New Persian Empire (224–636). The Sassanids were overthrown by the militant and expansionist forces of Islam in 636 C.E., hanging on briefly as a local power in Persia.

The Persians, who were Indo-Europeans, entered the Iranian plateau from the northeast, being the western branch of Aryans, whose eastern branch entered India around 1500 B.C.E. The Assyrians mentioned the Persians for the first time in the 800s B.C.E. Cyrus the Great conquered and consolidated much of the area that would become the empire in the 500s. The empire formed by Cyrus and Darius was substantially different from the closely organized and administered empires of Mesopotamia. Although they divided the empire into provinces ruled by Persian satraps, they allowed considerable local autonomy, ruling through local aristocracies. Civil and military authorities

were made responsible to the king in order to avoid a concentration of power in the satraps. To help maintain local stability and satisfaction with Persian imperial rule, local governmental systems and local religious customs were encouraged, as in the Second Temple period in Israel. In return for local autonomy, the different peoples were expected to respect the peace, pay their taxes, and, in time of need, supply military forces.

Expansion to the west was halted by the Greeks in the Persian War (490–479 B.C.E.), under the leadership of Athens and Sparta. Battles at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, immortalized in the *Histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnus, have attained virtually mythic proportions in Western culture and are seen as ending eastern imperialist expansion and saving the West for governments of free people. The counterblow, under Alexander the Great of Macedon, destroyed the Achaemenids, replacing them with the Hellenistic Greek dynasty of the Seleucids. The Seleucids lost control of much of the Middle East to the Parthians in the mid-third century B.C.E., when the expansion of the Roman Republic broke the Seleucids' military power.

With the Parthians came a syncretic period of politics and culture, partially Persian and partially Greek. They were largely content to continue the existing system and to practice the tolerance of their Persian and Seleucid predecessors. Their primary innovation was in warfare, in which they developed a cavalry army, disdaining the heavy infantry of the Greeks and the combined-forces armies of the Hellenistic period. Composed of light horse archers and heavily armored and armed *cataphracts*, the Parthian cavalry was the predecessor of the Byzantine professional armored cavalry and various other cavalry forces in later times. The *triumvir* (one of three rulers of the Byzantine Empire) M. Licinius Crassus was killed in battle against the Parthians, and the *triumvir* Mark Antony was forced to retreat in disarray. Emperor Trajan nearly destroyed Parthia before being forced to withdraw from Mesopotamia by Jewish rebellions in the empire.

The Sassanids displaced the Parthian Arsacids in the mid-200s C.E. and contested the control of the Middle East with the Romans. Two Roman emperors, Valerian and Julian, were killed in campaigns against the Persians. In the early 600s,

Khosroes II occupied Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople before being defeated and driven back by Heraclius. Attacked and virtually destroyed by the Roman armies of Heraclius, as well as the Hephthalite Huns and their allies, they collapsed when attacked by the Arab armies of expansionist Islam.

The religion of the Achaemenids, the Arsacids, and the Sassanids was Zoroastrianism, with the Magian clergy forming an important influence in the empire. Each Persian monarch styled himself “king of kings” and viewed himself as the vice-regent on Earth of the Persian god Ahura Mazda. The Achaemenids and Arsacids took a tolerant attitude toward other religions, but the Sassanids were more militant in their Zoroastrianism. Their expansionist phase was closely linked with their religious ideas, as was the Roman response under Justinian and, in particular, Heraclius, whose campaign took on the forms later recognized in the Crusades against Islam.

In recent times, the former shah of Iran, Reza Pahlavi, leaned heavily on the imagery and history of imperial Persia as both a justification of and model for his rule. A similar use of pre-Persian and Persian imagery can be seen in the propaganda of Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also Iran

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Persian Gulf

Also known as the Arab Gulf, the Persian Gulf consists of western Arab and eastern Persian coasts and is bordered by seven modern nations (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates on the west and Iran and Iraq on the east). The term *Gulf nations* often refers to the five western countries only.

European colonialists first arrived in the area in 1498. The Portuguese seized Muscat and Bahrain, two ports on the gulf, in 1514 as trading stations, but their influence soon faded after they were defeated by the Ottoman Turks (whose border extended to Kuwait) and the Omani (who recovered Muscat).



British forces remove their base from the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf in 1971. The British Empire seized virtual control of the Gulf in the early nineteenth century but gradually abandoned the area in the first half of the twentieth century. Bahrain was among the last British possessions in the Gulf to win its independence. (Associated Press)

To secure trading routes to East and Central Asia, the British, French, and Dutch East India Companies competed in the gulf in the seventeenth century. The British won virtually total control after consolidating their colonies in northeast India and defeating the Qawasim, the trading dynasty of the Persian Gulf—the Arabic “pirates,” as the British controversially called them, though modern Arabs scholars disagree with this label—in 1809. In 1820, Britain signed the General Treaty of Peace with the sheikhs of Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai, and Umm al-Qaiwain (later known as the Trucial States). In the late nineteenth century, British colonial dominance was again challenged by the French, Russians, Germans, and Ottomans. Thus, in 1880 and 1892, the sheikhs of Bahrain and the Trucial States (now mostly encompassed by the United Arab Emirates) signed the Exclusive Agreements

with Britain, agreeing not to negotiate with any foreign powers or formulate any foreign policies without British consent. In addition, nonalienation bonds were signed by the sheikhs, guaranteeing they would not sell, cede, or lease any territories to any power other than Britain.

Kuwait joined the treaty system in 1899 after signing a nonalienation bond, on Kuwaiti request to secede from the Ottomans. However, the separation of Kuwait and the Ottomans was not recognized until 1914. Qatar joined the treaty system in 1916 by means of an exclusive agreement due to similar concerns. States “in treaty relations” with Britain were not formal British protectorates until 1947, when they were handled by the Foreign Office instead of the British government in India after Indian independence.

Oman remained under the rule of the sultan of Muscat, yet it witnessed growing British influence

after the Britons split Zanzibar from the sultanate in 1861. Oman partially joined the treaty system in 1873 after signing a major treaty to suppress the slave trade.

On the eastern coast, Britain remained the main imperialist power. Dividing Persia with Russia in 1907, Britain gained the gulf as part of its sphere of influence. Iraq, which was part of the Ottoman Empire, helped fight against the Turks in World War I but became a British mandate according to a League of Nations decision in 1920, much to the disappointment of Arab nationalists there. Iraqis gained full independence in 1932, yet they remained under British dominance.

The British administered much of the Persian Gulf through the political resident, stationed in Bushire, Persia (1778–1946), and then Bahrain (1946–1971). Little in the way of socioeconomic reforms was introduced, and contacts to the outside world (except India) were not encouraged. The traditional dictatorship of the sheikhs was preserved and even strengthened. The gulf people had limited Arab nationalist awareness until the discovery of oil opened their contacts both inside and outside the Arab world.

Colonialism in the gulf collapsed after World War II. Full independence was gained by Oman in 1951 and Kuwait in 1961. In 1968, the British Labour government announced its retreat from areas “East of Suez” because of financial burdens—or the “dilemma of overextension,” as historians called it. In 1971, Bahrain and Qatar gained full independence; the rest of the Trucial States formed the United Arab Emirates. The informal British influence on the east, or Persian, coast ended with rising American influence, and the final bursts of nationalist revolutions occurred in Iraq in 1958 and Iran one year later.

Simon Xu Hui Shen

See also British Empire; Iran; Iraq; Oman; Ottoman Empire; Petroleum; Piracy; Saudi Arabia; World War I; World War II

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Peru

Peru was carved out of the vast Inca Empire when the Spanish invader Francisco Pizarro established his capital at Lima (the City of the King) in 1533. The Inca Empire at the time of the conquest not only incorporated what is now Peru but also extended through what is now Ecuador and Bolivia, as well as parts of Colombia, Argentina, and Chile. Estimates of the age of the Inca Empire vary, with some claiming a heritage that stretches back to 1500 B.C.E. Others claim the “modern” Inca state came into being about 1250 C.E. This empire achieved spectacular heights in architecture, ceramics, and textiles and was ruled through an enlightened social policy that valued the well-being of the individual above all else.

After Pizarro's conquest, the colonial territory of Peru was ruled by viceroys appointed by the king of Spain. The Spanish rule was constantly being challenged, notably in the late eighteenth century as colonial order fractured. This colonial period lasted until 1821, when independence was declared. Three years later, Peru's independence was secured by José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar after their defeat of the Spanish overlords. Yet the neocolonialism of the Spanish could not be easily countered. Peru's 175-year history since independence has been marked by a series of elected governments (most often loyal to the wealthy elite) and dictatorial juntas (both military and civilian). The change in Peru's government is usually predicated on the easing of—or the return to—the exploitation of the indigenous poor who constitute the majority of the country's population.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Bolívar, Simón; Incas; Pizarro, Francisco; Spanish Empire

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Peter I (Peter the Great) (1672–1725)

Peter Romanov, the son of Czar Alexis and his second wife, Natalia Naryshkin, was given an unusu-

ally cosmopolitan education and allowed to remain outside the Moscow palace complex of the Kremlin during much of his youth. He came in contact with foreigners in the commercial quarter of the Russian capital and trained with a regiment of mercenary European soldiers. Emerging as czar after the regency of his half sister Sophia, Peter embarked on a policy of ruthlessly modernizing Russian technology and society, from cosmetic changes such as the forbidding of long beards and Russian clothing to the importation of European expert craftspeople. Peter himself made two grand tours of Europe to seek out and recruit such experts as well as to see the West for himself. While in Amsterdam and London, Peter was impressed by colonial trade. With a modernized Russian military, he determined to re-create the glory of Kievan Rus by expanding Russia into a sea power with colonial territory of its own.

These territorial ambitions first centered on the Ottoman periphery, into which Peter launched military expeditions in 1687 and 1689 to take the Crimea. Although he seized Azov, the Russians were unable to hold it, but the campaign ended Russian vassalage to the Ottoman sultan and allowed forts to be built along the Dnieper frontier. In the east, Peter sent embassies to the Persian shah to arrange trade concessions in 1717, and he secured Russian interests in Baku on the Caspian Sea as well as friendly relations with Astrakhan, Georgia, and Armenia. Between 1721 and 1772, Peter sent an exploratory party to the Kamchatka peninsula and the Kuril Islands after signing a Jesuit-brokered treaty with China and dispatching emissaries to Japan with gifts and commercial offers.

The most significant expansion, however, was in the north. Convinced that Russia had to have access to the North Sea, Peter joined an alliance of Denmark and Poland in 1699 in order to attack Sweden and seize the lands on which he would build his western-looking capital, St. Petersburg. Although this action involved Russia in the Great Northern War, during which Peter suffered a terrible defeat at the Narva River, in 1709 he defeated Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in the Ukraine and established Russian supremacy in the Baltic area, taking Finland, Livonia, Estonia, and building the Kronstadt naval base. Peter's successors would use these early expansions as bases from

which to launch Russia into control of Siberia, eastern Poland, and the Caucasus. They would also take up Peter's crusade of modernization as the course of Russia's future in Europe.

Margaret Sankey

See also Russian Empire

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Petroleum

Petroleum, unlike precious metals, generally was not a commodity that led to colonial conquests because most colonial borders had been established before petroleum products, especially gasoline, gained major strategic importance in the early twentieth century. During World War II, however, the Axis powers, which lacked secure sources of petroleum, sought to capture oil fields throughout the world, and Japan seized important fields in the Dutch East Indies. Control of the world petroleum supply substantially enabled the Allied powers to defeat the Axis.

This control arose from essentially neocolonial relationships between the British, French, Dutch, and U.S. governments and the dominant world oil corporations—Mobil, Exxon, Chevron, Texaco, Gulf, British Petroleum (BP), Royal Dutch/Shell, and Compagnie Française des Pétroles—to ensure both sufficient supply and controlled prices for governments, on the one hand, and secure and profitable investments for corporations, on the other. Many of these relationships arose during the strategic buildup before World War I. For instance, in 1914, Great Britain, urged by First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill, bought 51 percent of the previously private Anglo-Persian Oil (later BP), which guaranteed British control over Persia's oil reserves. Although the Persian government gained short-term profits from Anglo-Persian's activities, the corporation profited significantly more.

After World War II, the inequity of such relationships became clear to people in oil-producing areas, and petroleum corporations came to symbolize Western, if not colonial, domination. Thus, the Iranian nationalist Mohammed Mossadegh gained popularity by advocating seizure of British

oil holdings in Iran, and as premier of Iran in 1951, he oversaw their nationalization. Due to the strategic supremacy of petroleum, however, colonial powers were reluctant to lose control of oil production. Indeed, the 1956 discovery of oil in Algeria contributed to the ferocity of France's struggle to retain this colony.

Since the 1960s, many oil-producing nations—particularly members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—have sought political and economic power by limiting production. Nevertheless, industrial nations and oil corporations often have maintained neocolonial relationships with oil-producing nations. Such relationships continue to inspire nationalist movements, as happened in Nigeria.

Chris S. Duvall

See also Algeria; Iran; Mossadegh, Mohammed; Nigeria; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Saudi Arabia

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Philip II (1527–1598)

Philip of Spain, the son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, inherited a huge empire on the retirement of his father in 1555. Although the German and East European Hapsburg territories passed to his uncle, Ferdinand I, Philip controlled not only Spain, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands but also all of the New World discoveries claimed by Spain since 1492. As his father's regent in Spain, Philip had excellent training in managing the empire, and in 1542, he established laws to protect indigenous peoples. Unfortunately, the size of the Spanish Empire—and its crises—limited Philip's ability to reform it or to even give it his full attention while war raged in the Netherlands, against England, and in the Mediterranean, against the Ottoman Empire. The problems presented by having too much to deal with on too many fronts were exacerbated by Philip's tendency to micro-manage the empire, refusing to delegate even small tasks to subordinates.

He and his Council of the Indies did accomplish some significant reforms in the Spanish colonies, setting up ordinances in 1573 that regulated city planning and forbade further conquest

in the Americas. Philip, interested in the native plants and animals of the empire, sent Juan Lopes de Velasco to compile a regional survey of flora and fauna in 1571; he also kept a collection in his palace, the Escorial outside Madrid. In 1576, he sent out the "Questionnaire for America" to Spanish administrators in an attempt to catalog geographic and cultural points of interest. An early supporter of Bartolomé de Las Casas, whom he named bishop of Chiapas, Philip rejected calls for favoring those of "pure blood" and pressed for the ordination of mixed-race Spanish Americans in the church.

However, the empire, beleaguered by attacks led by English privateers, did exist to fund Spain, and Philip counted on the silver and gold generated by the colonies to fuel his wars in Europe. Because of this, he granted permission for areas with labor shortages to import slaves and to conscript local peoples, such as the Caribs, as forced labor. Colonial policy also provoked revolts among the settlers and indigenous people in the Philippines, Peru, and Quito, including the revolt of Tupac Amaru. The interests of the Spanish Empire also required that French colonies at Fort Caroline be demolished and the settlers killed, and English settlements were discouraged by force.

In Europe, Philip annexed Portugal in 1580, assuming control of Portuguese colonies around the globe, but he was faced with continuing threats from English privateers, who attacked Cádiz, Cartagena, and Florida. Toward the end of his life, overwhelmed by these multiple problems, Philip increasingly began to see the empire as a source of income for his aims in Europe and drew back from reform in order to promote Catholic causes there.

Margaret Sankey

See also Elizabeth I; Ferdinand and Isabella; Spanish Empire

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Philippines

The Philippine Islands were a territory of the United States until gaining independence in 1946, having attained the political status of a U.S. commonwealth. The islands, whose capital is Manila, are located in the southwest Pacific, in the Malay

Archipelago. Named in honor of the Spanish king Philip II, the islands were ceded to the United States in 1898 by Spain following the latter's defeat in the Spanish-American War. Under the terms of the Treaty of Peace, signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, the United States paid Spain \$20 million. Military rule of the islands began immediately under Gen. Elwell S. Otis, who was succeeded by Gen. Arthur MacArthur, and continued until Supreme Court judge William Howard Taft was inaugurated as the first civilian governor on July 4, 1901. On December 21, 1898, President William McKinley issued the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation, which outlined U.S. intentions toward the Filipinos.

From the very beginning, Filipino nationalists resisted U.S. colonial rule. On January 4, 1899, the Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo, having returned from exile, issued a proclamation condemning the "violent and aggressive seizure" by the United States, and on January 5, he called on Filipinos to declare independence from the United States. On January 20, delegates meeting at Malolos promulgated the declaration of independence, the Malolos Constitution, and Aguinaldo was chosen as president of the new government. On February 4, the Philippine-American War for independence began. The constitution of the new independent Philippine Republic created a Filipino state with a "popular, representative and responsible" governing body consisting of the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary, with legislative powers vested in an assembly of elected delegates. Filipino armed resistance to U.S. colonial rule continued until July 4, 1902, when President Theodore Roosevelt officially ended the Philippine "insurrection" with the Peace Proclamation and Amnesty Grant, but sporadic resistance continued and claimed 7,000 Americans and about 20,000 Filipino soldiers; in addition, there were some 250,000 civilian casualties resulting from disease, pestilence, and brutality.

The cornerstone of American policy in this first U.S. overseas colonial territory was "pragmatic materialism" as initiated by the First Philippine Commission, whose proclamation published the founding principles of U.S. policy and established that "the supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the Archipelago, and those who resist it can ac-

complish no end other than their own ruin." Among the achievements of the first commission were the development of infrastructure; the reestablishment of the Philippine court system; the opening of public schools whose teachers included Americans, Spaniards, and Filipinos; and other humanitarian projects, side by side with policies of economic self-interest. The Second Philippine Commission, the Taft Commission, was headed by the first civil governor of the Philippines, William Taft, who arrived on June 3, 1900. The commission became a colonial legislative body with authority to raise taxes, appropriate funds, fix tariffs, and set up law courts in which Spanish was the primary language. In 1901, the pro-American political party—the Partido Federal—was established, with the blessing of the Taft Commission, by Trinidad Hermenegildo Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda, and Jose Luzuriaga. The Thomasites (American school-teachers), arrived in the islands on board the USS *Thomas* on August 21, 1901. The commission mandated English as the medium of instruction and provided for the training of Filipino teachers and the opening of schools in Manila.

On July 1, 1902, the U.S. Congress passed the Philippine Organic Act establishing a bicameral legislature consisting of an appointed upper house (composed mostly of Americans) and an elected assembly, with veto power reserved to the U.S. Congress. The nationality of Filipinos in the American empire emerged as a crucial legal issue and was addressed by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Downes v. Bidwell* and in the insular cases. The issue revolved around whether collective naturalization followed cession and whether Filipinos were "nationals," "citizens," or "aliens," as each status differed and had consequences for civil and political rights and disabilities. In the final analysis, Congress, under the Constitution, would determine the legal status of Filipinos. Inhabitants of several territories (Guam, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands) were incorporated into the Union of the United States as citizens by Congress, but Filipinos were never U.S. citizens, although they "owe[d] permanent allegiance to the United States, since they [cannot] owe it to [any] other sovereignty." Congress did eventually grant Filipinos the right to American diplomatic protection when traveling abroad in the Act of July 1, 1902.

In 1916, the U.S. Congress, creating an elective senate of twenty-four members, promulgated the Jones Act. Nationalist leaders continued to press for independence. Among the key political events in the evolution that culminated in the political independence of the islands was the 1919 dispatch of a delegation to Washington, consisting of forty prominent Filipinos (including Manuel Quezon), to seek assurances that a promise of independence would be fulfilled. The U.S. position on future independence was addressed by President Calvin Coolidge, who wrote on March 6, 1924: “The Philippine people are by no means equipped, either in wealth or experience, to undertake the heavy burden, which would be imposed upon them with political independence.” On May 6, another mission led by Quezon, then the former president of the Philippine Senate, arrived in Washington to demand full and complete independence. In 1933, the U.S. Congress passed the Howes-Cutting Bill, providing for a transitional commonwealth for twelve years; this measure was rejected by the Philippine legislature. In March 1934, the U.S. Congress adopted the Tydings-McDuffie Act, thereby modifying the Howes-Cutting Bill, and on November 15, 1935, commonwealth status was formally established. The evolution of the Philippines to independence was interrupted during World War II with the Japanese occupation of the country until February 1945, when the islands were retaken by the United States. On July 4, 1946, the Republic of the Philippines was formally inaugurated at Manila, under President Manuel Roxas. On March 14, 1947, the United States was granted a ninety-nine-year lease for military and naval bases there, which was abrogated by the Philippine government in 1992.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also Aguinaldo, Emilio; Exploration; Magellan, Ferdinand; McKinley, William; Spanish Empire; United States; War and Warfare; World War II

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Pilgrimages

Pilgrimages can be subsumed under the category of ritual activity, similar to ceremonies, festivals, and celebrations, because of their ability to act as symbolic activities that communicate how power is structured in society. Most scholars regard pilgrimage as involving a ritual journey over a geographic area to a site of cultural, social, or religious significance. Though notably associated with religious destinations (for example, the tomb of a saint), pilgrimages also possess a secular dimension, such as tourists visiting monuments of national heroes (the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C.) or tombs of famous artists (Elvis in Graceland).

Scholars differ in their interpretations of what pilgrimages reveal about the cultural, political, and social dynamics of a society. Victor Turner has argued that pilgrimages erase differences between pilgrims—usually including groups of peasants, urban residents, political leaders, and religious officials—by creating a state of “communitas,” in which pilgrims share a united sense of solidarity. Others contend that pilgrimages challenge the established powers in society. Increasingly, scholars view pilgrimages not as supporting or subverting authority but as arenas of “competing discourses” between different social groups in society. This approach identifies each social group as possessing its own secular or religious agenda, as pilgrimages transform into forums for the groups to advance their distinctive worldviews.

The transformations of colonial rule rendered pilgrimages as unique ritual activities that illuminate the dynamics and conflicts in a colonized society. For example, colonial rule establishes new social groups, such as the colonial authority and the co-opted local political and religious leaders who help administer colonial rule; it also inspires new forms of identity, such as nationalism. The following are a few broad themes of pilgrimages in colonial contexts.

In Mexico City under Spanish colonial rule, the ruling colonial powers used the Corpus Christi pilgrimage and festival to reflect their vision of how the hierarchical structure of society should be ordered, giving great prominence to certain ethnic groups with close ties to the vice-regal colonial powers. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese in India sponsored a new shrine and pilgrimage center in Mylapur on the Coromandel coast, in their

bid to strengthen their commercial presence in the region and establish closer relations with the local Christian communities.

Another familiar pattern under colonial rule was the ability for both the colonial authority and the colonized peoples to inject pilgrimages with greater political and nationalist meaning. In Lucknow, India, the political and legal controls the British imposed over the Shi'i celebration of Muharram brought this pilgrimage out of the context of India's traditional communal conflicts and into the arena of modern Indian nationalist politics. In British-ruled Palestine, Palestinian political groups used a popular Islamic pilgrimage to the tomb of Moses as a forum to express nascent Palestinian nationalism, as religious leaders wove Islamic tropes and images to protest Britain's colonial policies.

As Eric Hobsbawm has observed, because ritual can sacralize and traditionalize anything, different groups in the power structures of a society can invest rituals, such as pilgrimages, with a diversity of meanings.

Awad Eddie Halabi

See also Christianity; Islam; Religion

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ventures. The distinction between the two is that the privateer plundered within the law under license of letters of marque and reprisal, whereas the pirate plundered outside the law. But privateers often turned to piracy during years when England was not at war, the main attraction being the prospect of plunder.

The usual procedure followed to plunder a captured vessel was to send a boarding party to search the ship. The booty would then be divided among the crew of the plundering ship according to rank. Pirates were often described as treacherous rabble, only held together by a common lust for riches.

By the seventeenth century, the pirates who operated in the Atlantic waters were described as a confederation. Among these pirates was Henry Morgan, who later became the governor of Jamaica. Before receiving the governorship and a knighthood, he participated in raids along the South American coast. However, he was one of the pirates who managed to make the transition from pirate to buccaneer, in the service of Sir Thomas Modyford, the governor of Jamaica. Subsequently, he was granted a king's pardon.



The head of the notorious pirate Blackbeard hangs from the bowsprit of a ship in this 1837 illustration. First encouraged by the British government in its struggle against Spain in the sixteenth century, pirates were soon seen as a menace by London and hunted down by the British navy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Library of Congress)

Piracy

Since the sixteenth century, piracy on the high seas has sometimes been confused with privateering

Piracy escalated during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, with pirates operating as far away as the slave coast of West Africa. Between the years 1714 and 1724, there were an estimated 5,500 freebooters who sailed under the Jolly Roger, the unofficial flag of pirates. Spanish ships were their main targets, and Spanish prisoners were usually tortured and killed. Among the brutal pirate captains who operated off the Spanish Main were Howel Davis, Bartholomew Roberts, Jack Rackham, and—the cruelest of the lot—Edward Teach, known as Blackbeard.

Blackbeard started his career as a privateer during the War of the Spanish Succession but turned to piracy when the war ended in 1713. However, despite being granted a king's pardon by the governor of North Carolina, he continued to seize prizes on the high seas. He was finally taken in 1718 and killed while doing battle with the British warships *Lyme* and *Pearl*.

An act had been passed on November 14, 1718, to encourage the apprehension and punishment of pirates, and a reward had been offered for Blackbeard's capture. After this act, piracy greatly diminished, and the demise of Blackbeard has been considered the watershed of the decline of piracy.

Although piracy has been considered a male pursuit, there were two female pirates sailing with Capt. Jack Rackham. Anne Bonny and Mary Reade dressed as men and were as fierce as any other members of the crew. Mary Reade was known to fight duels with men, using both pistol and cutlass. In one fight, she severed the head of her opponent with a single stroke of the cutlass. Both women escaped execution because of convenient pregnancies. However, Mary Reade died in 1721 of fever during her lying-in.

Due to the combined efforts of the British Royal Navy and the governors of Jamaica, Barbados, Virginia, and Maryland, stringent methods were adopted to wipe out piracy. By 1726, 600 pirates had been captured and executed in the American colonies and Caribbean Islands. Although the period marked the end of an era, piracy in the Atlantic waters did not finally disappear until the nineteenth century, although it continues to the present day in the seas off South and East Asia.

Andrea Button

See also Crime; War and Warfare

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Pitt, William (1708–1778)

William Pitt, the first earl of Chatham, was prime minister of Great Britain from 1766 to 1768. He was born on November 15, 1708, in Westminster, England, into a family that had gained its fortune in India. Pitt received his education through the expected venues: Eton and Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1735, representing a borough controlled by his family, and immediately became a powerful and influential orator and politician. Pitt's participation in the opposition against the unpopular ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, which led to Walpole's resignation in 1742, motivated King George II to appoint Pitt as paymaster of the army in 1746.

In that position, Pitt set out to accomplish his main goal of expanding the England's empire. His alliance with Thomas Pelham-Holles, duke of Newcastle, during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—also known as the French and Indian War on the North American front—influenced a series of English victories against the French. These victories were aided by Pitt's collaboration with Frederick II of Prussia, who supplied military support until the French finally agreed to sign a treaty in 1763. As a result of this treaty, England gained the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, the French West Indies, and French trading posts in West Africa; furthermore, French power in India was destroyed.

In 1762, after Spain's declaration of war against England, Pitt's forces captured Spanish Florida, Havana, and Manila. The following year, as a result of the Treaty of Paris of 1763, England became the dominant imperial power. Spain had been cast aside, but Pitt soon faced resistance from the North American colonies. As the newly self-proclaimed Americans cried for “no taxation without representation,” Pitt's ministry failed to quiet the colonies and eventually collapsed in 1768. His influence after that was constantly in question. Although he was bitterly against independence for

the Americans, he could not prevent their declaration of independence in 1776. Two years later, an exhausted Pitt collapsed in the House of Lords while delivering a speech against the colonies. He died in Kent on May 11, 1778.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also American Revolution; British Empire; Seven Years' War

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Pizarro, Francisco (c. 1475–1541)

Although the date of Francisco Pizarro's birth is in dispute (being either 1475 or 1478), the circumstances are not; all agree that he was the illegitimate child of Don Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisca Morales. The circumstances of his early life are not in dispute either; as a "bastard" son, he was not given an education and lived his youth as a poor swineherd. When he reached maturity, he signed on as a common soldier and sailed to New Andalusia on November 10, 1509, with an expedition led by Alonso de Ojeda in search of gold. In time, he became an established secondary military leader, and he accompanied Vasco Nuñez de Balboa on his voyage to the Pacific in 1513. By 1524, he had advanced to the point where he became the leader of an expedition that left Panama and traveled into the South American interior in search of gold. This expedition ended in disaster, and he was not placed in charge of another expedition until 1531.

On this second expedition, Pizarro was armed with a grant of the governorship of Peru, although that land was not yet conquered. The royal grant of governorship amounted to little more than the title itself; he was given little in the way of actual material support. On this expedition, Pizarro did not attempt another foray into the interior; instead, he explored along the coast, where he uncovered evidence and heard rumors of a vast inland empire that was rich in gold. Accompanied by 150 mounted soldiers, he began his war of conquest

the following year. After meeting with the Inca emperor, Atahualpa, and slaughtering the emperor's guard, Pizarro held Atahualpa hostage and received a "room full of gold" for his ransom. He then had the emperor executed on August 29, 1533, and set out on a reign of terror throughout the Andes. Diego de Almagro was Pizarro's lieutenant through this entire period, but after Pizarro cheated him out of what he claimed were his just spoils from the conquest, Almagro rebelled. The rebellion was crushed by troops loyal to Pizarro, and after Almagro's defeat in 1538, Pizarro's brother Hernando had the rebel leader executed. In turn, troops loyal to Almagro assassinated Pizarro in Lima in 1541.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Conquistadores; Incas; Peru; Spanish Empire

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Plaatje, Sol T. (1876–1932)

Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje was an African political leader and writer of the early twentieth century who challenged the inequality of settler colonialism in South Africa. Born in 1875 of a Barolong *khohwa* (Christianized) family, he received only three years of formal education but continued to study privately, working as a courier in Kimberley and then as an interpreter and clerk in the Mafeking magistrate's court. His diary of the siege of Mafeking in the South African War vividly recorded black experiences. As editor of *Koranta ea Becoana* (Tswana Gazette) (1901–1908) and *Tsala ea Batho* (Friend of the People) (1910–1915), he highlighted issues of concern to Africans, such as racism, injustice, and the exploitation of black miners. These efforts raised his national profile, and in 1912, he was a founder and first secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC). He strongly opposed the 1913 Natives' Land Act, which restricted Africans to the most barren parts of the country, and published *Native Life in South Africa* (1916), a passionate exposé of the harsh effects of the act on Africans.

In 1914, Plaatje joined an ANC protest delegation to Britain, and five years later, he led a second

delegation that met with British prime minister David Lloyd George. From 1920 to 1922, he toured Canada and the United States, meeting African American civil rights advocate W. E. B. Du Bois and giving public lectures that raised consciousness about South Africa. In the 1920s, he participated in government-sponsored Native Conferences, using them as forums to criticize state policy. Although not abandoning the African National Congress, he largely withdrew from national ANC politics. In his later years, he turned increasingly to temperance work and literature, writing the first black South African novel in English, *Mhudi* (1930). In his writings, he challenged the cultural domination of colonialism, with its stereotypes of Africans, and worked to preserve the Setswana language and people, publishing a book of Tswana proverbs and becoming the first to translate Shakespeare into an African language. His writing did not stop him, however, from continuing to lobby for better conditions for Africans until the year of his death, 1932. Plaatje opposed settler colonialism, albeit in ambiguous ways. He combined a commitment to African emancipation with a belief in the fairness of Cape justice, sympathy for the plight of African workers with opposition to radical socialism. A devout British Empire loyalist, he nevertheless used irony to recreate, in the colonizer's language, a sense of African dignity. Since the demise of apartheid, Plaatje's writings have continued to attract attention, and in 1992, his Kimberley home was declared a national monument.

Peter Limb

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Literature; Racism; South Africa

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Poland

Throughout history, supporters of the Polish state sought to defend it against invaders, expand it to include neighboring territories where Poles lived, or act aggressively to spread Polish civilization. This expansion produced an empire of sorts with “colonies” of Polish culture in the eastern borderlands. Poles justified their expansion by reference to the Holy Roman Empire and Roman Catholic Christianity and the struggle on the eastern marches of Western civilization, where they were more successful than in the west. Through a series of dynastic, political, and religious unions beginning in the Middle Ages, the vast state of Lithuania (including much of Byelorussia and Ukraine) joined Poland to create a commonwealth stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea—in Europe, second in size only to Russia. Three partitions in the late eighteenth century removed Poland from the map, but patriots kept alive the dream of resuscitating their land, likening the suffering of Poland to Christ's suffering on the cross. Poland reemerged as a consequence of the end of World War I in 1918.

Two political movements created a Poland strong enough to withstand German and Russian pressure. The first was the National Democrat movement, which was led by Roman Dmowski and sought to control as much land as was settled or claimed by Poles, especially in the so-called borderlands. The National Democrats defended Polish prerogatives of power and the Polonization of national minorities to create an ethnically homogeneous state. Some National Democrats believed a great European state such as Poland needed overseas colonies—in Brazil, for example. The second movement was the Polish Socialist Party headed by Joseph Piłsudski, who founded Poland in 1918. An anti-Bolshevik, Piłsudski sought a Poland federated with independent Lithuania, reminiscent of the past commonwealth but now joined together on the basis of ethnic equality. The federation would include a coequal Ukraine. This state would have stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Both of these political organizations failed in their objectives after the Russo-Polish War ended in 1920. However, the boundaries of the new Poland included important Lithuanian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian populations, integrated into a unitary state. Again partitioned in 1939 at the beginning of World War II, Poland emerged from the war in 1945 as the Soviet-inspired Polish People's Republic. After extensive population transfers, the new Polish state became overwhelmingly ethnically Polish. Meanwhile, Poland's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its impending entry into the European Union proscribe any dreams of post-Soviet Russians about regaining control over Polish territory.

Henry J. Antkiewicz

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Russian Empire; World War I

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Police and Policing

The study of colonial policing was, for many years, the neglected stepchild of colonial and imperial history, preserving and perpetuating untested generalizations and myths as undifferentiated assumptions were reiterated and reified. In an academic process that resembled nothing so much as the colonialism it described, the multiple roles of colonial police forces went unexplored, their positions in colonial power structures for the most part went unexamined, and their status as key apparatuses of the state was underplayed. Consequently, readings of colonial and imperial history as a whole often have lacked an understanding of the complexities and subtleties of colonial power and of the ways in which colonial police forces not infrequently were key coercive elements in the imposition of the social, political, and economic control of newly colonized areas and peoples. The “new imperial/colonial history” introduced in the 1980s has begun to fill some of those lacunae, enabling more nuanced elaborations of the intricacies and ambiguities of social power and control.

Colonial policing has variously been described as little more than an exploitative instrument of

colonial capitalism, engaged in the systematic subjugation and coercion of the colonized; as almost invariably militaristic in origin and underlying philosophy (deriving directly in many colonies from the occupying armed forces); as a core institution of the process of establishing civil society in colonized territories; as a crucial interface between colonizers and colonized, with the incorporation of indigenous personnel into colonial forces being read as a significant factor in wider acceptance of the colonial condition; and as a means of exercising indirect control over large subject populations. The range of explanations, arguments, and descriptions reminds us that, despite some commonalities, the colonial experiment was diverse, carried out over a very long period of time, and imposed on many widely differing cultures, each of which reacted in its own particularist way.

Insofar as generalizations about the core roles of colonial police can be established, the idea of *la mission civilatrice* (the civilizing mission) as a key justification underpinning the colonial enterprise was comparatively widespread, although perhaps less subscribed to by some colonial powers than others. The project of a civilizing mission allowed colonizers to understand their actions as something more than expropriation or invasion, since they were not simply imposing political and legal control on subject populations but rather achieving that necessary control through a paternalistic process of civilizing and socializing both the indigenous peoples and the colonial white working class, with the police acting as relatively benign arbiters of the process. The development of nuanced understandings of the field were inevitably retarded because two key factors—the essentially extractive nature of the economic relationships between metropole and colony and the inherent inequalities of status between colonizer and colonized—were largely underplayed in earlier analyses of colonial policing.

For British colonial territories, a long-standing assumption has been that the most prevalent policing model was that of the “Irish” or “Ulster” tradition of coercive policing rather than the “English” tradition of consensual policing: that is, that the police were isolated from the communities in which they policed (living in barracks), that they were militarized (equipped with firearms, rather than the simple baton of the English bobby), and that they

were organized centrally rather than locally, thus further removing them from the communities in which they lived. The corollary of this notion was that of “martial race”—the theory by which the indigenous people of one territory would be controlled by police (from a supposedly martial race) who came from a geographically, linguistically, ethnically, or culturally distant territory. Indeed, some colonial administrators specifically acknowledged the ways in which they had drawn on the model of the Royal Irish (or later Ulster) Constabulary.

These models have proved useful for explanatory purposes, and they can help to uncover something of the derivations of particular practices or philosophies of policing. But their persistence speaks more to a perceived need for generalization about the complexities of policing in the imperial situation. In such a situation, relatively few men from the colonial bourgeoisie commanded not many more indigenous police whose task it was to work closely with the military to impose and maintain the observance of new, often confusing law in situations of mutual cultural incomprehension. That they often were armed and acted coercively, however, says more about the policing environments in which they operated than about the models from which they may have derived their policing methods and practices. In reality, the consensual model of community policing, established more or less firmly through London’s Metropolitan Police and its affiliated forces after 1829, was not able to deal effectively with the ambiguities of the colonial environment (or of the processes of decolonization); indeed, they began to be torn apart in the metropole itself as the United Kingdom found it had to deal with more complex domestic issues of ethnicity and religion in the postcolonial period.

In many colonies, the colonial police assumed the role of internal security maintenance from the military and focused almost totally on coercive roles, rather than on building consensual communities. In most colonies, too, the frontier, turbulent and always shifting, was an integral component of both the practicalities and the psychology of policing; in fact, the frontier was often seen as requiring coercive paramilitary styles of policing because of a perceived lack of consensual communities. The policing environment described by August Kituai in the then Australian colony of Papua New Guinea—with a culture of violence that informed and under-

pinned the colonial enterprise, enforced physically and psychologically by indigenous police under the command of Australian patrol officers—is a model that (as opposed to the United Kingdom and Irish examples) can usefully be transposed to many other colonies, underlining as it does the essential violence of the colonial system.

As David Anderson and David Killingray demonstrated in the seminal collection of essays on colonial policing that they edited in 1991, colonial policing is often best understood in its local environments, where the complex interplay between coercive and consensual models can be explored more fully. It is within this local contextualization that the significance of the hierarchical relationships between indigenous police and entered populations and between indigenous constables and noncommissioned officers, on the one hand, and expatriate officers, on the other, can be engaged; furthermore, this is where racial attitudes and policies (varying both temporally and geographically) can be better understood. To analyze locally is not, however, to downplay the significance of what Anderson and Killingray called “imperial linkage”: empires, whether British, German, Portuguese, or French, were complex networks, spiders’ webs of information and ideas in which officials (usually male) moved from post to post across ethnic and geographic boundaries, carrying practices from one to another, and from center to periphery and vice versa, with long institutional memories and collective experiences.

Joan Wardrop

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Constitutionalism; Crime; Decolonization; Law; Racism; War and Warfare

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Polo, Marco (1254–1324)

The most celebrated of medieval European travelers, Marco Polo dictated his *Description of the World* in a Genoese prison in 1298. He set out for China in 1271 with his father, Nicolo, and uncle,

Maffeo, Venetian merchants who had already reached China and been received as guests of the Mongol ruler Khubilai Khan in 1266. The Polos arrived at the court of the khan after an arduous journey in 1275. Marco served as a minor functionary at the court of Khubilai and undertook many official tours of the Mongol empire. The Polos returned to Venice in 1295.

Marco's account was not just a travelogue; it was also a prodigious compendium of geographic knowledge about vast regions of Asia largely unknown to Europeans at the time. It chronicled, for the first time in the West, the sources of spices and other precious commodities in East Asia that were valued by Western merchants. Marco's main point was that the empire of China was far richer, more urbanized, and more technologically advanced than Europe. He celebrated Khubilai as a benevolent despot who was tolerant of different religions, and he introduced to the West the use of paper money and coal, both of which had been used in China for some time.

Although *The Travels of Marco Polo* immediately became the most popular book in Europe, it was initially read as a romantic fantasy. Only during the Renaissance was the book embraced as a source of geographic knowledge, and it inspired Christopher Columbus and other explorers to pursue their voyages of discovery. The credibility of the book has been subsequently questioned, for Marco failed to mention certain salient characteristics of Chinese civilization (such as foot binding or the Great Wall). Defenders, however, point to geographic and cultural observations borne out by nineteenth-century explorations of the Silk Road and by Chinese sources.

Regardless, *The Travels of Marco Polo* helped to spark a sustained interest among Europeans in collecting information about other parts of the world and about potential sources of wealth, which paved the way for Europe's subsequent imperialist expansion.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Exploration

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Polynesia

Polynesia consists of several archipelagos of small islands situated in the vast expanses of the southwestern and central Pacific Ocean. These are islands settled by Malay-speaking peoples—originally from Southeast Asia—who established themselves there several thousand years ago, slowly island-hopping across the Pacific to locations as far apart as New Zealand and Hawaii.

The heart of Polynesia consists of the five archipelagos making up what is now called French Polynesia (officially, the *Territoire de la Polynésie Française*, an overseas territory of France with representation in the French Parliament): the Gambier Islands, the Marquesas Islands, the Society Islands (including Tahiti, the largest of the islands), the Tubuai Islands, and the Tuamotu Archipelago. Other major non-French islands of Polynesia include American Samoa, Western Samoa (an independent nation), and the Cook Islands, which have a free association with New Zealand.

The Samoan Islands may have been first settled by Malay-speaking Polynesians as early as the first millennium B.C.E., whereas the islands of French Polynesia were first populated about 300 C.E. Using their extraordinary navigational skills, the Polynesians eventually made their way across much of the Pacific, locating and settling islands as they went and finally reaching Hawaii several hundred years later.

Although Ferdinand Magellan first sighted several Polynesian islands on his transglobal voyage in 1521, it was the French who became the first Europeans to chart and settle the islands in the second half of the eighteenth century. Missionaries from France and the United Kingdom established themselves in French Polynesia and the Samoan islands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

During the late nineteenth century, the various islands of Polynesia came under different European colonial rulers. The island groups that now comprise French Polynesia were gradually consolidated under Paris's rule between 1842 (when Tahiti became a protectorate) and 1900. The

Samoa Islands, by contrast, were disputed between France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States in the late nineteenth century. Eventually, Western Samoa became a German colony, and American Samoa was absorbed by the United States. During World War I, Western Samoa was occupied by forces from New Zealand. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the islands were coveted for their geographic location as potential coaling stations for European navies.

Since World War II, the various island groups of Polynesia have experienced different political fates. Political agitation in French Polynesia in the 1960s and 1970s—often connected to France’s nuclear testing in the area—eventually won those islands a partial autonomy. The residents of American Samoa have gained a degree of self-rule in the postwar era, although they continue to be administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Meanwhile, Western Samoa became a UN trust territory, administered by New Zealand, from the end of World War II until 1962, when it won its independence.

James Ciment

See also French Empire; German Empire; Hawaii; New Zealand; United States; World War I; World War II

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Ponce de León, Juan (1460–1521)

In 1508, Spanish authorities, in an attempt to extend their Caribbean base from Hispaniola, sent Juan Ponce de León to conquer Puerto Rico. De León’s fame has long rested on his search for a mysterious fountain of youth. He had been told of an island lying to the north of Hispaniola where there was reputed to be a spring or river of such “marvelous virtue” that anyone who drank its waters would be restored to youth and vigor. It was those rumors that drove him beyond Puerto Rico to Florida.

After his successful conquest and subsequent colonization of Puerto Rico, de León sailed from that island in 1513 on an exploration and slave-hunting expedition, during which he discovered Florida and sailed up its west coast. He then

turned southward and sailed along the east coast of the peninsula, proving that it was not an island. De León subsequently secured a royal patent to colonize Florida and Bimini, which he had also explored. Instead of proceeding to that task, however, he entered into a war against the Caribs, and it was not until 1521 that he attempted to settle colonists in Florida. He led a group of 200 men to try to establish a settlement on the west coast, but his efforts failed when the inhabitants attacked the colonists. De León was critically wounded and driven back to Cuba, where he died. The greatest product of his expeditions was not gold or silver but his study of the environment and indigenous peoples of North America.

Henry H. Goldman

See also Exploration; Hispaniola; Puerto Rico; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Ponty, William (1866–1915)

French colonial statesman Amédée William Merlaud-Ponty, born in Rochefort-sur-Mer, trained to be a lawyer and colonial administrator. He served in the western Sudan from 1889 to 1895, was sent to Madagascar, and returned to the Sudan in 1897. Rising through the colonial ranks, he was appointed governor-general of French West Africa in 1908 and held that post until 1915. Ponty is remembered for reformulating native policy, reforming the judicial process, and restructuring the educational system, which stressed the use of French in all aspects and at all levels of West African life.

Ponty viewed the indigenous peoples as needing to be “trained” (*apprivoisé*). Severely limiting the role of regional chiefs, whose rule had evolved over geographically contiguous but not necessarily culturally similar Africans, he declared that the leaders of ethnic groups would be chosen from the families they represented. Ponty wanted these village leaders to take charge of administrative and fiscal duties; however, he failed to realize that his plan was unworkable because of local political realities.

His legal reforms, set out in 1912, were more viable. Ponty demanded that the colonial courts rec-

ognize and respect the various ethnic groups and that customary laws remain in place as long as they did not contravene Western morality: cannibalism and ritual murder were deemed unacceptable. French courts could be used or appealed to under certain circumstances, and French law determined levels of criminality. The concept of punishing an individual who had committed a specific crime, as opposed to a collective family or social group, took hold, and for criminal acts, imprisonment was required, rather than the payment of compensation.

The goals of Ponty's educational program were to entrench French as the official language of French West Africa and create "useful men" (*hommes utiles*) who could work the land. He believed the universal acceptance of French would enable individuals to better their living standards, develop their country, counter the spread of Islam, and solidify society by instilling a love of French culture. The fact that this would lead to aspirations of equality was ignored.

Gail Tinsley

See also Colonial Administration; Education; French Empire; French West Africa

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Population and Demographics

Imperialism's effects on population and demographics in colonies and metropolises are difficult to trace because multiple factors affect demographics, only some of which are directly attributable to imperialism or colonialism. Most studies of the demographic impact of colonialism (and there are surprisingly few) examine migration. Imperial migration can be categorized into three types: migration from the metropolis to the colonies, migration from the colonies to the metropolis, and migration between different colonies within the empire. It is often difficult, however, to draw a direct causal relationship between migration and colonialism.

One exception might be labor migration, which includes the movement of slaves and indentured servants as well as economic migration. The slave trade predated the heyday of imperialism but was

nevertheless quite significant demographically. Estimates of the demographics of the slave trade vary, but at least 10 million Africans were sent to the Americas, with most going to Brazil or the Caribbean. In addition to slavery, labor migration includes the movement of Indians to Mauritius, Ceylon, the Caribbean, British Guiana, Natal, and other parts of southern and eastern Africa; South Pacific Islanders to New Zealand; Chinese workers transiting through Hong Kong into Malaya and British North Borneo; and Asian migration into Australia and British Columbia. Migration from the Netherlands Indies to Surinam followed the same pattern. French colonial labor migration policy during World War I resulted in the recruitment of some 223,000 colonial subjects from North Africa, Indochina, and Madagascar, as well as Chinese workers. Labor migration was generally less important elsewhere, overshadowed by population movements from the centers to the imperial peripheries.

Population movement from metropolises to colonies was part of the larger phenomenon of emigration from Europe. Roughly 55 million people emigrated from Europe in the century following 1820, but most were not driven by imperialism: English, German, and Irish populations formed the largest groups of emigrants through the peak years of the 1850s, with Italians and Eastern Europeans coming to dominate thereafter. Key demographic push factors included unemployment caused by new agricultural practices and landownership in Great Britain and Germany; the Irish potato famine; and the search for religious freedom, such as that on the part of Jews from the Russian Empire. Emigration from Britain declined after the middle years of the nineteenth century and averaged roughly 200,000 annually from 1870 to 1894—some three-quarters of whom emigrated to the United States in the latter part of that period. British emigration slowed to a trickle in the 1890s, although organizations such as the Emigrants' Information Office, opened in 1886, reversed the proportion of emigrants staying within the empire to approximately two-thirds. Another surge of emigration began in 1907 and peaked between 1910 and 1913, when an average of 394,000 British emigrants annually left for the dominions or colonies, with the majority being English and Scottish rather than Irish as in the past. After World War I, settler societies in

Kenya and Southern Rhodesia attracted distressed landowners, former military officers and soldiers (aided, for example, by the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme for farming in Kenya), and others seeking foreign opportunities, including single women. Various British imperial emigration efforts were centralized in the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, which was periodically renewed and finally expired when the Commonwealth Settlement Act was passed in 1972. The demographic effects of colonialism were especially significant after World War II, as there was much migration to the colonies; many of the emigrants were participants in assisted settlement schemes in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

Another demographic effect of imperialism was transverse migration around the peripheries of empire, such as the large-scale movements between Australia and New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. By the late nineteenth century, demographic and emigration policies took on geostrategic and geopolitical connotations as European governments began to see population as an asset or resource of imperialism, much like territory or natural resources. In this light, the 1905 Census of the British Empire cataloged the dispersal of people from the British Isles to the colonies of white settlement and elsewhere; the diaspora, especially of Indians, black Africans, and Pacific Islanders to imperial territories outside their homelands; and some influx of the colonial-born, especially those from white settler societies, into Britain.

With the exception of the wartime recruiting referred to earlier, migration to France from French colonies was not especially significant in the first half of the twentieth century. Much more important in terms of numbers was immigration into France from European countries. For example, between 1918 and 1928, some 400,000 Polish workers immigrated to France. Workers and political exiles from Italy after Benito Mussolini's accession in 1922 and from Spain during and after the civil war comprised other large sources of demographic growth. These groups were replaced in the middle of the 1950s by colonial subjects from the Maghreb, especially Algeria, and other French colonies in Africa and overseas. In addition, approximately 1 million *pièdes-noirs*, or white settlers born in Africa, moved to France following Algerian independence in 1962.

Decolonization also had major demographic effects in many other cases. Some involved population transfers between former colonies. Certainly, one of the largest mass population movements ever was the exchange of 14 million people between India and Pakistan in 1947 and 1948, after these countries achieved independence. Some 300,000 people migrated to the Netherlands from Indonesia in the years following Indonesian independence. Likewise, immigration to the United Kingdom surged in the 1950s. The 1961 census estimated that the "coloured" population of Great Britain rose in a decade from 74,500 to 336,000, to include 171,800 West Indians, 81,400 Indians, 24,900 Pakistanis, and 19,800 West Africans. Some scholars argue that their presence proved the existence of an integrated imperial labor market in the twentieth century, but further research on the demographic impacts of imperialism and colonialism remains to be done.

Willem Maas

See also Children; Class; Colonial Administration; Decolonization; Economics; Environment; Labor; Land; Social Sciences; Women

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Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905)

The peace treaty between Russia and Japan was concluded on September 5, 1905, at the Portsmouth naval yards in New Hampshire. The

treaty marked the twilight of the Russian imperial power in the Far East, the rise of the Japanese Empire, and the beginning of the final phase of colonial exploitation in East Asia.

According to the treaty, Russia agreed to transfer to Japan its de facto protectorate over Korea as well as the lease of the Chinese Liaotung Peninsula, the railroad from Port Arthur to Changchun, and its mining concessions in the southern part of Manchuria. The treaty also ended the Russian protectorate over Manchuria, in existence since 1900, as both powers agreed to evacuate the province and restore it to China.

Additionally, Russia ceded the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Japan. The Russo-Japanese talks in Portsmouth and the treaty itself were tributes to the mediation of U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, and they confirmed America's emergence as a world power.

Peter Rainow

See also Japanese Empire; Korea; Manchuria; Roosevelt, Theodore; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War; United States

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Portuguese East Africa

See Mozambique

Portuguese Empire

In the early fifteenth century, the small country of Portugal was the leading European power in terms of overseas expansion. A small country with a population of less than 1 million, Portugal was able to establish the first global European empire, which spanned the earth from the Americas to Africa and Asia. The history of the Portuguese Empire can be divided in three distinct periods. From 1415 to the mid-1500s, it was a maritime commercial empire, with enterprises in Africa and Asia; from the middle of the 1500s to 1822, the Portuguese developed an Atlantic empire based on cash crops, slavery, and precious metals, with Brazil being the major colonial possession in this arena; and from the independence of Brazil in

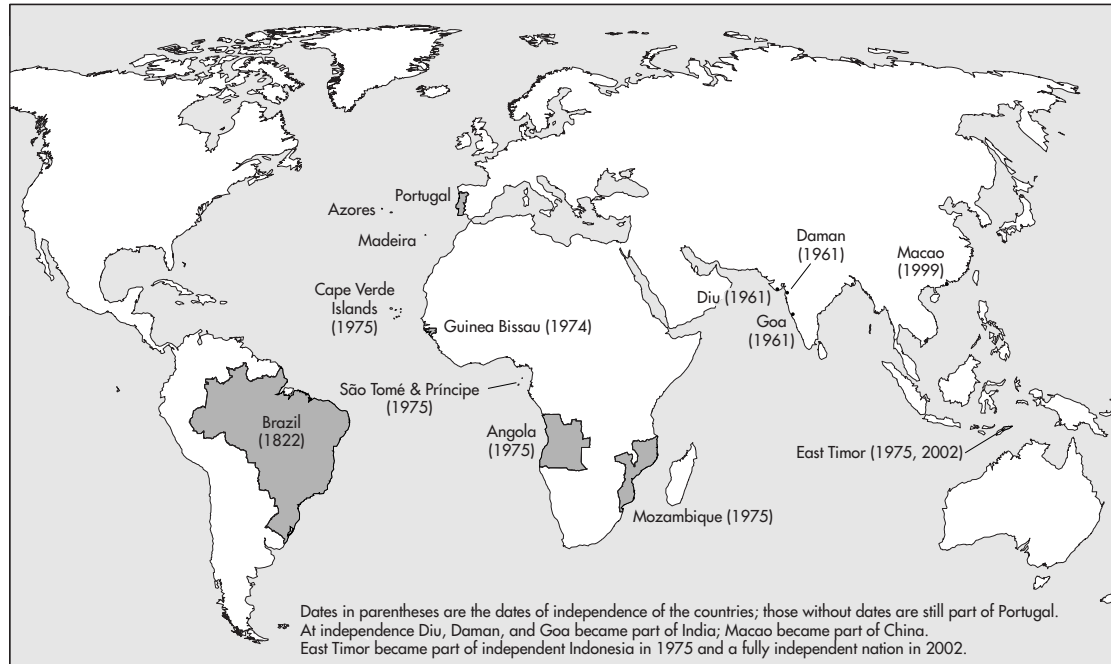
1822 until the mid-1970s, the empire was characterized by the colonization of Portugal's Africa colonies—Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to systematically explore the Atlantic Ocean. They initiated the Atlantic slave trade and established the first European overseas empire, with explorations that predated those of all other European nations. All of this was a consequence of several factors, including the fact that Portugal was the first modern nation-state in Europe. Unlike the divided states of Spain, Italy, France, and England, Portugal was a unified nation, and it enjoyed domestic tranquility. Geographically, it possessed a long ocean sea-coast and faced the Atlantic Ocean. Portugal's only neighbor, Spain, had historically been hostile toward Portugal and had prevented the Portuguese from turning toward Europe. Also, the lack of natural resources in Portugal's territory made trade the most viable alternative for acquiring wealth. Finally, the Portuguese government was centralized, and it supported the Portuguese bourgeoisie in its attempts to expand trade and power.

Prior to the European overseas expansions into the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, European trade was undertaken mostly in the Mediterranean Sea. The Italian states (there was no unified Italy in that period) dominated this trade. In the early fifteenth century, the Portuguese began seeking out a sea route to Asia as a way to circumvent the Italian monopoly in the trade of spices. Another objective of the overseas expansions, one that was especially important in the first half of the fifteenth century, was to reach the African source of gold without encountering the interference of the Arabs (or Moors) from North Africa.

Religion also played an important role in the Portuguese explorations. Both Portugal and Spain had fought the Moors for centuries to recover a good part of the Iberian Peninsula. It was only in the middle of the thirteenth century that the Portuguese finally conquered all of its present-day territory, taking it from the Moors. Thus, the overseas expansion of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century followed the reconquest of the peninsula from the Moors. In addition, the Portuguese also believed that somewhere in Africa there was a powerful Christian king, known as Prester John, who could help the

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE



Portuguese spread Christianity. Consequently, the church supported overseas expansion as a way to carry the Christian faith to the rest of the world.

The Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1415, a Muslim city in northern Africa, gave a new impetus to the long struggle with the Moors. The idea of fighting the Moors in their own land—spreading Christianity beyond Europe—and at the same time expanding trading routes gave the Portuguese an incentive to venture overseas. Moreover, since Ceuta was an important commercial center, the Portuguese must have learned a great deal from other African peoples who supplied the Moors with gold.

The discovery of the archipelago of Madeira in 1418 was one of the first milestones in the Portuguese expansion. Between 1427 and 1431, the Azore Islands were discovered by Portuguese sailors. Both the Azores and Madeira were then uninhabited, and their colonization was initiated quite quickly, from about 1445. The expansion of the Portuguese continued to Cape Verde as well as São Tomé and Príncipe on the west coast of Africa, where they established sugar colonies by the middle of the 1400s. These islands became the first tropical colonies designed almost exclusively to produce sugar and with a labor force of African slaves. The experiences in tropical agriculture and in the slave trade developed there were used by the Portuguese in the colonization of Brazil, as well as by the Spanish, the French, and the English in the rest of the Americas.

After reaching the Atlantic islands, the Portuguese continued to sail southward along the coast of Africa, trading on equal terms with the African kingdoms that they encountered. By the mid-1400s, they had explored the African coast as far as Sierra Leone. By the 1480s, they had reached the Congo Kingdom and Namibia. In 1488, another expedition, led by Bartolomeu Dias, rounded the southern tip of Africa and reached the East African coast, thus establishing Europe's first sea-way to Asia. Dias and his men named the southern tip of Africa the Cape of Storms due to the severe weather they encountered there. However, the Portuguese king João II later changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope, since it promised the long awaited passage to the East. It took many years for the Portuguese to send another expedition to sail to the East, for they were involved in developing

commercial alliances in Africa and were trying to learn as much as possible about that continent and the Far East by sending a few expeditions by land through Africa. However, by 1497, another navigator, Vasco da Gama, sailed to India and for the first time linked the East and West by sea. The Portuguese continued their expansion into Asia, and by the middle of the 1500s, they had established Christian settlements in Goa (India), Macau (China), Nagasaki (Japan, a city that was founded by the Portuguese), Malacca (Malaysia), and East Timor (Indonesia).

The development of navigational skills by the Portuguese influenced all of those in Europe who were interested in sailing the oceans, including Christopher Columbus. In fact, Columbus's career as a seaman began effectively in Portugal, where he lived and worked for about ten years, from the late 1470s to the late 1480s. Columbus married a Portuguese woman and lived in Lisbon and on the island of Madeira. His marriage gave him access to the maps and documents of his deceased father-in-law, who was one of Prince Henry's navigators. Columbus also sailed several times along the coast of Africa for the Portuguese. In 1484, he approached King João II, asking him to finance an expedition that would attempt to find a western sea route to the Indies. The king refused his offer, as the Portuguese believed they could find a route to the East by sailing south along the coast of Africa.

During this time, the Portuguese goal was to establish a commercial rather than a colonial empire. This fact is well illustrated in their lack of interest in Brazil. After Pedro Alvares Cabral reached the Brazilian coast in 1500 and claimed the new land for the Portuguese Crown, the Portuguese at first did little to exploit the discovery. In fact, Brazil was of minor importance to Portugal, as the trade with the East proved to be much more profitable for the empire. It was only after the control of Brazil was threatened by foreign invasion, from the Dutch and French, that the Portuguese began to take a more serious approach to the colonization of Brazil. By this time, the Portuguese were also losing their monopoly in their eastern trade, and the production of sugar was proving to be a major source of profits on the islands of Madeira and São Tomé. Although Brazil was one of Portugal's most uninteresting colonial

possessions initially, it proved to be the most long-lasting and profitable colonial enterprise in Portuguese history. Between the sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, Portugal's economic dependence on Brazil increased to the point that, by the time Brazil declared its independence in 1822, Lisbon was totally dependent on the trade that derived from its colony.

From the early nineteenth century, the Portuguese economy was stagnant. Agriculture had not been modernized, for it was abandoned by the nobility, who were more interested in exploiting the potential of Portugal's overseas lands. Yet the structural problems of the Portuguese economy were masked by the rich profits derived from the colonies. However, by the eighteenth century, Portugal had already lost its trading monopoly with India, and the only lucrative enterprise that its colonies in Africa offered was the slave trade—a business that the Portuguese Crown could not always control to its own advantage. The healthiest segment of the Portuguese economy was the colonial commerce with Brazil. After Brazilian ports were opened to international trade in 1808, the Portuguese economy entered an era of stagnation, and thereafter, both the manufacturing and the agricultural sectors in Portugal were severely crippled due to the loss of the Brazilian market. Portugal had become a dependent home country, which had failed to generate investment in its internal development because of the profits that had been brought from Brazil.

After Brazil's independence in 1822, Lisbon attempted to revive the Portuguese economy by investing in the colonization of its African holdings. However, Portugal was never able to recover the wealth of its earlier colonial period. From 1926 to 1974, a nationalistic and authoritarian dictatorship controlled Portugal. In 1961, rebel groups in Angola rose up against Portuguese rule, and the revolt soon spread to Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In 1974, a leftist revolution, mainly a domestic reaction to these colonial wars, took place in Portugal and ended the long and violent conflicts with the African colonies. By 1975, all Portuguese colonies in Africa had achieved independence. However, independence did not bring peace to the new nations, as Angola and Mozambique embarked on violent civil wars. These two countries are still trying to recover

from the economic and human losses since the 1960s.

In Asia, the Portuguese lost control of Goa in 1961 when the Indian army overwhelmed the Portuguese military presence in that region. East Timor, by contrast, underwent devastating violence in the decades following its independence from Portugal in 1975. Invaded by Indonesia on December 7, 1975, and occupied for nearly thirty years, one-third of its population was killed by Indonesian troops. Presently, East Timor is being occupied by the United Nations in an attempt to rebuild this nation and have its independence respected by the Indonesians. The last Portuguese presence in Asia—Macao in China—was handed back to the Chinese in December 1999. Thus, after more than 500 years of colonialism, the Portuguese Empire was finally over. Portugal became the first and last European presence in Asia and one of the last of the colonizing nations.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Angola; Azores; Brazil; Cabral, Pedro Alvares; Cape Verde Islands; Ceuta and Melilla; Columbus, Christopher; Da Gama, Vasco; Dutch East Indies; Exploration; Henry, Prince; Macao; Mozambique; Prester John; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar

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Potosí

The Bolivian city of Potosí—the highest in the world at 4,090 meters—was founded in 1545 at the site of a newly discovered silver mine. This mine, essentially a mountain of mineral wealth, came to be called Cerro Rico—the Rich Hill. The silver deposit proved to be truly immense, and Potosí soon became one of the largest cities in the world. In its heyday, this Spanish colonial city supported over eighty churches. The indigenous people of the region worked as virtual slaves in the mines and supplied Spain (and Europe) with vast wealth. Some claim that the immense silver

wealth of Cerro Rico, when coupled with the equally immense plunder of gold resources from the New World, fueled the nascent capitalist economy of Europe and gave it economic power equal to its military prowess as it moved to establish a truly global economic system. Inevitably, the mines of Cerro Rico played out, and the millions of indigenous people who died extracting ore for their colonial masters were forgotten. Bolivia never profited from the tremendous wealth extracted from Cerro Rico, and it is now one of the world's poorest countries. Potosí, which once supported as many as 200,000 people, has shrunk to about 120,000. Today, many of its residents make a living (if it can be called that) picking through the immense heaps of refuse from the mines, searching for bits of mineral wealth that were overlooked centuries ago.

Phillip Bellfy

See also Bolivia; Mining

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Potsdam Conference

The leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union met for the third and last major conference of the Allied powers in World War II in the Berlin suburb of Potsdam from July 17 to August 2, 1945. U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt had died on April 12 and was succeeded by Harry S. Truman. British prime minister Winston Churchill was voted out of office on July 28 and was therefore replaced by Clement Attlee. Of the three leaders who first met in Teheran in late 1943, only Joseph Stalin remained. Relations within the Grand Alliance had soured after the Yalta Conference and Germany's surrender on May 7, 1945. U.S. and British leaders now understood that Stalin would not abide by the Declaration on Liberated Europe and would use the Red Army occupation of Eastern Europe to ensure Communist domination there. Moreover, Stalin now insisted that Poland's western border be set at the Western Neisse River, deeper in eastern

Germany than the Allies had agreed at Yalta, and the Red Army had begun massive shipments of industrial equipment from Germany as reparations for war damage. Faced with a *fait accompli*, the Allies agreed to a contradictory policy that called for treatment of the German economy as a "single economic unit" but allowed each of the Allies to exact reparations from its own zone of occupation. Although the Allies rejected a plan for separate German states, Potsdam set Germany on the road to division into eastern and western governments. Austria was restored as an independent state and, like Germany, divided into four occupation zones (which came to include France alongside the other Allies—the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom). Also at Potsdam, Truman informed Stalin of America's successful detonation of an atomic bomb.

Thomas Clayton Black

See also Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer; Stalin, Joseph; Truman, Harry S.; World War II; Yalta Conference

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Prester John

Medieval Europeans believed the priest (or presbyter) John to be the leader of a fabulous land to the east. Marco Polo wrote of him as the leader of the Tartars in Central Asia. By the fourteenth century, some Europeans believed his land was isolated within the Islam world, and they sought to make contact with Prester John to join in an alliance against Islamic forces. Some observers also came to conflate the legend of Prester John with increasing evidence of a wealthy merchant kingdom in the interior of West Africa ruled by the *mansa* (king) Musa.

It was not surprising that Portuguese explorers, encouraged by the efforts of Prince Henry the Navigator, made the discovery of Prester John one of the major goals of their explorations along the coast of Africa. Indeed, the Portuguese who reached the Kingdom of Ethiopia in Africa's eastern highlands in the late fifteenth century actually carried a letter addressed to the mythical ruler. And when Vasco da Gama finally crossed the Indian Ocean, it was that same determination that led him to believe that the Hindu rites he saw

there were evidence of the long-sought Christian kingdom.

Although it seems the Europeans' original goal was to make Prester John an ally, it is clear that once the legendary ruler was found, the areas in which the search had been conducted—whether in the West African savanna, the Ethiopian highlands, or India—were more likely to become targeted for European colonial expansion. Certainly, Portugal's colonial enclaves in West Africa and Goa testified to that country's colonial ambitions, as did abortive Portuguese efforts to annex Ethiopia following an uneasy alliance with the latter against hostile Islamic forces threatening the African kingdom. But once colonialism had spread throughout Asia and Africa, the legend of Prester John remained more a legacy of European efforts to make the world Christian than evidence of careful research and intelligence about the world beyond the lands of Europe itself.

Melvin E. Page

See also Da Gama, Vasco; Ethiopia; Exploration; Henry, Prince; Portuguese Empire

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Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico, also known as Borinquen, was ruled by Spain from 1509 until it was ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Peace on December 10, 1898, signed at Paris. The Puerto Rican islands are located in the eastern Caribbean and are officially the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico (Estado Libre Asociado), a self-governing entity in association with the United States—a political status acquired in 1952. San Juan is the capital, and the territory includes the offshore islands of Vieques and Culebra, the sites of U.S. military bombing ranges. In 1901, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in *De Lima v. Bidwell*, that Puerto Ricans were not ipso facto U.S. citizens, and in 1917, the Jones Act made the islands a territory and granted U.S. citizenship to the inhabitants. The country held the status of an unincorporated territory under U.S. military administration until 1912, when the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act, establishing a civil government.

Nationalist political sentiment emerged soon after the U.S. acquisition. In 1898, Eugenio M. de Hostos called for self-determination to begin immediately, and in 1909, Luis Muñoz Rivera led a movement for the extension of U.S. citizenship. In 1924, a mission of statehood advocates arrived in the United States to demand that Puerto Rico be granted the rights of statehood without representation in Congress, and in 1928, the Puerto Rican legislature petitioned President Calvin Coolidge for a grant of autonomy without statehood. In 1939, a committee of the Puerto Rico legislature demanded statehood and an elected governor with power to appoint officials, and in November 1948, Luis Muñoz Marín became the first popularly elected governor of Puerto Rico.

The year 1950 was significant for a change in political status and for nationalist encounters. In July, an act of the U.S. Congress, the Organic Act, permitted Puerto Rico to draft its own constitution, and on November 1, Puerto Rican nationalists made an attempt on the life of U.S. president Harry Truman in Washington. On July 4, 1952, Governor Muñoz Marín proclaimed the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico one day after President Truman signed a congressional resolution approving a new constitution, which was ratified by popular vote.

Political status is of considerable interest to the islanders. Three options to the present commonwealth status are possible: statehood, enhanced commonwealth, and independence. Under the current commonwealth status, Puerto Ricans do not pay federal taxes on income received from island sources, but they do pay customs taxes to the federal treasury, which are then returned to the commonwealth. Current relations between Puerto Rico and the United States are defined in the Puerto Rico–Federal Relations Act. Every four years, Puerto Ricans elect a resident commissioner, who is permitted to vote only in committee and not on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. Executive power is vested in a governor, elected for a four-year term by universal adult suffrage. An appointed cabinet assists the governor. Legislative power is held by the bicameral Legislative Assembly, comprising the Senate (twenty-eight members) and the House of Representatives (fifty-four members). The members of both chambers are elected by direct vote for four-year terms. Puerto Rican U.S. citizens living in the is-

lands participate in U.S. party primary elections but do not vote in national presidential elections.

The three main political parties correspond to the political status options: the National Republican Party of Puerto Rico supports statehood; the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP) advocates full independence; and the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP) seeks the eventual admission of Puerto Rico as a federated state of the United States. Other political parties include the Partido Comunista Puertorriqueño (PCP), which seeks full independence and severance of ties with the United States, and the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD), which advocates a continuation and improvement of the present commonwealth status. None of the status options have won a clearly majority in ongoing plebiscites.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Spanish Empire; United States

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Puritans

The term *puritan* was first used in England in the 1560s to refer to persons who believed the Church of England had not gone far enough to “purify” itself from the vestiges of the Roman Catholic Church. Puritans believed in a Calvinist theology, personal piety, and a church government based on

New Testament examples. In England, Puritans soon became allied with the parliamentary opposition to James I and Charles I. Despite a successful revolution against the monarchy, English Puritanism could not maintain its power. By 1660, it had splintered into numerous small sects and was no longer a significant influence in England.

In the meantime, however, Puritans had played a major role in the English colonization of America. A small band of Separatists, Puritans who took the extreme measure of breaking all ties with the existing church, established Plymouth Colony in 1620. In 1629, a group of Puritans led by John Winthrop took over direction of the Massachusetts Bay Company. During the next decade, more than 20,000 people followed Winthrop to New England, where political and social life was molded to fit the Puritan ideal of a Bible commonwealth. Although Puritans were present in all the American colonies and even experimented with settlements in the West Indies, they are best remembered for their efforts in New England. Though they had lost the political control of Massachusetts by 1692, they continued to exercise considerable influence in New England up to the time of the American Revolution. Their emphasis on congregational church polity, local town meetings, the necessity of hard work, and the importance of education made a lasting contribution to the development of the United States.

Dale J. Schmitt

See also Christianity; New England; Religion

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Q

Quebec

Although settled for millennia by indigenous people, the first recorded European exploration of the Quebec region was undertaken by the Frenchman Jacques Cartier in 1535. However, Samuel Champlain is credited with establishing the first European settlement in the area in 1608 (Quebec City, now the provincial capital). Quebec was established as the center of the thriving fur trade in the New World, and for most of its history, Montreal was Canada's largest city (it has since been overtaken by Toronto, Ontario). By the middle of the eighteenth century, Quebec was the center of the New France empire, which stretched from the Atlantic coast to Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and New Orleans. This New World empire came to an end with the British defeat of the French in 1760, and it was further reduced when France sold its Louisiana holdings to the United States in 1803. In an attempt to win the allegiance of the Québécois in its looming war with the American colonies, the British recognized the rights of the French language, Catholicism, and French civil law in Quebec by enacting the Quebec Act in 1774. This step did little to address the grievances of the Québécois, although French-speakers and English-speakers have long been rather reluctant partners in that country that is now called Canada.

The Canadian constitution, repatriated in 1982, no longer recognized Quebec as a "distinct society" (a term from the Quebec Act of 1774). This

lack of a direct statement concerning Quebec in the constitution led to considerable political turmoil in Canada as a debate raged over the role of a francophone Quebec within the context of the rest of Canada. A national referendum on a constitutional reform package—including several "distinct society" clauses designed to address Québécois concerns—was defeated by the Canadian electorate in 1992. This rejection of Quebec concerns at the national level led the ruling party—the Parti Québécois—to seek an independent Quebec government through a 1995 provincial sovereignty referendum. The referendum lost by the narrowest of margins (50.56 percent no votes to 49.44 percent yes votes); about 60 percent of the francophone population voted for the referendum, and about 95 percent of the non-French-speaking minority (including the aboriginal population) voted no. Although the referendum was defeated, the issue of Quebec's dissatisfaction with the rest of Canada has not gone away, and the future status of Quebec within the Canadian federation is still an open question.

Phillip Bellfy

See also British Empire; Canada; French Empire; French Language; New France; Seven Years' War

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Quran (Koran)

The prophet Muhammad was born in Mecca in 570 and died in 632. When he was about forty, he began to meditate in a local cave. There, he was called to be a prophet, by a spiritual presence he identified as the angel Gabriel. The angel dictated the first part of the Quran (a word meaning “discourse” or “recitation”) and the beginning of the ninety-sixth *sura*, or chapter. The rest of the Quran was revealed to him over a period of twenty-three years, first in Mecca, then, after the *hijra* (flight) with which the Muslim calendar begins, in Medina. The text was preserved by scribes and remembrancers; there is a tradition that the prophet was illiterate, which enhances the Quran’s miraculous character.

The Quran comprises 120,000 words—roughly the length of the New Testament. It is divided into 6,000 verses and 114 chapters, arranged in order of length. The definitive text, thought to originate with the Prophet’s scribe, Zaid ibn Thabit, was established in the caliphate of Uthman (644–656), who destroyed other versions so that they would not be used in controversies. All Muslims regard the Arabic text as divinely inspired. Memorizing it—or parts of it—is an essential part of a traditional Islamic education.

The Quran includes ecstatic invocations of the power, majesty, and goodness of God and accounts of human moral responsibility: all must face the Last Judgment. The Prophet did not claim to found a new religion; his was the complete fullness of a revelation that had been glimpsed by others in the past. The Quran tells of Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Isa (Jesus), as well as Arab prophets. In fact, Mary is mentioned more often by name in the Quran than in the New Testament. All *sura* but one begin with an invocation to God the Gracious and Merciful. Where its text is internally inconsistent, as on the drinking of wine, the inconsistency is explained by progressive revelation, with a later revelation canceling an earlier one. Only a tenth of the text deals with regulations or legal issues; in this regard, the Quran came to be supplemented by the *Hadith* (meaning “traditions”), which are the reported words or actions of Muhammad and one of the bases of Islamic law. It is these interpretations of the Quran that have frequently highlighted conflicts between Muslims and European colonialists.

Elizabeth Isichei

See also Islam; Religion; Saudi Arabia

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R

Racism

Perhaps no other colonial legacy is as controversial as racism. Stereotypically equated with color, more specifically with blackness, the idea of race is merely a social construct. Race simply does not exist. It was created by those in power in order to justify and legitimize their hegemony over their colonial subjects, and it eventually became integral to maintaining colonial power. Therefore, it can be argued that racism has a more complex nature than a simple color issue where colonialism is concerned.

Ironically, the first experiments in colonialism were not racially motivated. When the Spanish “discovered” the New World in the fifteenth century, they were interested in expanding their empire and its wealth. European efforts and dominance in Asia, Africa, and India were intended not only to expand territory but also to control trade relations within those areas. Those who controlled the spice, ivory, gold, or silk trades controlled empires.

Once Europe secured power in these areas, missionaries were deployed to convert the masses to Christianity. Advanced Amerindian civilizations, such as the Inca and the Maya, were labeled “savage” because they were “pagan.” Individuals who did not convert were killed or enslaved. Brilliant Chinese, Japanese, and Indian philosophers, scientists, and mathematicians were persecuted and marginalized due to their Confucian, Bud-

dhist, Hindu, and other beliefs. Similarly, African societies across the continent were misunderstood and therefore considered to be backward and in need of guidance.

Although this attitude was largely religious prejudice, early colonists and explorers subjected their hosts to a very basic and early form of racism. In all of these situations, Europeans justified their intrusion by voicing a paternalistic need to save the unfortunate and ignorant peoples from themselves. However, their actions were motivated by a racist point of view that considered Amerindians and Africans incapable of reason and intelligence simply because they were not Christian. In European eyes, these inferior cultures performed barbaric rituals and sacrifices. They were misunderstood, and consequently, their polygamous unions were considered sinful and improper. European racism, then, defined these societies as uncivilized.

As a result, stories circulated throughout Europe depicting those being colonized as savage races of people who were dangerous to the future of civilization and humanity. Theologians, scholars, and humanists constantly debated the nature of these peoples in an effort to discern their overall humanity and their ability to reason. In the Asian case, Europeans saw rudimentary governments in serious need of tutelage, believing that their colonial subjects would grow and prosper with Western assistance and guidance.

This need to protect and guide eventually was transformed into a need to exploit, with the greatest example developing on New World plantations. The Europeans' obsession with power and wealth led to the importation of millions of Africans to the Americas to work as slaves on European sugar, coffee, cotton, and tobacco plantations. European diseases had decimated the Amerindian population, and indentured servants proved too costly. The only apparent solution was to tap into the already existing African trade in slaves. Their slaves' blackness was attributed to their ability to sustain a harsh climate and constant contact with the sun. Africans were considered no more than chattel, which made them easily controllable and subjugated. Furthermore, their blackness would condemn them to slavery once in the New World: blending was impossible, making it extremely difficult for them to form independent communities or to flee from slavery. As a result of this massive influx of African labor, slavery had become synonymous with blackness by the mid-eighteenth century.

By the nineteenth century, people in many areas had come to see racism as merely a color issue. Although Europe began eradicating slavery, freedom did not eradicate racism. Racism, in fact, increased as a means of maintaining control and distance from those who originally were in chains. Especially in areas with newly emancipated slaves, blackness implied laziness, sloth, and dishonesty. Freedpeople and their descendants were deemed no better than the slaves before them, and they were treated merely as slaves with wages. Such individuals may have had freedom, but for them, equality with the white populations was just a dream.

Exploitation continued in other parts of the world, as Europe diligently worked to preserve its place of power. In China, for example, England encouraged opium addiction among the indigenous population in order to maintain order and loyalty, believing the racial inferiority of the Chinese predisposed them to drug addiction—a situation that could then be turned to England's advantage. Elsewhere, Europeans bullied and terrorized African peoples into building railroads and harvesting lucrative crops such as rubber and palm oil. No matter the region or people, Europeans felt that manual labor should be performed by those

they deemed inferior. Racism justified all these beliefs and helped to maintain such practices.

These and other experiences of colonialism during the nineteenth century brought a change in the way racism expressed itself. The need for racial exploitation had progressed into a need for differentiation. In the era of emancipated slaves and international indentured servitude, biological racism had replaced the chains of slavery, as the populations of the colonizing powers tried to prove scientifically the various stages of racial inferiority in order to maintain some semblance of colonial control. Any differences from European phenotypic attributes were ascribed to biological inferiority, and those people who were then deemed racially inferior were categorized, segregated, and marginalized. Slanted eyes, large noses, kinky hair, and dark or brown skin were undesirable; indeed, such attributes inhibited people from gaining equality within civilized society. Black women were relegated to domestic service, known solely as mammies and maids. Chinese and Indian men could only find work building railroads, managing laundries, or replacing the African slaves on near bankrupt plantations.

At the same time, whites devised legal boundaries in order to maintain their hegemony over all of their colonial possessions. Literacy and property laws, taxes, and voting regulations effectively prohibited equality. It did not matter if the colonials were Indian or Pakistani, Chinese or Siamese. Yorubans were no different from Akan or Khoisan. They were all merely colonial subjects, and most were thus described as racially inferior. In turn, that inferiority made them incapable of running their own countries. Boundaries and borders were redrawn and political units reorganized to benefit the Europeans in power, while indigenous leaders were pushed to the side or made puppet rulers. As a result, minorities came to rule majorities, and this situation was most often justified by reference to racial stereotyping.

When those minorities lost power with the independence of their colonies, racism became one of the deepest legacies of colonialism—and perhaps the most harmful. Colonialism ended, but racism did not. Although they have long been free to rule themselves, many societies still are suffering from their colonial experiences. South Africa continues to reel from the legacy of apartheid.

Rwanda's Hutus and Tutsis constantly and violently react to the environment created by the Belgian government. Brazil has over 150 racial categories in the national census into which all its residents must be categorized. Nigerians find unity only in a soccer game. Thus, what was once merely a justification became a social construct that has now come to define societies.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Apartheid; Gobineau, Count Arthur de; Maroons; Slavery and the Slave Trade; South Africa

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Radical Party (France)

France's Radical Party, officially founded in 1901 under the name Radical and Radical-Socialist Republican Party, actually began during the July Monarchy (1830–1848) as a loose alliance of moderate politicians who advocated the enactment of democratic and limited social reforms. After the fall of the Second Republic in 1852, the Radicals joined other republican groups opposed to Napoleon III's Second Empire. In spite of their opposition to this regime, however, many Radicals supported the empire's colonial policies. In April 1872, after the fall of the Second Empire and the start of the Third Republic, a leading figure of the Radical faction, Léon Gambetta, made an important speech defending France's active colonial policy. According to him, France needed its colonies to reestablish its position among the world's great

powers following the country's defeat at the hands of the Germans in 1870. During his brief tenure as the French prime minister in late 1881, Gambetta established an under-secretariat of state responsible for France's colonies. This decision effectively allowed Radical officials to dominate France's colonial administrative apparatus for the next forty years, even though many leading figures of the Radical camp, most notably George Clemenceau, continued to condemn France's colonial policies. In spite of Clemenceau's importance to the Radical movement, however, his position on the matter of colonialism had little impact on the majority view within his own party. Indeed, the Radicals led or participated in every French government between 1902 and 1940 but never significantly altered the country's colonial system.

Although the Radical Party's ambivalent attitude to the Vichy regime during World War II weakened its influence after 1945, a few of its leaders participated in the many governments of the Fourth Republic; three of them (Edgar Faure,



Pierre Mendès-France, head of the Radical Party and president of France in the mid-1950s, had a mixed record on colonialism. He negotiated France's retreat from Indochina in 1954 but then took a firm stance against rebels fighting French rule in Algeria from 1954 on. (Library of Congress)

Henri Queuille, and Pierre Mendès-France) even became prime minister. Only one of them seemed ready to make significant changes in France's colonial policy. When Mendès-France became prime minister in June 1954, most commentators believed that he would transform France's political landscape, including its colonial system. He had, after all, vigorously attacked the government's handling of the war in Indochina in the French National Assembly in October 1950. Furthermore, one of his staunchest supporters, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, openly advocated the withdrawal of French troops from Indochina in *L'Express*, the news magazine that he had helped to establish. The first few months of Mendès-France's government seemed to signal a complete change in French policy, especially in the colonial sphere. For example, it put an end to the war in Indochina in late July 1954 in Geneva and granted internal autonomy to Tunisia a few weeks later. In November, however, Mendès-France took a firm stance against the insurrection in Algeria and promised that France would not pull out of its North African departments. In February 1955, after Mendès-France's fall, Faure headed the last Radical government, hardening his country's stance against the Algerian rebels. In the following years, the party was divided over a number of issues, including the future of France's remaining colonies and the policies it should pursue in its former colonies. The Radical Party gradually lost its cohesion after 1972 and was never again able to reassert itself on the French political scene.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also French Empire; Napoleon III

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Raffles, Sir (Thomas) Stamford (1781–1826)

Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, had an inauspicious start, being born at sea off Jamaica to

an improvident sea captain. With money scarce, he joined the British East India Company as a clerk at age fourteen, rising to the post of assistant secretary in the company's Penang settlement in 1805.

From 1786, Penang Island had been Britain's first foothold in the Malay Peninsula, and Raffles began an avid study of the cultures of the region. Lord Minto, governor-general of India, was impressed enough to take Raffles on the expedition to conquer Java from the Dutch in 1811, making him lieutenant governor of Java until 1816. Raffles reformed Java's administration and land systems in ways that were both enlightened and impractically expensive, before returning to England in ill health. The post-Napoleonic War settlement then saw the East Indies restored to Dutch control, destroying Raffles's dreams of expanding British trade and its "civilizing" influence beyond Java.

In London in 1817, Raffles published his *History of Java* and was knighted. But on his return to the East, he received only the post of lieutenant governor of Bencoolen, a pepper port on the west coast of Dutch-dominated Sumatra. In 1818, a frustrated Raffles persuaded India's governor-general, Lord Hastings, to authorize the establishment of a new post at the southeastern end of the Malacca Straits, in order to establish British influence closer to the China Sea. Raffles landed at Singapore on January 29, 1819, securing the island by treaties made with local rulers. After another three years in Bencoolen, he returned to Singapore from 1822 to 1824. His influence helped establish Singapore as a fast-expanding free port in the face of Dutch hostility and ambivalence from London, India, and Penang. He stayed long enough to see the Dutch withdraw all claims by a treaty concluded in March 1824, before failing health and ferocious headaches forced his return to England. There, he won recognition for his natural history collections, and before a brain tumor took his life in July 1826, he also helped found the London Zoological Society and served as its first president.

Karl A. Hack

See also India; Malaysia; Singapore

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Ranjit Singh (1780–1839)

Ranjit Singh Sukerchakia was the leader of the Sikhs of the Punjab and unified his people into a single powerful state. Deeply scarred by smallpox, he lost the use of his left eye and had a formidable appearance. He had no formal education. After his marriage at fifteen, he began to unify the Punjab, which until then consisted of small states. This division had encouraged the Afghans, the Gurkhas, the Marathas, and the British to exploit the Punjab for plunder or expansion. When the Afghan Zaman Shah invaded in 1798, Ranjit Singh opposed him so vigorously that Zaman Shah appointed him governor as a way of making him an ally. From the capital, Lahore, Ranjit Singh defeated rival Sikhs and Muslims in 1801, and he was declared maharaja of the Punjab. He then annexed some ten principalities before signing the Treaty of Lahore with the British in 1806. On the basis of this agreement, he was allowed to mount invasions of the cis-Sutlej states for the purpose of extracting tribute. He then annexed or extracted tribute from ten other states.

In January 1809, the British forced him to sign the Treaty of Amritsar, but this did not stop him from incorporating more states into his kingdom over the next two years. In 1815, he abolished the Gurumata, the central body that had exercised a loose control over the Sikh community, and he established his own strong personal rule. Multan fell in 1818, Kashmir in 1819, Dera Ghazi Khan in 1820, and Derajat and Dera Ismail Khan in 1821. In 1834, he finally annexed Peshawar. It was only the British, in the Tripartite Treaty of 1838, who prevented him from attacking Sind and Shikapur. Although the creator of a Sikh state, Ranjit Singh appointed Muslims and Hindus as well as Sikhs to important positions; his greatest contribution was to instill a sense of nationalism among the Sikhs. Within two decades of his death, the Punjab fell to the British.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; Sikhism; War and Warfare

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Reconquista (Reconquest)

From 740 to 1492, Spanish Christians fought to conquer Spain, which was under Muslim rule. The Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula had been swift, taking only three years due to internal strife among Visigothic rulers. With the Muslim invasion, Spanish kingdoms united against a common enemy and adopted a Christian identity in opposition to their Muslim conquerors. The impetuous for the *reconquista*, or reconquest, began in the north. In the mid-eighth century, the forces of Alfonso I descended from the mountains of Asturias and took territory in the Duero Valley. Early in the next century, under the rule of Alfonso III, peoples of the northern kingdom of Asturias discovered an impressive tomb they claimed to belong to Santiago (James, the brother of Christ). The tomb became a major site of pilgrimages for people throughout the Christian West, thereby bringing funds and Western European cultural ideas to northern Spain. By the close of the tenth century, the Kingdom of Asturias had doubled in size, and, in opposition to their Muslim rivals, its people identified themselves as strongly Christian.

In 1064, the efforts of Spanish Christians received aid from the papacy, when it promised indulgences to French knights who assisted the Kingdom of Aragon in its struggles against the Muslims. Soon, branches of the two largest crusading orders, the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, were founded on the peninsula. In 1212, the peninsula's first university was established, thus increasing cultural bonds between people from different Spanish kingdoms and between Spain and Western Europe. In the same year, the armies of Castile, León, and Navarre united to defeat Al-mohad invaders. Spoils of the battle poured into the royal treasuries of the Christian kingdoms, thereby facilitating another wave of conquest. By 1265, only Granada remained under Muslim rule. Continued strife within and between kingdoms as well as the black plague and economic and military involvement in the Hundred Years' War weakened the larger kingdoms of Spain, precluding further conquest until the fifteenth century.

In 1469, the heirs to the thrones of the two most powerful kingdoms in Spain—Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon—were married. During their reign, they unified Spain by reducing the power of the nobles, imposing religious

orthodoxy on their subjects, and improving tax collection methods. With increased funds in the royal treasury and their combined military forces, the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were able to conquer Granada in 1492, giving Christian Spain control of the peninsula and securing a firm base for the subsequent Spanish colonial expansion into the New World.

Linda Heidenreich

See also Christianity; Ferdinand and Isabella; Islam; Spanish Empire

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Religion

To approach the intimately interrelated subjects of religion and colonialism, it may be helpful to paraphrase Edward Said's oft-cited definition of colonialism: almost always a consequence of imperialism, colonialism is a historical phenomenon supported by the notion that certain territories and people require and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination. Under this definition, religion constitutes one of the forms of knowledge in the possession of the colonial power that is believed (initially by the colonial power) to be required by the people to be colonized. To this definition, one may also append the observation that in many instances, religion also has served as a foundational justification for the colonial enterprise itself.

Of all religions, Christianity has been most associated with colonialism because several of its forms (Catholicism and various types of Protestantism) were the religions of the European powers engaged in colonial enterprises on a global scale. Although other so-called world religions are, to varying degrees, missionary in character and method, the spread of non-Christian religions has been associated less frequently with a colonial impulse within imperial expansion. In fact, many non-Christian nations have themselves experienced the effects of European/Christian colonialism. It must be noted that Buddhism did indeed spread beyond the borders of India under the reign of King Asoka Maurya; however, his policy was not one of colonial conquest but of dharma

conquest (the peaceful, noncoercive teaching of Buddhist doctrine).

In addition, the transmission of Islam was definitely an aspect of Arab imperial expansion. However, from Islam's inception as a missionary religion, Islamic rulers generally permitted the practice of other "religions of the book" and gave Jews and Christians protected status as *dhimmis*, or people of the book (the Old and New Testaments). As Islam expanded throughout the Arabic-speaking world, traditional religions were incorporated under the umbrella of Islam and became part of a general Arabic culture. During early Islamic expansion outside of the Arabian Peninsula, conversion was most often not coerced; rather, many Iranians, Palestinians, and Egyptians actively sought *mawali* (non-Arab Muslim) status. Islamic expansionism continued under the Umayyad dynasty, but Semitic people such as the Aramaic-speakers of Palestine, Syria, and Iraq were not so much colonized as relatively smoothly incorporated into the Islamic empire. In India, Islam spread through peaceful evangelization as well as through conquest, but after the decline of the Mughal Empire, it was relegated to minority status in a primarily Hindu region. The African Muslim conquest of Spain again involved classifying "people of the book" as *dhimmis*, and thus, on the Iberian Peninsula, the Islamic religion was not held to be a required form of knowledge for non-Muslim inhabitants. Overall in the Islamic world, Muslim nations were themselves objects of European Christian colonialism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many traditionally Islamic countries became British, French, or Dutch colonies, mandates, or protectorates.

Ultimately, the European Christian voyages of exploration and campaigns of conquest that began in the sixteenth century brought about the most obvious manifestations of colonialism on a global scale. The case of the Spanish conquest of the Americas is perhaps most notable for its explicit linking of colonial conquest with religious evangelism. Although the clear purpose of the Spanish Empire in the Americas was to find and acquire gold and silver, the conversion of the indigenous population of the Americas was not incidental to this goal. In the *Requerimiento* (the document created in 1514 by the Spanish Crown and required to be read to indigenous people on encountering the

Spanish), it was stated that Jesus Christ, the son of God, had transmitted his sovereign power to St. Peter and to successive popes, who, in turn, bestowed on the Spanish (and also, in part, the Portuguese) sovereignty over the Americas (and, of course, title to its resources). If peoples so addressed refused to subject themselves, they were informed that “we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you . . . and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of Their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children and shall make slaves of them as Their Highnesses command; and we shall take away your goods, and we shall do all the harm and damage that we can as to vassals who do not obey” (Palacios 1967).

Although the colonial purpose of the French was not the quest for precious metals but the establishment of networks of trade (in furs and other materials) and bases of agricultural production, they, too, linked colonialism with the mandate of religious conversion. As early as 1541, French commissions charged with designating *seigneurs* (landlords appointed by the king) invoked the king’s instructions to “inhabit the aforesaid lands and countries and build there towns and fortresses, temples and churches, in order to impart our Holy Catholic faith and Catholic Doctrine, to constitute and to establish law and peace . . . so that they [the indigenous people] may live by reason and civility” (Biggar 1930). The French had intended to assimilate the indigenous populations; conversion would be both a prelude to and a product of that strategy.

Like the French, the English included commerce and agriculture in their colonial purposes, but the goal of converting indigenous people was much less in evidence, perhaps due to a highly developed Calvinist theology of predestination. Lockean notions of property also colored the methods of English colonial incursion, so that when early British colonists in North America developed evangelistic programs, conversion was intimately tied to plans to teach indigenous people how to cultivate and own land in the English manner. Portuguese colonialism both inside and outside of the Americas (including Brazil, Uruguay, Angola, and Mozambique) also left a religious mark, tied up as these colonial endeavors were with slavery, forced labor, and conversion. Dutch

colonialism in the East and West Indies as well as the Americas and Africa (including Indonesia, Suriname, and South Africa), which involved forced labor in mines and on plantations, also contained a missionary component.

The religious effects of European imperial and colonial undertakings persist into the present. Although most formerly colonized people have achieved independence, the majority of the indigenous populations have, in many areas, adopted (and, most often, transformed) the religions of the colonial powers. In the Americas, many indigenous people now subscribe to forms of Christianity, although they may also retain their own traditional religious practices alongside the adopted religion. In every case, the form of Christianity practiced is reflective (either overtly or secretly) of traditional indigenous cultural and religious practices. In the formerly colonized countries in Africa and the erstwhile East Indies, the various types of Christianity introduced by missionaries also persist to a high degree. Of course, on every continent, many formerly colonized people have retained traditional religious orientations. It is perhaps most notable, however, that new and distinctive religions have emerged out of the intercultural encounters and exchanges that were brought about by colonialism. For example, Vodou, Santeria, Rastafarianism, Ghost Dance religion, and Peyote religion are a few of the new religions that arose in the Americas; similarly, Ethiopian, Zion, and Independent Churches have arisen in Africa. The expressions of religious creativity that have arisen out of oppressive colonial circumstances, variously shaped for purposes of self-determination and autonomy, are indeed remarkable.

Lisa J. M. Poirier

See also Buddhism; Christianity; Hinduism; Islam; Judaism

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Republican Party (U.S.)

Originally founded as a party opposed to the extension of slavery into the western territories of the United States in the 1850s, the Republican Party became a probusiness party in the late nineteenth century and a proimperial party by the 1890s. In the years between the world wars, however, the party advocated U.S. isolationism—except in the Americas—but it supported a strong interventionist stance in the Cold War against the Soviet Union after World War II.

The Republican Party emerged out of the wreckage of the Whig and American (or Know-Nothing) Parties in the mid-1850s and was primarily associated with the antislavery North before the Civil War. With Abraham Lincoln as its standard-bearer, the party led the North to victory in the Civil War and became the dominant political organization in the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Allied with big business, the party was increasingly associated with an expansionist foreign policy. It was during the Republican administration of Andrew Johnson that Alaska was acquired from the Russians. By the 1890s, one wing of the party—associated with the young Theodore Roosevelt—was advocating a much stronger U.S. Navy to protect the nation's economic and political interests in the Pacific and Caribbean. Roosevelt and his fellow expansionist Republicans—including Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts—were much influenced by the writings of military theorist Alfred T. Mahan, who argued that a strong navy was the key to international influence and power. Thus, in the early 1890s, the United States began to acquire a large, modern navy.

The culmination of the Republican Party's imperial pretensions came in the Spanish-American War, strongly advocated by the expansionist wing of the party even if reluctantly entered into by Republican president William McKinley in 1898. Although the great debate that ensued in Congress over whether to annex the Philippines after the war did not break down entirely along party lines,

it was generally northern Republicans who supported taking the islands.

With the rise to the presidency of Vice-President Roosevelt in 1901—on the assassination of McKinley—the expansionist wing of the Republican Party was in the ascendant. Roosevelt, whose foreign policy motto was “Speak softly and carry a big stick,” orchestrated a revolution in Panama in order to facilitate the construction of a canal across the isthmus on U.S. terms. Roosevelt also posited his famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The doctrine, formulated in the 1820s, stated that the United States would resist European interference in the new republics of Latin America; to that, Roosevelt added that the United States had the right to regulate the affairs of Caribbean nations. Outside of the Americas, John Hay—secretary of state under McKinley and Roosevelt—advocated the Open Door policy vis-à-vis China, insisting that all foreign powers have equal access to Chinese trade and that the Chinese empire not be divided into European (and Japanese) spheres of influence.

Still, it was a Democratic president who got the United States involved in World War I, producing a popular backlash in the war's aftermath against U.S. intervention in affairs outside of the Americas; Republican candidate for president Warren G. Harding exploited this sentiment in the 1920 election. And it was largely conservative Republicans who opposed U.S. involvement in World War II before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Although an isolationist wing remained within the party in the post-World War II era, the Republicans were strong advocates of the containment—and even rollback—of communism around the world during the Cold War from 1945 to 1990, advocating an activist U.S. foreign policy and even intervention in conflicts in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Along with the Democrats, Republican administrations advocated European decolonization in the Cold War era but were wary of the process, especially where it might lead to Communist regimes. President Dwight Eisenhower, for example, strongly supported French efforts to prevent the rise of communism in Indochina, supplying much of the colonial power's arms in its war there. In the end, however, Eisenhower refused to help Paris during the 1954 debacle at Dien Bien Phu, when the French lost to the Communist-nationalist forces of Ho Chi Minh.

Twenty years later, the Republican administration of President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger supported anti-Communist forces in Angola and, according to some historians, gave a green light to Indonesia to invade and occupy East Timor after the collapse of the Portuguese Empire in Africa and Asia in 1974 and 1975.

In the wake of the Cold War, a renewed ambivalence about U.S. foreign involvement temporarily regained ascendancy within the Republican Party. Since the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, however, the party has lined up behind the global war against terrorism.

James Ciment

See also Alaska; Angola; Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; China; Dutch East Indies; East Timor; Kissinger, Henry; Monroe Doctrine; Open Door Policy; Roosevelt, Theodore; Roosevelt Corollary; Spanish-American War; United States; Viet Minh; Vietnam; World War I; World War II

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Reza Shah Pahlavi (Shah of Iran) (1878–1944)

An army officer who seized power in a 1921 coup and declared himself the founder of a new Persian dynasty in 1925, Reza Shah Pahlavi overthrew the disintegrating Qajar dynasty, began Iran's modernization, and reduced foreign influence—most notably from Britain and the Soviet Union—in his country.

Born Reza Khan, the son of a chief of the Pahlavan clan, he enlisted in the military, quickly rising through the ranks on the basis of his intelligence and physical stamina. A strong nationalist, Khan witnessed an Iran—ruled by the failing Qajar dynasty—that was economically destitute and powerless to ward off foreign control of its resources.

With the Russians and British taking de facto control over Iran in the early twentieth century, Khan led a coup in February 1921 and was appointed minister of war under the new republican regime.

Khan, however, quickly became disenchanted with the new government, which he saw as too idealistic and inexperienced to get the Russians and British out of the country. Although viewed as unsophisticated by the civilian members of the regime, he was actually quite skilled, having built an independent power base within the military that was loyal to him alone. He soon became the real power in the country.

In 1925, Ahmad Shah, the ailing Qajar monarch, left Iran for treatment in Europe. While he was gone, the Majles, Iran's parliament, elected Reza Khan as the shah of Iran, creating a new dynasty for the country. Moving rapidly to consolidate his power and put into force his nationalist ideals, Khan disarmed many of the country's warring tribes, emancipated women, embarked on a major building program, and ended all special privileges for foreigners.

To protect a relatively weak Iran, he tried to play off the Soviets against the British, a policy that no longer worked after the two powers joined forces in an anti-Nazi alliance following Germany's invasion of Russia in June 1941. Claiming the shah was potentially pro-Nazi, Russia and Britain jointly occupied Iran in August to ensure a supply route into the Soviet Union. To protect his dynasty, the shah abdicated in favor of his son, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, who would rule the country until his own overthrow by Islamist forces in 1979. The elder shah, meanwhile, went into exile in Johannesburg, South Africa, where he died in 1944.

James Ciment

See also British Empire; Iran; Soviet Union; World War II
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Rhodes, Cecil John (1853–1902)

The son of an English parson, Cecil John Rhodes arrived in Natal, South Africa, in 1870 to join his brother Herbert on a cotton farm, but he moved to



Shown in an 1898 portrait, Cecil Rhodes was an ardent expansionist who promoted white settlement in the eponymous British colonies of Northern and Southern Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe). (Library of Congress)

Kimberley at the end of 1871, where he began to work as a speculative digger in the newly discovered diamond fields. He built his initial wealth through a pumping contract for the removal of water from submerged mining claims, some of which he was then able to buy. A man of great ambition, his goal was to control all production of diamonds at Kimberley. By 1888, the De Beers Mining Company, which he established, had secured ownership of all the Kimberley mines. That same year, he acquired an important stake in the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, and by 1895, his Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Company provided even more of his income than De Beers, though he was less involved in its operation.

Rhodes used his base in Kimberley to further a political career. From 1880, when the diamond territory of Griqualand West was incorporated into the Cape Colony, until his death, he served as a Cape parliamentarian and devoted much of his time attempting to limit the Transvaal influence in

the subcontinent. He entered a political alliance with the Afrikaner Bond and was thus able to become prime minister of the Cape in 1890 with the backing of Cape agrarian interests as well as his traditional mining allies. As prime minister, he was responsible for the passage of the Glen Grey Act of 1894, designed, in part, to provide labor for the mines, and his government took over Pondoland, the last independent area between the Cape and Natal, which completed the annexation of the Transkeian territories by the Cape.

Rhodes was an ardent British imperialist, and the anti-British government in the Transvaal was, for him, an obstacle to be removed as well as a threat to the interests of the gold-mining industry. In 1895, he plotted to overthrow the Transvaal government, but the failure of the Jameson Raid forced him to resign as prime minister; it also alienated him from many of his former Cape Afrikaner supporters. Though he retained the support of English-speakers in the Cape, his political career was effectively over, particularly as his health deteriorated after 1897.

From the late 1880s, much of his time was occupied with promoting white settlement in the area north of the Transvaal (later Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe)—an area that was to bear his name for over eighty years. His chief instrument in settling what became known as Rhodesia was the British South Africa Company, for which he won a charter from the British government in 1888. In 1896, he intervened personally when the Ndebele threatened the new settlement in Rhodesia. But little came of his dream of extending British rule from the Cape to Cairo, and he did not find the second gold-rich Witwatersrand he hoped existed north of the Limpopo River. In his will, he left his home, Groote Schuur, and lands on the slopes of Table Mountain to the nation, and much of his giant fortune went to funding the Rhodes Scholarships to his alma mater, Oxford University.

Christopher Saunders

See also Boers; British Empire; Colonial Administration; Gold; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia

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Rhodesia

See Southern Rhodesia

Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's second largest city, is located in the southeastern region of that country. During the colonial period, from 1500 to 1822, all of Brazil, including Rio, was part of the Portuguese Empire. In 1555, the French occupied the region of Rio de Janeiro in an attempt to establish a colony in Portuguese territory. However, they were expelled by the Portuguese in 1567. In the seventeenth century, Rio de Janeiro prospered due to its excellent harbor and the sugar industry, which developed in the region. Yet it was only with the growth of the mining economy in the interior of Brazil (in Minas Gerais) that Rio gained real importance, when the city became the major intermediary between this mining region and Europe. As a consequence, in 1763, the capital of Brazil was moved from Salvador, Bahia (in the northeast), to Rio de Janeiro.

Events in Europe led this city to become, for a time, the center of the Portuguese Empire. In 1807, Napoleon's troops threatened to invade Portugal and to remove from power Dom João, the prince regent who governed in the name of his insane mother, Dona Maria I. The response of the Portuguese nobility was to flee Portugal. In 1808, Dom João, along with approximately 16,000 of his courtiers, established the Portuguese government in the city of Rio de Janeiro, which at the time was the major city in the most important colony of the empire.

This solution eliminated the immediate threat to the Portuguese royal family. However, it precipitated a new challenge to Portugal's colonial empire. During his thirteen years in Brazil, Dom João was compelled to enact a number of measures that created de facto independence for the colony and made it difficult for Portugal to regain total control over this country. For example, Dom João opened Brazil's ports to commerce with other nations, ending the centuries-old monopoly that Portugal had enjoyed in its colony.

Nowhere did these changes have more impact than in Rio. The population grew significantly, and the city's infrastructure and services had to be adapted in order to serve the Portuguese court. In 1808, Rio became the birthplace of the first Brazilian newspaper, intended to serve the new elite. In addition, Dom João opened a medical school, a national museum, a national library, and a botanical garden in the city. In the early 1800s, Rio de Janeiro also had the largest black population in all of the Americas, a consequence of the city's growth after the arrival of the court. Slaves were employed in all kinds of occupations in the city and also in the flourishing coffee economy of the period.

On December 16, 1815, Brazil was raised to the status of a kingdom, of equal importance to Portugal. With this measure, Rio de Janeiro replaced Lisbon as the capital of the empire and caused the decline of Portugal's position as the head of this empire. Brazil declared its formal independence from Portugal in 1822. Rio continued to be the capital of independent Brazil until 1961, when the newly constructed city of Brasília became the new capital.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Brazil; Portuguese Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Rodney, Walter (1942–1980)

Walter Rodney was born in 1942 in Georgetown, Guyana. In 1966, just after completing a dissertation on the history of the Upper Guinea coast at the University of London, Rodney began a two-year teaching assignment at the University of Tanzania in Dar-es-Salaam. In 1968, he returned to the West Indies and a teaching position at the University of the West Indies—Mona (in Jamaica) as a lecturer on African and Caribbean history. He also worked as a political activist against the

exploitation and oppression of Jamaica's poor. Less than a year later, his written works were banned, and he was forbidden from returning to Jamaica after attending a writer's conference in Canada. Rodney then went back to Tanzania to resume teaching at the university there.

In 1974, Rodney returned to Guyana and immediately became active in politics. He spoke at public meetings and organized free education programs at his home. He soon joined the Working Peoples Alliance (WPA), which mobilized and united the Guyanese people in their opposition to the country's government. Rodney and his allies in the WPA argued that Guyana had no viable future if all parties did not openly engage its race question, and the Guyanese government was challenged. By 1979, the WPA had become so effective that many thought its members had the capacity to restore democracy in Guyana. Rodney was assassinated in Georgetown on the evening of June 13, 1980. His last book, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1805–1905*, was published posthumously. Rodney is best known for his definitive study of the effects of colonialism on the African continent. His work typified a trend in diasporan scholarship that argued that the Atlantic commerce between Africa and Europe created a state of dependency and underdevelopment. In his two most widely known books, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1974) and *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast* (1970), he contended that inequities in the trade between the two continents was the origins of Africa's position as a poor, Third World region. According to Rodney, Europe was more economically advanced than Africa, which forced the latter to enter into a "colonial" trade in which Africans traded slaves for manufactured goods. As a result, Africa became dependent on Europeans, which sank them deeper into the state of underdevelopment that would persist into the twentieth century. Although Rodney's argumentation was controversial, it did create a new trend in historiographical scholarship that forced a fresh examination of the relationship between Europe and Africa, the effects of the slave trade on all who were involved, and the long-lasting consequences of colonialism.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British West Indies; North-South Conflict; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Third World

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Romanov Dynasty

Under Russia's Romanov dynasty (1613–1917), most of North and Central Asia and large parts of Eastern Europe were unified under one state. The land acquired by the expansion of the Slavic state of Muscovy beyond its original borders was dwarfed by the territorial acquisitions of the Romanovs. At its height, the Russian Empire covered one-sixth of the land area of the globe.

The Romanov dynasty ascended to the throne of Russia in 1613, following the turbulent period known as the "time of troubles." The first Romanov czar, sixteen-year-old Michael Romanov (1613–1645), was chosen by the Zemski Sobor, a council composed of *boyars* (princes), service-nobility (that is, those who gained their noble status through service to the state), clergy, peasants, and townspeople. During the reign of the first three Romanovs, Russia absorbed the Ukraine and continued its exploration of Siberia, reaching the Sea of Okhotsk in 1649. Cossacks were often the first settlers in newly acquired territories and were used by the czarist government to secure its borders. In 1710, Peter the Great (1682–1725) made Siberia an administrative province. Because serfdom was never established in Siberia, the region became a magnet for those seeking freedom and land.

It was not until 1725 that Peter declared Russia an empire. His modernization of Russian society and the Russian military set the stage for further expansion. The Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689 set the western borders of the empire, which remained virtually the same until the reign of Alexander II. To the south, Russia began offering protection to indigenous peoples, including the Kazaks. These territories were later annexed.

The Russian-American Company (1799–1867) claimed Alaska and parts of the western coast of North America for the Russian Empire. Very few settlements were made there, however, and in 1867, the czarist government sold its possessions in North America to the United States for \$7.2 million.

Under Alexander II (1855–1881), Russia continued its expansion into Asia, gaining territory in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Far East. Pacification continued in the Caucasus, where Muslim mountaineers engaged in “holy war” against the Russian military. Between 1865 and 1876, Russia conquered Central Asia in a series of wars, acquiring the khanates of Kokand, Bukhara, and Khiva by the 1870s. Fighting continued in Central Asia until the 1880s, when the Turkmen were finally subdued. In 1875, Russia yielded the Kuril Islands to Japan in return for the southern half of Sakhalin Island.

During the reign of Nicholas II (1894–1917), Russia’s eastern sphere of influence extended into northern China, including Mongolia and Manchuria. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was essentially a struggle over influence in northern China. Russia’s loss ended its attempts at eastern expansion and helped end the Romanov dynasty. Nicholas II abdicated the throne during the February Revolution of 1917.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Alaska; Alexander II; Bolsheviks; Catherine the Great; Cossacks; Manchuria; Nerchinsk, Treaty of; Nicholas II, Czar; Peter I; Russian Empire; Russo-Japanese War

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Rome, Treaties of

Two treaties were signed in Rome on March 25, 1957, by representatives of six countries: Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. One treaty established the European Atomic Energy Authority (EURATOM). The other established the European Economic Community (EEC), which evolved into the European Community (EC) in 1967 and then

the current fifteen-member European Union (EU) in 1993.

Effective January 1, 1958, the Treaty of Rome aimed to establish a common market in Europe by removing internal customs barriers, erecting a common external customs tariff, formulating policies in areas such as agriculture, and allowing the free movement of people and goods. To achieve this over a period of twelve years, it established the European Commission, a bureaucracy that could propose as well as administer policies, and the European Council of Ministers to make binding decisions.

The EEC dealt with decolonization by giving members’ former colonies preferential treatment as “associated states.” The first and second Yaoundé Conventions (in 1963 and 1969) offered aid and investment to these former colonies and allowed most agricultural products from the associated states to enter the EEC duty-free. The first Lomé Convention in 1975 extended previous provisions to Britain’s former colonies, following British accession to the EC in 1973. Subsequent conventions have expanded aid and assistance programs and since 1993 attempted to protect Caribbean banana growers through quotas and preferences. In return, the states that are covered—known as the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries and numbering seventy by the 1990s—are expected to give most-favored-nation status to some European products. The ACP arrangement has its own Council of Ministers and Committee of Ambassadors.

Karl A. Hack

See also Decolonization; European Community

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Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945)

The thirty-second president of the United States—and the only president to serve more than two terms—Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) occupied the Oval Office during the major twentieth-century upheavals of the Great Depression and World War II. An internationalist, Roosevelt tried to enlist the United States in the struggle against

global fascism, working against great isolationist opposition in Congress and the public.

At the same time, Roosevelt, through his Good Neighbor policy, emphasized a less hegemonic U.S. relationship with Latin America and gently urged America's World War II allies—especially Britain—to consider decolonization after 1945. Finally, like his Democratic predecessor Woodrow Wilson, FDR was a firm believer in the ability of international organizations to resolve disputes between countries, and he was an ardent supporter of the United Nations.

A distant cousin of President Theodore Roosevelt, FDR was born to a wealthy upstate New York family in 1882 and attended Harvard University and Columbia University School of Law. A Democrat, he entered politics as a young man, serving as a state senator in New York and as assistant secretary of the navy in World War I, and he was the vice-presidential candidate on the 1920 Democratic Party ticket. However, a bout with polio, which left him paralyzed, seemed to put an end to his political career.

Still, Roosevelt recovered both physically (though still largely confined to a wheelchair) and politically, making a successful run for governor of New York State in 1928. As a liberal reformer, he instituted a number of innovative unemployment and welfare plans after the state was hit hard by the Great Depression, beginning in 1929. His activism caught the nation's attention, and he was elected president in 1932. Although much of his first term was devoted to domestic affairs—pulling the nation's economy out of the slump—Roosevelt pursued two foreign policy initiatives: establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and developing the Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America.

The latter was not so much a departure from existing policy as a consolidation of a trend established by his predecessor, Herbert Hoover. From the late nineteenth century, the United States had taken a highly interventionist approach to Latin America, often backing the most exploitative practices of American businesses there with barefisted diplomacy and a dispatch of troops whenever Latin Americans resisted U.S. hegemony too rigorously. Hoover began pulling back from this policy, and Roosevelt confirmed this restraint and made it official policy, though he continued to

back dictators such as Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua. At the 1936 Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires, U.S. officials endorsed a resolution calling for nonintervention in the affairs of other states in the hemisphere. Three years later, the Latin American governments responded by declaring the hemisphere off-limits to German, Italian, and Japanese expansion and agreeing to reduce the sales of raw materials to aggressor states.

In the final months before the United States entered World War II, Roosevelt—in his efforts to stand by Britain in its struggle against the Nazis—signed the Atlantic Charter with British prime minister Winston Churchill. Among the principles outlined in the charter, which was meant to serve as set of principles in the anti-Fascist struggle, was self-determination for peoples around the world. And, indeed, Roosevelt made it clear to Churchill in their conversations and negotiations that the United States was determined that Britain should give up its colonies after the war.

On the opposite side of the world, America's entry into the war in the Pacific was accompanied by Roosevelt's insistence that the war against Japanese imperialism not be seen as means of returning to the old prewar order of things in East and Southeast Asia. That is, FDR argued that the British, Dutch, and French colonies there should not be permanently returned to the European imperial powers once the Japanese were defeated.

But Roosevelt's death in April 1945, months before the end of World War II, put a new, less idealistic president, Harry Truman, in the White House. Like most Americans, Truman was also opposed to European imperialism, but he was more concerned with Communist expansion in the former colonies and thus often sided with the Europeans in their struggles against left-wing nationalists, particularly those in Vietnam.

James Ciment

See also Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer; Good Neighbor Policy; Great Depression; Truman, Harry S.; United States; World War II

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Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919)

The twenty-sixth president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt made America a major imperial power and a contender for international power. His presidency epitomized the country's drive for hegemonic control of the Western Hemisphere and participation in the Euramerican quest for colonial possessions.

Throughout his long career in public service—as a New York State legislator, civil service commissioner, New York City police commissioner, governor, assistant secretary of the navy, vice-president, and president, Roosevelt expressed U.S. expansionist sentiment and advocated a big navy with moralistic and jingoistic rhetoric. After his succession to the presidency following the assassination of William McKinley in September 1901, he had a clear concept of the foreign policy goals he hoped to accomplish.

Roosevelt's "progressivism" consisted of a mixture of nationalism, moralism, racism, social Darwinism, and social planning. He divided the international arena according to race and civilization, as per his core convictions on the racial superiority of whites and the inferiority of nonwhite peoples. For Roosevelt, some civilizations, in particular the Anglo-American civilization, were destined to rule, and others were destined to be ruled or perish. In practice, Roosevelt wanted the United States to act as a great power, equal to the imperial states of Europe. To that end, his policy encompassed the building of the Panama Canal, hegemonic control over the Western Hemisphere, the creation of a large fleet, and participation in great-power negotiations on the future of colonial possessions, as in the Algeciras Conference on the fate of Morocco in 1906.

In accordance with the geostrategic thought of naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, Roosevelt made the canal in Central America an essential element of his foreign policy. Through intimidation and cooperation with local elites there, the United States acquired the Canal Zone from newly independent Panama in exchange for a onetime payment of \$10 million and an annual fee of \$250,000. The construction of the canal began in 1906 and was completed in 1914.

In the Caribbean, Roosevelt established control over Cuba, whose constitution contained the legal provisions for U.S. intervention (the Platt Amendment) and the cession of Guantanamo as a naval base for the U.S. Navy. In the second Venezuelan crisis, in which Europeans threatened the Latin American country with bombardment over its unpaid debts to them, Roosevelt successfully prevented European military intervention by threatening a naval deployment. The president formulated the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, in which the United States insisted on its hegemonic position in the Western Hemisphere and reserved the right to intervene whenever it was deemed necessary for the national security. The practical application of this new corollary followed a year after it was announced, when the Roosevelt administration took control of the Dominican Republic's treasury. By the end of the Roosevelt administration, the United States had truly joined the ranks of the imperial powers.

Frank Schumacher

See also Algeciras Conference; Cuba; McKinley, William; Monroe Doctrine; Panama Canal; Roosevelt Corollary; Spanish-American War; United States

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Roosevelt Corollary

In 1904, U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt announced a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine after several European nations threatened to invade the Dominican Republic, a small Caribbean island nation that had defaulted on its debts. Roosevelt's determination to create this corollary was prompted by the frustration he experienced in his personal dealings with Panama, his conflict with Germany over Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic's default on its European debt. The corollary's wording was direct and to the point, stating that the United States "would not intervene in Latin America as

long as nations conducted their affairs with decency." Roosevelt further warned that any Latin American nation guilty of defaulting on its European debts would be considered a hostile nation that required U.S. intervention. The United States ultimately assumed the role of policeman in guarding the Western Hemisphere.

Taking on the policeman's role was a warning to the European powers that the United States would step in when intervention was deemed necessary. This stance on foreign policy was regarded as gunboat diplomacy. This form of diplomacy not only remained in place throughout Roosevelt's administration but was also handed down to the succeeding administration of William Howard Taft. The Roosevelt Corollary, with its gunboat-diplomacy tactics, was not simply a piece of political propaganda, for the U.S. Marines were frequently sent to the Caribbean to assume control of customhouses and display the force and power of the United States. This legacy aroused a bitter anti-American sentiment that lasted throughout the twentieth century.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Monroe Doctrine; Nicaragua; Panama; Panama Canal; Roosevelt, Theodore; United States; Venezuela

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Rothschild, House of

The Rothschilds' banking house, one of the most powerful institutions in the world during the nineteenth century, was founded in 1750 by Moses Amschel Bauer, a goldsmith and moneylender who settled in the Jewish quarter of Frankfurt am Main, Germany. His son, Mayer Amschel Bauer, trained at the Oppenheimer Bank and returned to his father's business in the 1760s, gaining influence at the court of Prince William of Hanau by brokering coins and jewelry to the court. After taking the surname Rothschild, from the red shield used as a business symbol, Mayer gradually took on banking work for Hanau, including the transactions involving mercenary Hessian soldiers. The work proved lucrative enough to support the expansion of the business through his five sons, who

established branches in Paris, Naples, Vienna, Berlin, and London. During the Napoleonic Wars, the family's vast network of contacts across Europe allowed them to profit tremendously from the extended conflict, as well as to earn favors from the victorious allies by supplying intelligence.

In the nineteenth century, the family continued to prosper as investment bankers, but they were always careful to keep the business in the family, working through an extended cousinage of marriage and kin relationships. The House of Rothschild was crucial in backing bonds issued by the restored Bourbon monarchy, as well as financing both the provisional government of France in 1848 and the retirement of the deposed Clemens von Metternich. Through its European branches, Rothschilds' underwrote the great rail projects of the European imperialists and also the construction of the German High Seas Fleet and the British merchant marine. Active in the United States as well, Rothschilds' provided important early capital to Standard Oil and Carnegie Steel. Still in business today, the House of Rothschild remains one of the most extensive banking networks and substantial investment bankers in the world.

Margaret Sankey

See also Capitalism; Economics

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Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778)

Geneva-born philosopher and author Jean-Jacques Rousseau is best remembered for his anti-Enlightenment position and his theories on political, literary, and educational reform. In such works as his *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* (1750), *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality among Mankind* (1752), and *Social Contract* (written in the 1750s and published in 1762), he condemned the effects of society, which he considered artificial and corrupting, and insisted on the individual's right to free participation in the establishment of a general public will. Rousseau deplored large-scale, nation-based systems not

only because they were alienating but also because they were insufficient to meet the needs of those being governed.

Rousseau's beliefs concerning the so-called natural state of humankind and his conception of the "noble savage" colored European views of aboriginal peoples and influenced the sometimes admiring, sometimes condescending, but always disparaging way in which indigenous populations were treated by explorers, colonists, and colonial administrators. The philosopher was not in favor of mercantile systems because they benefited so few at the expense of so many, and he considered the waging of imperialist wars particularly heinous. Modern states had more than enough difficulties ministering to their own inhabitants, he argued; they had no reason to take on any more dependents, direct or indirect.

Although Rousseau's writings may not have discouraged colonialism in its infancy, they influenced the American Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the administrations of the first U.S. presidents. They directed the course of the French Revolution and informed the romantic movement that dominated the nineteenth century. Rousseau's ideas also strongly affected Karl Marx's Communist theories and shaped the development of China and the Soviet Union. Their effects on postcolonial government policies in South America, Africa, and Asia continue to be felt today.

Gail Tinsley

See also Americans, Native; Social Sciences

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Roy, Manabendra Nath (1887–1954)

Born Narendra Nath Bhattacharya in West Bengal, M. N. Roy (a name he adopted in 1916 while in the United States) began his political career as a radical nationalist in underground organizations working to end British colonial rule in India. During World War I, he negotiated with the Germans for supplies of arms and ammunition to the revolutionary movement. Forced to remain abroad after a British raid on the revolutionaries' headquarters in 1915, Roy found his way first to the

United States and then to Mexico, where he became a dedicated socialist. In Mexico, Roy published left-wing newsletters, and, after making the acquaintance of Mikhail Borodin, a Russian representative of the Communist International, he helped to found the Communist Party of Mexico. In 1919, Roy traveled to Moscow, where he presented his "Supplementary Theses to Lenin's Theses on the National and Colonial Question before the Second Congress of the Comintern," establishing him as a major theorist on colonialism and international revolution.

Roy argued that the spread of revolution in Europe depended on the breakup of colonial empires in Asia and that the Comintern should support revolutionary mass movements rather than middle-class nationalist movements. This position led him to a break with Comintern policy in China, where Russian leaders insisted that Communists subordinate themselves to the nationalist Kuomintang. During the rise to power of Joseph Stalin in Russia, Roy parted ways with the Comintern but continued to write for left-wing journals in Berlin. In 1930, he returned to India after being expelled from Germany and was imprisoned until 1936 for his affiliation with Communist revolutionaries. Roy continued as a political organizer until late in life but ultimately distanced himself from specific political parties, creating instead a political movement known as radical humanism.

Thomas Clayton Black

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; India; Stalin, Joseph

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Royal African Company

The 1682 reorganization of the Company of the Royal Adventurers resulted in a new British joint-stock company, the Royal African Company (RAC), whose operations centered mainly around the transatlantic slave trade and connected three continents. Slaves were purchased in West Africa for sale in the West Indies. There, ships unloaded their human cargo in exchange for rum and brandy and quickly set sail for England. In England, previously purchased quantities of African gold were sold to merchants in the main ports. The

RAC's ships were then loaded with manufactured goods, metal goods, and firearms, which would be taken with the West Indian spirits back to Africa for more slaves.

Considered a monopoly due to its prevalence along the Gold Coast, the Royal African Company traded primarily between this region and the West Indian islands under British control. Occasionally, some small ventures were taken to the English colony of Virginia, but those were uncommon occurrences. In the islands, RAC agents handled the auctioning and sale of slaves, the collection of proceeds, and the transfer of those funds back to England. Because the RAC was a royally sanctioned monopoly, it faced hostility from its competitors and peers. It was criticized for limiting markets, for delivering slaves of poor quality and quantity, and for simply being a monopoly.

Within a decade, this hostility had gained strength and fervor. To make matters worse, Parliament wavered in its support of the company. Being drawn into two wars by the early eighteenth century compounded the RAC's already shaky finances and trade ventures. The British dissolution of the mercantile system in favor of free trade ended the RAC monopoly in West Africa, and the West Indian colonies sought cheaper ventures with other traders. The company floundered, with periodic bouts of prosperity, until its final dissolution in 1752.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also British Empire; British West Indies; Gold Coast; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Ruanda-Urundi (Rwanda and Burundi)

Ruanda-Urundi was a small, central African territory ruled by Belgium as a League of Nations mandate after World War I. Following the establishment of German colonial interests in eastern Africa, the territory was ruled as a part of German East Africa. During World War I, troops from the Belgian Congo, participating in the East African campaign, took over the territory in 1916, one of the few successful Belgian military exercises during the war. But as a reward for its participation in the conquest of German East Africa, Belgium was

granted mandate control of this small territory on the eastern border of its large Congo colony.

Belgium's authority was less systematic than that of Germany, following more closely the pattern of its administration in the Congo. The Belgians also relied on the politically dominant Tutsi group to enforce colonial regulations and collect taxes. Belgian policies also encouraged the growth of coffee and tea exports, which became the main bases of the territory's economy. In addition, Belgian companies exploited cassiterite deposits of tin-bearing ore, which were for some time another important economic resource.

Nationalist political unrest in the Belgian Congo spilled over into Ruanda-Urundi in 1959, pitting the majority Hutu population against the colonially favored Tutsi. Following the 1960 independence of the Congo, Belgium initially attempted to maintain control over its small mandate, but by 1962, Ruanda-Urundi was granted independence on the basis of African majority rule. Very quickly, the territory was divided into two parts. The Hutu majority in Rwanda, as the first part became known, used its dominance at the polls to seize control of government and drive many Tutsi out of the small nation. But in the other part, known as Burundi, a small majority of Tutsi were able to hold on to political power while at the same time suppressing the minority Hutu. These legacies of the colonial past have continued to dominate political life in both countries of the former colonial union into the twenty-first century.

Melvin E. Page

See also Belgian Empire; Coffee; League of Nations; World War I

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Rubber

Rubber is one of a number of latex-producing tropical plants, but its potential as a commercial product was slow to develop. The pliable, milky sap hardens in a matter of hours into a dense, dark substance of great elasticity, but once cut, rubber cannot be reunited. It can only be molded into shapes when still fresh.

One of the first references to rubber was recorded by Micele de Cuneo, who accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second voyage to the New World in 1493. He described trees that produced “milk” when cut, from which the Indians made a “kind of wax.” The hard elastic balls were a novelty. An Italian ambassador wrote of a ball game played by Aztec Indians in the court of Emperor Charles V of Spain in 1524. But it was not until 1735 that a French explorer in the Amazon, Charles Marie de la Condamine, noted the first significant practical use of latex. He recorded Indians molding light rubber bottles and smearing the fresh latex on their cloaks to make them waterproof. However, European manufacturers lacked ready access to fresh latex.

Various solvents were used to dissolve the hard rubber so it could be used for waterproofing fab-

rics; a Scot, Charles Macintosh, began producing his famous waterproof clothing in 1823, using as a solvent naphtha, a waste product from his manufacturing of coal tar pitch. However, the ability to create molded articles from rubber still eluded scientists. Finally, in 1839, the American Charles Goodyear discovered that by treating crude rubber with superheated sulfur, a process known as vulcanization, the natural elasticity of rubber could be retained while increasing its resistance to the effects of temperature. The creation of the modern rubber industry awaited the development of the pneumatic tire by a Scots-Irish physician, John Boyd Dunlop. He developed it for his son's tricycle and patented it in 1888, going on to develop what became Dunlop Rubber in 1889. The development of Dunlop's air-tire coincided with the bicycle



Tappers pose beneath rubber trees in Singapore in the early twentieth century. Critical to the growing automobile industry, rubber was grown in European colonies in Southeast Asia and Africa, as well as in South America. (Library of Congress)

craze and, another innovation, the motorcar. The automobile tire laid the foundation for the rubber industry and its connection with the exploitation of colonial resources for raw material.

At first, the rubber industry depended on the collection of wild rubber from all sorts of tropical latex-bearing plants. The rubber boom swept Brazil's Amazon Basin and the Congo Free State of King Leopold. Indigenous Indians and Africans were forced by rapacious companies to collect the precious latex. The colonial authorities in Ghana and Nigeria hailed wild rubber as the basis of newfound prosperity. However, the days of the wild-rubber boom were short-lived. In 1877, the British planted a Para-type rubber plantation in Singapore with seed cultivated at Kew Gardens—the first of many such plantations in British Malaysia, French Indochina, and the Dutch East Indies—to feed the growing world demand for rubber. By 1910, plantation production had exceeded demand, and rubber prices began to fall sharply.

In 1922, the British and Dutch governments attempted to push up the price of rubber under the Stevenson Plan, a deal that was directed by Sir James Stevenson of the Johnnie Walker whisky company. The driving force for the deal was the secretary of state for the colonies, Winston Churchill. The Stevenson agreement sought to impose quotas on individual companies on the production of rubber. The Dutch and Malaysian planters were unhappy with this agreement, as was the American tire manufacturer Harvey Firestone. Rubber was America's fourth largest import by value, and U.S. president Herbert Hoover supported Firestone, who struck a deal with Liberia to pay off much of its international debt in return for rubber plantation concessions. This move was enough to undermine the Anglo-Dutch accord, and prices dropped, only to crash with the onset of the depression in 1929.

The threat to production caused by the weak market led to the 1934 Hague Rubber Convention, whereby rubber producers agreed to quotas based on previous market share. This agreement stabilized the price but encouraged countries without direct access to rubber supplies to seek substitutes. During World War I, for example, Germany relied on synthetic buna rubber from butadiene, based on research by Russian scientists. And in

World War II, when the Japanese overran the major rubber-producing regions of Southeast Asia, the United States intensified its production of synthetic rubber.

Wars invariably produced a bullish rubber market. The Korean War was no exception, but by then, many of the major rubber-producing areas of Southeast Asia were moving toward independence, often with nationalist governments that sought to supplant foreign colonial plantation management. The nationalist Viet Cong liberation war in French Indochina, Sukarno's nationalist struggles with the Dutch in Indonesia, and the so-called Communist uprising in Malaya ravaged Southeast Asian rubber production, and prices rose, leading U.S. tire producers to accuse Asian rubber dealers of profiteering and manipulating the market. By this time, Singapore hosted the world's principal rubber exchange, an important support for the nation's continuing prosperity.

David Dorward

See also Brazil; Congo Free State; Dutch East Indies; Firestone Tire and Rubber Company; French Indochina; Japanese Empire; Leopold II; Liberia; Malaysia; Nigeria; Singapore; Sukarno; World War II

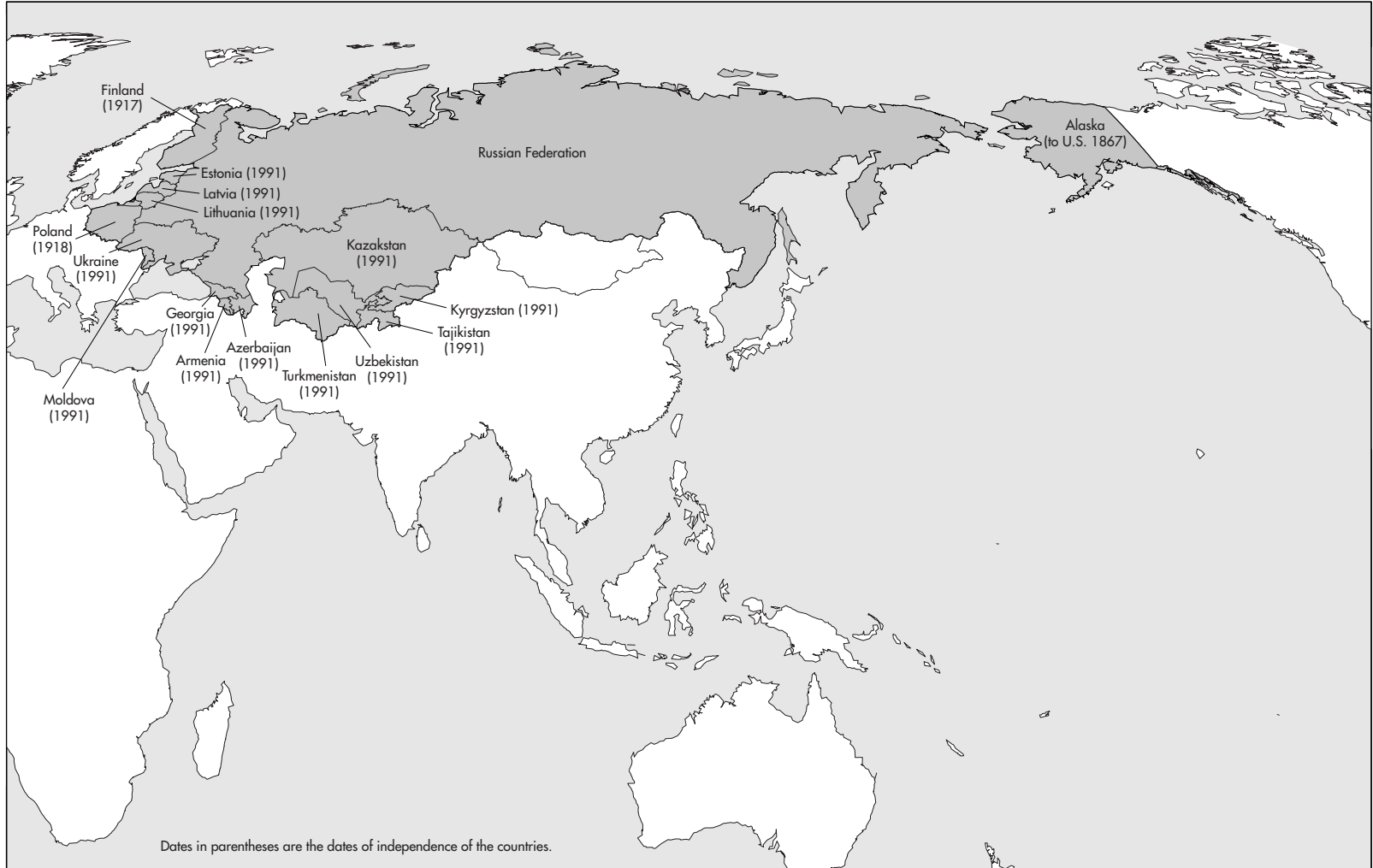
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Russian Empire

The history of imperial Russia is one of continual expansion. Like colonial governments elsewhere, Russia developed a strong civilizing mission and sought uniformity in administration and policies throughout its territories. But unlike other European states, Russia did not need to go overseas. Instead, it expanded into neighboring regions that were, for the most part, sparsely populated and loosely held by indigenous peoples. By the early years of the Romanov dynasty, Russia had already expanded its eastern borders to the Sea of Okhotsk. Ivan IV used the title “ruler of Siberia” for the first time in 1554; however, the Russian Empire

RUSSIAN EMPIRE



did not formally begin until 1721, when Peter the Great declared Russia an empire and assumed the title “emperor.”

Under Catherine the Great, Siberia was seen as a Russian territory rather than part of a colonial empire and was given an administration based on Russian forms. As in most of Russia’s frontier territories, Cossacks served both as a military force to pacify the region and as the first Slavic residents. When Russia’s central provinces became increasingly overcrowded, Siberia and the southern steppes began to attract peasants seeking land and the relative freedom that these areas provided. Serfdom was almost wholly unknown there, and the more flexible class structure allowed ample opportunities for ambitious peasants to improve their lot. During the late nineteenth century, the government instituted a formal settlement program aimed at colonizing and Russifying Siberia. The Trans-Siberian Railroad facilitated this process, providing transportation and attracting industries. Development of the railroad was part of a general borderline policy that promoted the economic development of Siberia’s vast natural resources. However, Siberia and other “empty” lands served another purpose: they were dumping grounds for prisoners and dissidents, which allowed the unwanted and discontented to be isolated from the main body of society.

Russia’s eastward movement did not stop at the Pacific Ocean. In 1784, Russians began to settle in North America, establishing forts and trading facilities along the northwestern coast. Russia’s occupation had a devastating effect on the indigenous Aleut people, dramatically reducing their numbers. In 1867, Russia relinquished its North American territories, selling Alaska, the Aleutians, and other islands to the United States.

In the reign of Alexander III, Russia moved to take advantage of China’s weak political situation by acquiring concessions in Chinese territory. There, Russia’s aims clashed with those of other colonial powers. Japan especially viewed the new Russian navy and the Trans-Siberian Railroad as elements of a pincer movement to enclose Manchuria and Korea and bring them under Russian control. Japanese concerns led to the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War. Russia’s defeat, combined with domestic difficulties, ended its influence in China.



Alexander III ruled over the Russian Empire from 1881 to 1894. An arch-conservative Russian nationalist, Alexander adopted a policy of Russification of the many non-Russian peoples of his empire. (Library of Congress)

During its earlier history, Russia had also expanded in other directions. Early southward expansion under Muscovy, including the acquisition of the Khanates of Astrakhan and Kazan, opened the way to the Crimea and the Black Sea, and the absorption of Ukraine began Russia’s movement to the east. Under Catherine the Great, Russia acquired the Crimea, the Sea of Azov, and the northern shores of the Black Sea. Although several wars were fought with the Ottoman Turks to dominate the Black Sea and secure a passage to the Mediterranean, Russia was never able to gain the warm water port it sought there.

The ethnically, religiously, and geographically fragmented Caucasus region, with its rich oil resources, pitted Russia against Persia for regional control in the eighteenth century. Russia ultimately won the contest, installing the strongest indirect rule in the empire there. A special administration finally subdued the Muslim mountain peoples, who waged a “holy war” against Russia. In the Caucasus, as in other areas, the imperial government practiced active pacification, quelling armed resistance and resettling rebellious groups.

Vacated land was then repopulated with ethnic Russians. However, the Russian government failed to profitably exploit the region's petroleum resources and finally sold oil concessions to foreign companies. Inequity in employment practices and an influx of Russian workers led to increasing ethnic animosity. In the waning years of the Russian Empire, the region was racked by the 1905 revolution and the rise of nationalist movements, especially among the Armenians.

The last area to added to the empire was Central Asia. Acquisition of this area began in the 1700s, when Russia took northern Kazak groups under its protection. After absorbing the Kazak steppes, Russia conquered the rich trading Khanates of Kokand, Bukhara, and Khiva. Although Bukhara and Khiva were not formally annexed, Russia ruled them indirectly. Fighting continued in Central Asia until the 1880s, when Russia finally subdued the warring Turkmen tribes. In this area, most Russian colonization occurred in the major towns, along the railroad lines, and in the rich steppe lands of northern Kazakhstan. In 1916, the government began military conscription of Central Asians for the first time, an act that led to a regional revolt. In 1917, the Russian Empire fell as a result of two revolutions and a civil war, although its borders were approximated by its replacement, the Soviet Union.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Alaska; Bolsheviks; Catherine the Great; China; Cossacks; Japanese Empire; Kazaks; Peter I; Romanov Dynasty; Russo-Japanese War; Serfdom; Soviet Union; Trans-Siberian Railroad; World War I

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Russo-Japanese War

The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) pitted the emerging industrial nation of Russia against modernizing Japan in a contest for control of

weakly held Chinese possessions in Korea and Manchuria. An additional goal was to thwart European imperialist aspirations in the region. Japan felt its position in Korea was threatened by Russia's newly created Pacific fleet (1898), its twenty-five-year lease on Port Arthur, and its recently completed Trans-Siberian Railroad. After a series of failed negotiations, Japan declared war on Russia on February 10, 1904, citing its expansionist tendencies as the cause. The conflict soon took on international importance as the European powers backed one side or the other in order to advance their own aims.

Fighting began with Japan's failed surprise attack on Port Arthur. After a series of land skirmishes and a sea blockade, the conflict essentially terminated in May 1905, when Japan destroyed Russia's Baltic fleet at the Battle of Tushima Straits. The peace agreement—the Treaty of Portsmouth, concluded on September 5, 1905—was brokered by the United States. Russia was forced to accept Japanese interests in Korea and to surrender Port Arthur and half of Sakhalin Island, and both Russia and Japan were required to withdraw from Manchuria. However, because the United States and England did not want Japan to emerge as a major Pacific power, the treaty was not particularly harsh for Russia; for example, Russia paid no indemnity, and it kept its railroad line through Manchuria. Domestically, Russian liberals used the war losses to gain some short-lived concessions from their government.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also China; Japanese Empire; Manchuria; Russian Empire; Trans-Siberian Railroad; War and Warfare

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Rwanda

See Ruanda-Urundi

S

Said, Sayyid

Sayyid Said ruled the Omani sultanate from 1806 to 1856, but his significance in nineteenth-century East African history stems from his role in establishing the island of Zanzibar as a primary trading node in the Indian Ocean system. Under his rule, the island increasingly became the focus of intensely competitive European and American mercantile interests. He began building Oman's control over coastal East Africa by displacing rivals in the regional trading network. Between 1813, when the East African island of Lamu submitted to his rule, and 1837, when he dispensed with the Mazrui rulers of Mombasa, Said brought the coast and nearby islands under Omani control. He cemented an alliance with the British by concluding successive agreements, beginning in 1822, to help them abolish the slave trade. Although this alliance—and other “amity and commerce” treaties signed with the French, Germans, and Americans—brought him the security benefits of the Western navies, his acquiescence on the slave-trade issue put him at odds with those who viewed the trade as a lucrative market.

In 1844, he moved his headquarters from Muscat to Zanzibar. He then developed Zanzibar's trade and production capacities to make it the most important port of the Indian Ocean. To that end, he encouraged mass cultivation of cloves on island plantations. Over time, these plantations supplanted the island's small farms and increased

the need for slave labor, while also bringing Zanzibar's aristocratic planters great wealth. Similarly, elites benefited greatly from favorable tariff arrangements and export duties exacted from coastal traders. Although Said never created formal political boundaries, his economic power over Zanzibar and the coast was substantial. In laying the groundwork for the Zanzibari ruling elites' economic power, however, he also gave Europeans an additional foothold in the extensive East African–Indian Ocean trading network—a foothold that would eventually result in British hegemony over Zanzibar.

Michelle Moyd

See also British Empire; Oman; Zanzibar

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Salazar, António de Oliveira (1889–1970)

Prime minister of Portugal from 1932 until 1968, António de Oliveira Salazar stubbornly held on to Portugal's colonies in Africa in the 1960s, in the face of African independence movements and decolonization by the other European colonial powers.

A professor of economics, Salazar began his ministerial career in 1928 as Portugal's minister of finance, with total control over the government's

expenditures. As colonial minister, he proclaimed the Colonial Act of 1930, which guided Portuguese colonial policy for almost thirty years by imposing a centralized authority over the colonies. In 1933, he introduced a new constitution for Portugal that established the *Estado Novo*, or New State. His rule was authoritarian, emphasizing stability and order. Financial austerity measures were imposed, and political opposition was suppressed. The press was censored, a secret police force was created, and dissent was punishable by imprisonment.

Although creating stability in Portugal, Salazar's protectionist economic policies underdeveloped the Portuguese colonies. They were used as suppliers of raw materials and markets for Portuguese manufactured goods, and it was Portugal, not the colonies, that benefited economically. Under Salazar, Portugal essentially disregarded the 1960 UN declaration on colonialism that called for the colonial powers to give up control of their dependent territories.

In 1961, Salazar lost control of Portugal's possessions in India (including Goa), and he made it clear that Lisbon did not intend to give up its African colonies. In response to armed resistance in Portugal's euphemistically named overseas provinces of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea (later Guinea-Bissau), Salazar increased the numbers of Portuguese troops in those territories and temporarily took over the duties of minister of defense in addition to his duties as prime minister. The colonial wars grew increasingly costly and violent, and worldwide disapproval of Portugal's colonial policy increased.

In 1968, Salazar suffered a stroke and was replaced as prime minister by Marcello Caetano, a lawyer who had served in a number of governmental posts and had been colonial minister from 1944 to 1949. Salazar died in 1970, never having set foot in any of Portugal's colonies.

Patricia Clark

See also Angola; Mozambique; Portuguese Empire

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Salt

Sodium chloride, a chemical substance essential to both human and animal diets and widely used in

food preservation, is well distributed across the globe in a number of forms. Most widely available is the salt that can be retrieved after evaporating seawater. Other sources include the inland brine springs and salt beds that were left behind when ancient seas dried up; terrestrial deposits also occur but have not been mined extensively until recently.

The ability to access and control salt sources has been important to civilizations for many centuries. Rome, for example, was founded on a site that controlled an ancient trail leading to the salt marshes a few miles away at the mouth of the Tiber River. In time, the Roman Empire eventually controlled salt sources all around the Mediterranean Sea. In addition to being a human necessity, salt was also seen as a lucrative source of government revenue. As early as 2000 B.C.E., rulers of China collected salt as a tribute from salt-rich districts in their empires. By about 200 B.C.E., the Chin dynasty taxed salt and used the revenue to finance war and public works, and its successors, the Han dynasty, is generally believed to have had the first nationwide control over salt.

Salt was a very important early trade commodity. For about a thousand years, the Phoenicians traded luxury goods and necessities, including salt, around the Mediterranean, finding an extensive network of colonies in the process. In Europe, trading communities quickly became involved in the exchange of salt; Venice by the sixth century C.E., the Hanseatic League during the fourteenth century, and later the Dutch were all deeply involved in the salt trade. European rulers were well aware of the value of salt, and monopolies—and taxes—on the commodity played an important role in the rise of eighteenth-century European nation-states.

As Europeans came to extend their influence to the rest of the world through colonial adventures, they also realized the importance of ensuring their dominance over key salt resources in their newly conquered colonies. Although not always a part of the most contested aspects of colonial rule, salt frequently did figure, at least symbolically, in the move toward decolonization, perhaps nowhere more so than in India, where Mohandas Gandhi on occasion identified his movement with the salt industry and its workers.

Ann Cameron MacRae

See also Decolonization; Gandhi, Mohandas; India

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Sandino, Augusto César (1895–1934)

Nicaraguan Augusto Sandino spent several years in Mexico and Central America while the United States occupied his homeland intermittently from 1912 to 1933. He returned to Nicaragua in 1926, a year after the U.S. Marines left, becoming a general under the Liberal government. When the U.S. troops returned in 1927, Sandino fought both them and the Nicaraguan government after the Liberal and Conservative Parties signed a pact to end the civil war.

Sandino fought from the Nicaraguan mountains between 1927 and 1933, during which time he formed the Army in Defense of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua (EDSN). At its height, the army was composed of over 6,000 people. Using guerrilla tactics, he resisted U.S. power for six years. Given his anti-imperialist credentials, Sandino was deeply offended by the U.S. manipulation of Nicaraguan affairs and called for Latin American unity against U.S. imperialism.

Washington labeled Sandino a Communist, though the characterization was largely inaccurate and unfounded. In fact, he was wary of the communism of El Salvador's Agustín Farabundo Martí and insisted his movement was nationalist and anti-imperialist.

In January 1933, the United States withdrew from Nicaragua. Sandino entered into negotiations with the Nicaraguan government, seeking an autonomous region and an end to U.S. influence over the country's National Guard. After the negotiations, on February 21, 1934, Sandino was assassinated on the orders of the U.S.-supported general Anastasio Somoza.

In the early 1960s, Sandino's name was adopted by the Sandinistas, a group that eventually overthrew the Somoza dynasty in July 1979, and his image has long been an anti-imperial symbol in revolutionary Nicaragua.

David Ryan

See also Nicaragua; United States; War and Warfare

Santa Anna, Antonio López de (1794–1876)

Antonio López de Santa Anna was a regional military leader, or *caudillo*, who fought for Mexican independence from Spain. One of the most dominant figures in Mexican political history, he later served nine terms as president (1833–1855).

Born into a middle-class family on February 21, 1794, in Jalapa, Veracruz, Santa Anna joined the Fixed Infantry Regiment in Veracruz in 1810. He fought with the royalists during the War of Independence, but in March 1821, he sided with Agustín de Iturbide's revolt. Iturbide's victory elevated Santa Anna within the new regime. However, Santa Anna quickly fell out of favor with Iturbide, which prompted him to help overthrow the monarchy in 1823. Beginning in 1829, Santa Anna fought several successful military campaigns against Spain and France, heightening his national appeal and catapulting him into the presidency.

Santa Anna began serving as president of Mexico on April 1, 1833, as part of a cooperative agreement with the federalists. In a pattern that would repeat itself over the next two decades, he soon abdicated power in favor of his vice-president. A year later, Santa Anna, distancing himself from a liberal position, captured the presidency on a conservative ticket. When Anglo-Americans in Texas attempted to achieve independence from Mexico, he led an army of 6,000 troops against them, only to be defeated and captured in 1836. Released after signing a peace treaty, he remained in exile until France invaded Mexico in 1838. Although he lost a leg, Santa Anna emerged from the war a hero and was elected president in 1839. He subsequently rose and fell from power in 1841, 1843, and 1844.

In 1846, Santa Anna fought against the United States during the Mexican-American War. Appointed president by congress that year, he soon met military defeat at Puebla, prompting him to resign the presidency on September 16, 1847. He

spent the next five years living comfortably in Venezuela. As Mexico slid into political chaos following the U.S. invasion, a conservative political coalition placed Santa Anna in power from 1853 to 1855. He ruled as a military dictator but was overthrown by liberal forces during the Revolution of Ayutla. Santa Anna played only a small role in Mexican politics thereafter. Fleeing in 1855 to Havana, Cuba, he finally returned to Mexico City in 1874. He died on June 21, 1876.

Jason Charles Newman

See also Mexico; War and Warfare

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Saudi Arabia

As home to the holiest sites in Islam, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has a significance far beyond its size and population. The expansion of Islam during the seventh and eighth centuries, originating from the Arabian Peninsula, spread as far as Spain and the Philippines. Yet Arabia's geographic remoteness later helped it avoid the fate of its neighbors during the sixteenth-century expansion of the Ottoman Empire, which would never gain more than tenuous control over portions of the peninsula. Wahhabism, an indigenous eighteenth-century movement within Sunni Islam, in alliance with the local Saud clan, challenged a declining Ottoman presence for more than a century and laid the ideological basis for subsequent efforts to establish an independent state.

During the early twentieth century, Ibn Saud (1879–1953), also known as Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman al Saud, unified most of the peninsula after a tribal struggle of nearly three decades. The region's geographic remoteness had also helped it avoid the fate of other parts of the region that fell under European control or influence in the first half of the twentieth century. The Saudi state itself was halted from expanding further by neighboring British protectorates, but the discovery of oil in 1938 greatly added to its importance, and the Saudis embarked on a massive development project subsidized by oil revenues. A consortium of U.S. oil companies, the Arabian-American Oil

Company (Aramco), came to dominate Saudi oil production; it grew into the largest oil company in the world and reached a series of mutual agreements with the Saudis for sharing revenues. Yet many in today's Saudi Arabia remain wary of outside influence, as was demonstrated by the uneasy reaction to U.S. forces entering the country during and following the 1990–1991 Gulf War and the uncertainty with which the Saudi nation has responded to modernization and Western influence.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Arabian-American Oil Company; Islam; Ottoman Empire; Petroleum

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Schumpeter, Joseph (1883–1950)

Joseph Alois Schumpeter was one of the most important economists of the first half of the twentieth century and a very influential analyst of imperialism. He was born in Triesch, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He held a variety of posts, such as administrator of the estate of an Egyptian princess, president of a private bank, consultant of the Socialization Commission in Berlin, and Austrian minister of finance for a few months in 1919. From 1909 until 1932, he also held academic posts in Cernauti and Graz in Austria and Bonn in Germany before going to Harvard for the remainder of his career. His second book, *The Theory of Economic Development* (1912), which dealt with the dynamics of modern capitalism, established his reputation, and his later work was an elaboration of this seminal text. He also wrote *Business Cycles: A Theoretical, Historical and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process* (1939) and *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942).

Schumpeter developed a social explanation for imperialism, asking who the imperialists were, what groups in society advocated imperialist policies, how these social groups came about, and how they disappeared. Likewise, he asked what function social classes performed and how different values came to characterize different classes. For Schumpeter, imperialism was a movement led by a military elite. As this elite was created by war, its continued existence and prosperity could only be secured through further wars, which were there-

fore fomented by its members to protect their interests and careers. Schumpeter's analysis was always focused on the social processes involved in the dynamics of a society. He argued that, although political and social forces were as important as economic factors for understanding society, historical forces were the most important. Economic history was not merely the history of economics but a consideration of all the social phenomena constituting historical experience.

Roger D. Long

See also Economies; Theories of Imperialism

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Science

The sciences played important roles in the development of colonial empires, from the hard sciences of technology and medicine to the social sciences of history and sociology. Whether it was the advanced mastery of weaponry or the manipulation of education, the sciences were used by imperial powers as decisive instruments to subvert indigenous cultures and control colonial subjects.

An ironic side note is that many technological and scientific discoveries were first made in areas that would later be colonized by European and other nations. The printing press, compass, and gunpowder, for example, appeared in China years before their counterparts developed in Europe. It was in Europe, however, that these discoveries were further elaborated and their full potential and power harnessed. Gunpowder would lead to the invention of the rifle and cannon, which became the superior and most critical tools of warfare used in the conquests of indigenous cultures in South America, Asia, and elsewhere.

The importance of military and technological superiority in the success of imperialism cannot be understated. However, this superiority was not the only factor at play in the imperialists' dominance, and it could not always overcome environmental obstacles that stood in their way. The west coast of Africa, for example, presented geographic

challenges that forestalled early European colonial rule for some time. European invaders attempted to enter the African continent in the fifteenth century but were turned away by the harsh rocks and cliffs that helped the Africans fight off the stronger foes. Consequently, the imperial powers of Europe abandoned Africa and headed to the Americas, where the terrain was not as difficult to overcome. Thus, the conquest of the African interior was delayed by several centuries. But it was technological advancements in areas such as shipbuilding and navigation that allowed the early European empires of the Dutch, Spanish, and British to seek out new territories in the first place. The mechanization of European labor also increased productivity and made conquering easier, with lighter and more agile and accurate weapons being developed.

Ecology and the environment were used and mistreated by colonial powers and had a large impact on the success of imperialism. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tropical deforestation practices of the British and other powers in South Africa and the East and West Indies, for example, allowed the colonial empires to displace indigenous populations and control the way land was used. Imperial powers realized how quickly deforestation could occur—a realization that helped entrench their dominant mind-set. British agricultural practices were much more advanced than those of the colonized peoples, who were helped by horses, mules, and other animals, but British practices also destroyed the native ecosystem with the introduction of additional livestock and vermin, such as rabbits, pigs, cattle, chickens, and rats. European weeds—corn chamomile, among others—ravaged the landscape, and diseases such as smallpox, measles, and influenza were spread; because the indigenous populations were not immune to these illnesses, they were quickly decimated by them.

Medical science soon emerged as yet another means of control, in terms of both protection and endurance. Even as the diseases imported to the colonies from Europe were destroying the indigenous populations, Europeans themselves had to deal with indigenous infections. The eighteenth-century French, for example, invested a great deal of monetary and human resources into their medical facilities in the Caribbean, with diseases such as syphilis, malaria, and yellow fever being a risk

to those establishing a foothold for the spice and slave trades. The medicine that was taken from Europe to the New World allowed colonialism to prosper, as diseases did not kill off its practitioners.

Biological infiltration was another means of spreading colonial rule. Local women who came in contact with European colonists often had sexual relations with them—by choice or, more often, by force—which produced a new generation of mixed-race children. This process of selective breeding was meant to introduce European blood and alleged European superiority into the colonized population, and it served as an effective method of destroying the pure native populations, as was the case in the Spanish conquest of the Inca Empire in Peru and other parts of South America in the sixteenth century.

The United States employed Darwinian theories of evolution and doctrines of the survival of the fittest in its imperial growth, acquiring new territories—Hawaii, Hispaniola, Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and others—under the banner of freeing these lands from oppressive imperialist governments such as Spain. Yet rarely, if ever, was independence or statehood offered. U.S. leaders at the dawn of the twentieth century, including Alfred Thayer Mahan and Theodore Roosevelt, believed that the United States had a mission to take up the “white man’s burden” in developing their colonies economically, politically, and religiously. A massive exploitation of foreign natural resources accompanied America’s search for new markets, as domestic surplus capital dwindled after the close of the country’s western frontier. U.S. leaders felt that the “racially inferior” peoples of the resource-rich colonies were incapable of self-government, which was the rationale they used in denying statehood or independence.

In apartheid South Africa, the white Afrikaner minority government carefully controlled the education of black Africans. The Bantu Education Act, which became law in 1953, introduced a curriculum that taught black South Africans about their supposed racial inferiority and the grim realities of their futures. Hendrik Verwoerd, who served as South Africa’s prime minister and was perhaps the greatest champion of apartheid, argued that young blacks needed to learn the hard truths of life by immersing them in the Afrikaner language and teaching them that the legal system of separation

would forever remain and that they were to play a subservient role in society. They were to be taught about the greatness of the Afrikaners and shown how those people would rule Africa’s strongest nation. This education, imparted in dilapidated schoolhouses by underpaid and uninspired teachers, also undermined the real history of black Africans.

Thus, science was used in many ways by imperial powers, most prevalently as a means to control indigenous populations by utilizing advanced knowledge and developments to undermine the colonized. This knowledge—rarely, if ever, shared with colonized peoples—helped to advance colonialism and colonial empires across the globe.

Eric J. Morgan

See also Exploration; Roosevelt, Theodore; South Africa
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Seeley, John (1834–1895)

Sir John Robert Seeley was born in London and studied at Christ’s College, Cambridge. He taught at University College, London, before returning to Cambridge in 1869 as Regius professor of modern history. There, he established his reputation as a historian of the British Empire. He was a follower of the Rankian school (a school of psychological theory, named after Viennese psychologist Otto

Rank) but believed that history was the teacher of statesmen. His *Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ* (1865), originally published anonymously, presented Christ in human terms, and in *Natural Religion* (1882), he discussed Christianity without reference to its supernatural elements. In 1878, he published the three-volume *Life and Times of Stein; or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age*, but his most famous work is *The Expansion of England* (1883), which was published at a time when there was great interest in imperial expansion due to the British occupation of Egypt. This work sold some 80,000 copies within two years and remained in print until 1956. Also successful was his *Growth of British Policy: An Historical Essay*, published in two volumes in 1895. Seeley argued that British history should be seen from the perspective of the white colonies, as they contributed to the formation of British identity. Thus, he preferred the term *Greater Britain* rather than *British Empire*. He dealt with the issue of colonial expansion and, in a famous and much-quoted remark, stated that the British had “conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind.” Believing that democracy and despotism were incompatible, he raised the question of how Britain could be despotic in India but democratic in the white colonies of Australia and Canada. For Seeley, British rule in the colonies was a trusteeship, a concept that colonial officials and policymakers used to justify British rule until the end of the empire.

Roger D. Long

See also British Empire; Literature; Theories of Imperialism

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Senegal

Senegal lies on West Africa’s Atlantic coast and borders Mauritania to the north, Mali to the east, and Guinea and Guinea-Bissau to the south. An enclave in its southern region constitutes the Gambia. Senegal’s population of about 10 million

is mostly Muslim but multiethnic. Many languages are spoken within its confines, five of which are recognized as official: French, Wolof, Serer, Fulani, and Tukuleur. Covering about 76,000 square miles, the country is governed by a president, a prime minister, a council of ministers, and a unicameral national assembly, elected by direct popular vote. Suffrage is universal.

Inhabited since ancient times, the region was reached by Islam in the ninth century. It saw the flowering of medieval kingdoms and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1444; they were replaced by the Dutch and then the French, who ruled ever larger sections of Senegal for three centuries and used the colony as a springboard for their conquests. French companies flourished for two centuries, trading slaves, gold, and gum. After the abolition of slavery, potential profits from the peanut trade motivated Napoleon III to send a capable governor, Louis Faidherbe, to Senegal. The new governor expanded French control of the interior, built forts along the Senegal River, and stopped Al-Hajj Umar Tal’s jihad.

Throughout the colonial era, Senegal remained the heart of France’s West African empire. Black troops—the Senegalese sharpshooters instituted by Faidherbe—were trained there to fight for the conquering French all the way eastward to Lake Chad and to defend France in two world wars. In addition, the first railways, later to be expanded to the Niger River, were built there, and French schools were opened to train the needed labor force. In the 1870s, four Senegalese communes—St.-Louis, Gorée, Rufisque, and Dakar—received special status. Their male inhabitants were granted French citizenship with full political rights regardless of race, provided they knew French. In 1916, they sent their first black representative, Blaise Diagne, to the French National Assembly. All other Senegalese remained subjected to the *indigénat* (law of indigenous people), which imposed taxation and forced labor and deprived blacks of the protection of French courts.

French pacification efforts entailing battles against local sovereigns, such as Lat Dior Diop, and Muslim leaders, such as Mamadou Lamine, continued. The French attempted to make the colony economically viable. Exports of peanuts and gum grew, but the basic policy of sending profits back to France deprived Senegal of the resources needed for local development.

In the twentieth century, a number of Senegalese representatives in the French government, such as Lamine Guèye, became influential in the struggle for civil rights. Foremost among them was the poet and statesman Léopold Sédar Senghor. Prominent after 1946, Senghor sought a synthesis between the French and Senegalese cultures. He endeavored to have full French citizenship rights extended to all colonial subjects. In 1958, he encouraged the Senegalese to approve membership in the new French Community as a step toward independence. He was elected as independent Senegal's first president in 1960.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Faidherbe, Louis; French Empire; French West Africa; Senghor, Léopold Sédar

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Senghor, Léopold Sédar (1906–2001)

Léopold Sédar Senghor, first president of the Republic of Senegal and founder of the literary movement Négritude, had a distinguished career as a poet, scholar, soldier, and statesman. Senghor was born on August 9, 1906, in Joal, a coastal trade settlement in the Sine-Saloum region of Senegal. His early life was shaped both by the Serer and Christian traditions of his family and by having grown up under French colonial rule. Educated in Catholic schools, he intended to pursue a career in the priesthood. While at the seminary, Senghor first confronted the contradictions inherent in the French policy of assimilation that claimed to uphold the equality of all yet assumed the superiority of European culture and civilization. Dismissed from the seminary for protesting the racism of the fathers, Senghor finished his education at the Public Secondary School in Dakar and earned a scholarship to continue at the Lycée Louis le Grand in France.

As a student in France in the 1920s, Senghor discovered the work of the Harlem Renaissance writers and encountered radical students from the French Caribbean who criticized capitalism and called for an end to colonialism. Inspired by the

cultural and political ideals of these groups, he joined Aimé Césaire of Martinique and Léon Damas of French Guiana in founding the Négritude movement as an affirmation of African history and culture. In addition to their individual writings, members of the group published *L'étudiant noir* (Black Student) as the principal journal of the movement.

In 1935, Senghor was the first African to pass the *agrégation*, France's test for its highest teaching degree, which allowed him to teach Latin; he became a naturalized French citizen and was drafted into the colonial infantry of the French military. During World War II, he was captured by the Germans and survived two years as a prisoner of war. In 1945, at the end of the war, Senghor published his first volume of poetry, *Chants d'ombre* (Shadow Songs), and entered politics as a candidate for the Senegalese Socialist Party; for two years, he served as deputy from Senegal in the French National Assembly. Between 1956 and 1958, Senghor was actively involved in the development of party politics and emerged as the leader of the Union Progressive Senegalaise (later known as the Socialist Party).

In 1958, France gave its African colonies the option of voting for autonomy but continued association with France or complete independence. Senghor voted for association and proposed gradual negotiations for independence, and then he supported the idea of a federation between francophone West African states. The short-lived federation, however, was dissolved within a year, and on August 20, 1960, Senegal was declared a republic. Senghor was chosen as its first president and remained in that position until his retirement in 1980. Four years later, Léopold Sédar Senghor was elected to the Académie Française, the most esteemed cultural institution in France, for his contribution to French language and literature. Senghor died in 2001.

Hilary Jones

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; French Empire; French Language; Senegal

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Serbia

Reaching the apex of dynastic rule during the mid-fourteenth century under Czar Stefan Dusan, Serbia expanded along its southern and eastern borders into Byzantine territory. The czar was succeeded by a weak son, and the kingdom declined until the Turks defeated the Serbian army in two decisive battles on the River Marica and at the Battle of Kosovo. For the next five centuries, the Ottoman Empire ruled Serbia, persecuting the aristocracy and Christian Serbs. Resistance and agitation for independence resurfaced during the Austrian-Turkish War (1593–1606), but at the conclusion of hostilities, the Ottomans crushed the uprising. During the Great War between Turkey and the Holy Alliance (1683–1690), the rulers of Austria, Venice, and Poland encouraged Serbian rebels to agitate against the Turks again. Near the conclusion of the war, as the Austrians pulled back, they persuaded many Christian Serbs to seek protection under the patriarch and the Austrian monarchy. Uprisings in 1804 and 1815 eventually led to a transformation within the country, and by 1878, the Serbs proclaimed the Kingdom of Serbia.

In 1903, King Petar I, a European-educated monarch, established a parliamentary democracy. The outbreak of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) interrupted reforms but ended Turkish domination in the region. After the assassination of the Austrian crown prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo, Austria and its allies overpowered Serbian forces, sparking World War I. Formally joining with Croats and Slovenians to form Yugoslavia in 1918, various factions attempted to weaken the monarchy but failed. In 1934, King Aleksander I was assassinated in Paris. Croats seized the opportunity to create their own separate administrative province within Yugoslavia.

During World War II, the country experienced heavy German bombardment and the creation of Nazi death camps. Under German occupation, the Independent State of Croatia initiated a policy of genocide against 750,000 Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies. The defeat of Nazi forces paved the way for Josip Broz Tito to reestablish a united Yugoslavia, which

remained stable until his death in 1980. In 1991, the international community supported the Croat desire for independence. Serbia and Montenegro agreed to remain in the federation, formally adopting the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on April 27, 1992.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Byzantine Empire; Ottoman Empire; World War I; World War II

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Serfdom

After the demise of the Carolingian empire in the tenth century, feudal lords gained control of Western Europe. These lords established serfdom as a means of providing a source of agricultural labor. In this complex labor system, the lord owned the manor and the land, and the serfs and their families worked the land to support the community around them.

Serfs and their families were given small subsistence plots but were taxed on the produce and profits they reaped. They also paid the lord for any grain and equipment that they used. Although they were not slaves, serfs were not allowed to leave the land or their duties. Furthermore, like slaves, their social and legal status was hereditary. They did not have any civil rights and were legally attached to the land. This meant that if the land was transferred to someone else, the serfs were transferred along with it. In return for their labor and support, the lord was obligated to support his serfs and protect them from harm. He enforced his hold through various manorial courts and administrations. As with slavery, some serfs found freedom through manumission and escape or via the purchase of their own liberty. Nonetheless, the lord always controlled their freedom and determined whether they would achieve it.

With the discovery of the New World and the expansion of empire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Western European economy, population, and legal structure changed. Small manors were replaced by larger colonial holdings, which were increasingly worked by African slave

labor. Within the home countries, lords could now hire skilled workers to work when needed, which saved the lord money. Industrialization further weakened the system, as serfs could gain higher-paying positions in the cities. As a result, serfdom ceased to exist in Western Europe by the end of the sixteenth century. It continued under a new name in the colonial world with the introduction of African slave labor.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Economics; Labor; Land; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Servitude, Indentured

Under a system of indentured servitude, an individual is owned by another person for a specific length of time. This labor system existed throughout the colonial Americas. It continued in the United States and Mexico until about 1836 and in the British West Indies until World War I. Originally, it was intended as a way to pay for ship passage to colonies owned by France and England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it had become a form of de facto slavery by the mid-nineteenth century. West Africans went to Virginia as indentured servants until the late seventeenth century. Afterward, European colonists considered Africans as slaves for life. In addition, German and French colonists often began their stays in the British and French colonies of North America and the Caribbean as indentured servants; sometimes, Germans also worked off an exit fee or an indemnity (*Freikaufsgeld*). By the mid-eighteenth century, Pennsylvania and Maryland Germans equated their status with slavery, even though servitude was temporary. At that time, adults worked three to six years; children

and youths worked until age twenty-one. In some cases, children paid the passage for elderly relatives by working extra years.

In response to the Pennsylvania Gradual Abolition Act amended in 1788, over 400 German and French slave owners from the Caribbean turned their African American slaves into indentured servants. People born as slaves after this date worked as servants until age twenty-eight, with the last being freed around 1815; adults worked until about 1795. More females than males experienced this shift in status. In 1818, Louisiana legislators simultaneously stopped slave imports and boosted indentured servitude. Their legislation approved the “sale” of Swiss, German, and Dutch orphans, and it also set terms for Haitian male mulatto refugees. Formal indentures such as these continued until about 1830. Under Mexican rule, Texans saw a transformation in the status of slaves brought into the region: they became indentured servants for life. This form of indentured servitude ended in Texas with the republic’s independence in 1836. At the same time, indentured servitude for German immigrants was revived in Texas and throughout the United States. By the mid-nineteenth century, then, what began as a way for immigrants from Africa and Europe to pay for ship passage had become a way for de facto slave owners to maintain control of their workforce, before the system shifted back to its original purpose. That shift continued in the British West Indies as Chinese and Asian Indians became indentured servants on sugar plantations. Indentured servitude in one form or another persisted in the British West Indies until World War I.

Lauren Ann Kattner

See also Labor; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Seven Years' War (French and Indian War)

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was the definitive mercantile struggle between two of Europe's chief colonial states, Britain and France, and the indigenous peoples whose territories and resources they wished to control. As in previous wars, their colonial conflicts provided points of leverage for European disputes. The strategies of making territorial gains and threatening enemy commerce were frequently employed to gain advantages in negotiated peace settlements. Therefore, although local interests were important to many contemporary European observers, the mercantile interests of Britain and France in the Americas and India were also at stake. For Native Americans and the people of India, the conflict became a question of preserving their autonomy and control over their territory.

Although the war was formally declared as a result of various states contending for supremacy in Central Europe, this context was incidental to competing interests in North America. Unable to resolve territorial disputes going back to the beginning of the century, European settlers and soldiers, assisted by Native American allies, pursued a low-grade conflict from the early 1750s in the Acadia region. In the Caribbean, British and French navies contended for the few remaining islands on which they could establish lucrative sugar and tobacco plantations. South of the St. Laurence River, the French, fearful of British expansion across the natural divide provided by the Appalachian Mountains, erected a string of forts down the Ohio River valley to solidify their claim. This action prompted British colonial assemblies to respond in kind, challenging the erection of

French forts in a series of skirmishes in the early 1750s.

The other party to this territorial dispute comprised several Native American nations, most of which were collectively represented by the powerful Iroquois Federation. As the region's original inhabitants, these people had enjoyed (and often endured) ongoing relationships with the European settlers and traders for more than a century. The expanding British settlement on the Atlantic seaboard was a cause for concern for the Iroquois and their subjects, as they saw their lands shrink between competing French and British claims. The shifting alliances that the confederation and other nations entered into with British and French concerns had preserved their autonomy and control of their lands and frequently tilted the balance of the conflict.

This fact was clearly evident as the French and British began to fight in earnest in 1756. Britain and France both relied heavily on their Native American allies, and at the start, the French enjoyed better relationships with many of the local nations outside of the Iroquois confederacy. They used this situation to their advantage, and by 1757, French and Native American raids on the British frontier were common occurrences. However, the French were not able to sustain the initiative. With firm British control of the seas, it was nearly impossible for France to supply its colonists and troops, and its losses started to mount. This, in turn, undermined its Native American support, and the British victories turned the tide. By 1760, the British and their Native American allies held the upper hand in North America.

Though hostilities with the French largely ceased after the fall of Montreal in 1760 and though peace accords were signed in 1762, Britain's security in North America would not be complete for another four years. Frustrated by what was perceived to be British bad faith as aggressive speculators hungrily mapped out new developments in Native Americans' territories west of the Appalachians, a coalition of aggrieved nations from the Great Lakes region, including the Seneca, Ottawa, Huron, Delaware, and others, raided British frontier settlements in what came to be known as Pontiac's War. Ironically, the British Parliament, in an attempt to honor these grievances, approved the Proclamation of 1763, which

clearly restricted colonial economic activity west of the Appalachians. This move was perceived by American colonists as the first of many high-handed parliamentary actions that would lead to revolt. Only the use of smallpox as a weapon (surprisingly introduced by British commanders) and deceitful negotiation exhausted the Native Americans' efforts. Although the earliest treaties with other European powers concerning North America regarded Native American lands as British possessions, it was not until this conflict that this informal arrangement became official.

As the war altered the political landscape of the North American continent, major changes were also being forged by events in India. These changes, however, are better understood as part of the decline of Mughal imperial influence dating from the 1720s. Starting at that point, powerful Mughal officials began to carve out regions of autonomous rule, while giving token indications of loyalty to the emperor. The rise of these Muslim nabobs, along with the increasing aggression of the Hindu Marathi Confederacy, signified the political transformation of the region. The presence of European trading companies, notably the French *Compagnie des Indes* and the British East India Company, further complicated political matters. These companies increasingly augmented their small European militias with Indian troops (*sepoys*) to protect trade goods and further mercantile interests in the local economy. It also became common for competing companies to support opposing factions in local power struggles in order to enhance their commercial positions. Moreover, conflicts among the European nations often were expressed in military activity between surrogate mercantile interests (as was the case with French and British disputes in the Carnatic region during the years of the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s). Consequently, these companies were political as well as commercial agents, which would eventually give rise to British colonial control of India.

Thus, the events of the war were part of broader processes that motivated the military activity of European companies in the Indian subcontinent. There were two principal regions of conflict, and in both, the British were able to secure a superior political position over both French and Indian interests. In 1756, the British East India Company

forces overthrew the nabob of Bengal, who tried to obtain greater tribute from the port revenues of Calcutta and had destroyed the company outpost in the process. In the Coromandel region, the *Compagnie des Indes* had a greater presence. The declaration of the Seven Years' War provided the French with an excuse to handle the competition problem directly. Attacking with forces composed of regulars, the company's militia, and *sepoys*, they took British company settlements at Fort St. David and laid siege to another at Fort St. George, south of Madras. Total success was thwarted by the presence of the British navy, which by then had control of the Indian Ocean and was able to limit French resources. After breaking the siege, the British company militia took the initiative, and by 1761, it had secured victories over French forces at Wandiwash and Pondicherry, effectively ending the French presence in India.

This conflict was critical in establishing Great Britain as the preeminent colonial power. Though the territorial gains were considerable, powerful commercial interests as well as insecurity over the administrative tasks involved in managing a new empire led Britain to make several concessions to the French during settlement negotiations. Ultimately, however, the British achieved a great deal. They secured their territorial expansion in North America, including Canada and lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. They obtained valuable islands in the Caribbean Sea for the production of lucrative consumer commodities. They gained a formal foothold in Africa around the Senegal River. And though they conceded much to the French in India and enjoyed only limited formal political control there, their influence would expand in the years to come.

Nicholas Rowe

See also American, Native; British East India Company; British Empire; Canada; French Empire; Iroquois Federation; Paris, Treaty of; Quebec; War and Warfare

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Sèvres, Treaty of (1920)

An abortive and never ratified peace treaty between the defeated Ottoman Empire and the World War I Allies (without Russia and the United States) was concluded in Sèvres, France, on August 10, 1920. The treaty envisaged the virtual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and called for large-scale territorial changes and the redistribution of imperial control in the Near East.

According to the treaty, the Ottoman Empire was to recognize the independence of its former Arabian possessions in Hejaz and to cede Mesopotamia and Palestine as mandates to Britain; Syria and Lebanon as mandates to France; Turkish Armenia to the independent Republic of Armenia; and the Eastern Thrace including Gallipoli and the Turkish Aegean Islands to Greece. Smyrna and the adjacent area were to be administered by Greece for five years, after which a plebiscite was to be held. A plebiscite was also planned for Kurdistan.

Additionally, Turkey renounced all its claims to the ethnically non-Turkish territories. The Ottoman government confirmed the Italian possession of the Dodecanese and Rhodes and the British control over Cyprus and Egypt. The Turkish Straits were to be demilitarized and internationalized. The coastal regions around Antalya and Adana (Cilicia) were to be occupied by Italy and France, respectively, as their spheres of influence. Further, the strength of the Turkish army was limited to 50,000 men, and the country was placed under the de facto entente's protectorate.

The harsh conditions of the treaty engendered great resentment in Turkey and in the republican nationalist movement under Kemal Ataturk, which refused to recognize the Treaty of Sèvres. The successes of the nationalists during the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1923) forced the Allies to negotiate a new treaty with Turkey in Lausanne in 1923.

Peter Rainow

See also Armenia; Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal; Cyprus; Egypt; Lebanon; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; Syria; Turkey; World War I

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Shaka (Shaka Zulu)

Founder of the Zulu nation during the early nineteenth century, Shaka was the son of Senzangakone, a Zulu chieftain, and Nandi, the daughter of a neighboring eLangeni chieftain. The union violated the rules of exogamy, and the child grew up as a despised embarrassment to both clans. He spent his early adult years in the army of the Mthethwa chief Dingiswayo, who was building a Mthethwa hegemony in coastal Natal. Shaka rose rapidly, developing his own political philosophy in the process: war was not the final step of diplomacy but rather the first, and only an enemy that had been broken could truly be subordinated. He also developed the short, stabbing *assegai*, or spear, that was to become the trademark of the Zulu *impis* (regiments).

Among the clans subjugated by Dingiswayo were the Zulu, and Shaka, given his parentage, was a logical choice as a loyal replacement for Senzangakone. Therefore, on Senzangakone's death in 1816, Dingiswayo dispatched Shaka with an escort to assume control, which he did after disposing of Senzangakone's chosen successor, Sigujana. Once in power, Shaka began forging the Zulu into an aggressive, expansionist state. Death was the penalty for failure, an incentive that led to the rapid transformation of Zulu society. Ruling from a newly constructed *krall* (homestead) that he called KwaBulawayo ("The Place of Him Who Kills with Afflictions"), he built a highly disciplined army, initially based on four age-defined regiments and drilled in the close-quarters tactics of the iKlwa.

While Dingiswayo lived, Shaka could not afford to move against the Mthethwa, but he did conquer small neighboring clans, starting with the eLangeni. Those of the clan who had made his youth miserable were impaled on the stakes of the kraal, which was set alight at dusk. The survivors of these conquests were simply absorbed by the Zulu. Within a year, Zulu holdings had quadrupled in size. Dingiswayo was killed and the Mthethwa humbled by a rival chief of the Ndwandwe, Zwide,

in 1817. Zwide made an immediate bid for paramountcy in Natal, but despite having an advantage in numbers, he failed to crush the Zulu. By the winter of 1819, the Ndwandwe had been smashed, and Zwide died a fugitive among the baPedi. With this major rival out of the way, Shaka was able to consolidate control of Natal by 1824. In the process, he destroyed the traditional clan structure and welded the diverse peoples he came to dominate into a single nation.

In that same year, official contact with Europeans was made through the infant colony of Port Natal on Delagoa Bay. On August 7, 1824, Shaka signed a treaty with the adventurer Francis George Farewell, marking a formal, if imprecise, recognition of the British presence. Three years later, Shaka tried to send a delegation to King George II while at the same time raiding the tribes along the borders of the Cape Colony. The embassy never made any substantive contact with British officials, let alone the king.

Shaka's rule in Natal was absolute, and casual executions on the whim of the monarch occurred daily. On the death of his mother in 1827, a mass bloodletting ordered by an unbalanced Shaka claimed some 7,000 lives. His constant military campaigns and refusal to allow most of his warriors to marry soured his reputation among the regiments. In addition, the killings became increasingly capricious, brutal, and bizarre—in one instance, over 100 pregnant women were slaughtered to satisfy his passing curiosity with embryology. A conspiracy organized by Shaka's half brother Dingane grew during 1828, culminating in the assassination of Shaka at KwaDukuza on September 22. Dingane assumed leadership of the Zulu, eliminating the excesses of his predecessor yet retaining the military and social changes that Shaka had forged.

Melvin C. Smith

See also British Empire; Natal; South Africa; War and Warfare; Zulus

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Shakespeare, William (1564–1616)

The works of William Shakespeare cannot be fitted neatly into any category, even one as broad as

colonialism. However, of all of Shakespeare's plays, the two that have commanded most attention in terms of their relationship to the themes of colonialism and postcolonialism are *Othello* and *The Tempest*. The former dramatizes the relationship between the black general Othello and Desdemona, his white wife. The play has much to do with issues of interracial relationships, gender, and age differences, issues that torment us even today. Quite apart from Othello's tragic flaw—his credulity—he is vulnerable to the malevolent Iago's references to racial and cultural differences between the general and his wife. The play shows how racial, gender, and cultural differences may be used as acid to corrode the very foundation of love on which the future is built.

In *The Tempest*, Shakespeare explored the theme of colonial conquest and subjugation. Prospero is thrown up on an island, usurps the land, exploits its resources as if by right, and enslaves the people of the island, including Caliban. In return, he teaches Caliban his language and gives to him a certain degree of learning to make him a more useful servant. Prospero is both authoritarian toward and protective of his daughter, Miranda. Caught up in his own rage and resentment, Caliban attempts to rape Prospero's daughter. In this play, Shakespeare demonstrated the grotesque effects of colonialism on colonizer and colonized alike. Prospero is warped by his hunger for power, Caliban by his thirst for revenge. It is a mark of Shakespeare's genius that many of the best contemporary writers—notably George Lamming, Derek Walcott, and Robertson Davies—are still reinterpreting and reenvisioning the play.

Daizal R. Samad

See also British Empire; Elizabeth I; Literature

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Shanghai

Opened to Western residence and trade in 1843 after Britain's victory in the First Opium War, Shanghai soon became the main center of Sino-foreign commercial contact. Industrial investment

fueled its economic and demographic growth, particularly after 1895, when Japan and the Western powers gained the right to build factories in China. Foreign and Chinese entrepreneurs soon made Shanghai China's greatest center of commerce, banking, and manufacturing.

Shanghai was divided into three separate administrative areas: the international settlement dominated by the British, the French concession, and the Chinese territory. The first two were controlled by foreigners, who only permitted limited Chinese political participation in the early twentieth century, despite the fact that the Chinese constituted the vast majority of residents and paid most of the taxes. Since the foreign settlements remained outside the jurisdiction of the Chinese government, they became havens for Chinese refugees and dissidents. The Chinese Communist Party held its first meeting in the French concession in 1921.

As a cosmopolitan city that attracted many nationalities and contained many modern educational and cultural institutions, Shanghai served as a main entry point for Western ideas and ideologies. Given its concentration of intellectuals, students, and workers, it was also a hotbed of political activism, with a long history of student protests and worker strikes against imperialism. A notable example is the May 30 Movement of 1925, triggered by the killing of a Chinese worker at a Japanese mill. The May 30 massacre of a dozen protesters by the police of the international settlement led to a general strike at Shanghai and sympathy demonstrations in dozens of other cities. The Communist Party became active in mobilizing workers, and it organized a general strike and armed insurrection in 1927 that paved the way for the capture of Shanghai by the Kuomintang (KMT) troops, before Chiang Kai-shek turned against his Communist allies and massacred them. Despite KMT repression and efforts to co-opt the student and labor movements, there were numerous popular protests in the 1930s against the upsurge of Japanese imperialism and also against KMT's refusal to set aside its campaign vis-à-vis the Communists and ally with all patriotic parties to oppose Japanese incursions into China.

The semicolonial era of Shanghai was ended by the Japanese, who occupied the Chinese municipality in 1937 and the international settlement in

1941. The Western powers renounced their treaty rights in January 1943. The unified city of Shanghai was placed by the Japanese under the nominal control of the puppet Chinese government in August of that year. Full Chinese sovereignty over Shanghai was restored with the defeat of Japan in 1945.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Chiang Kai-shek; China; Chinese Communist Party; Japanese Empire; Opium Wars

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Shintoism

Shinto is the religion of Japan. No founder is associated with this ancient and polytheistic faith. The word *Shinto* is compounded from the Chinese *shen* (divine being) and *tao* (the way); the Japanese name is *kami no michi* (the way of the *kami*). The *kami* are gods and spirits that exist in nature and are considered proper to venerate because of their numinous qualities and powers, similar in many ways to Roman numen. Most are unpersonified powers of nature (trees, streams, mountains), although some do eventually end up as anthropomorphic deities, chief of which would be the goddess Amaterasu, the great *kami* of the sun. It is possible that she was the tutelary *kami* of the Yamato clan, achieving her status with the rise of that clan. According to tradition, the Japanese people are descended from the *kami*, and the emperors trace their ancestry to Amaterasu. Although the origins of Shinto are unclear, the faith probably stems from ancient traditions and ideas about nature. There are no organized scriptures or theology and no agreed on list of deities, for the *kami* are too numerous to catalog—*yaoyorozu no kami* (vast myriads of *kami*).

Shinto has been described as a set of customs and rituals rather than a system of theology and ethics. There is considerable stress on purity and obedience to authority, as well as gratefulness for the blessings of life that the *kami* have bestowed on humanity.

Veneration of the *kami* is central to Shinto. Early rituals were directed at the preservation of

everyday life and survival against the forces of nature, calling for bountiful crops; safety from fire, earthquake, and storm; plentiful rain; healthy and numerous children; and so forth. Kami may be venerated in man-made shrines (*jinja*, *miya*, *yashiro*, and variations), at natural sites, or at a combination of both. Thus, veneration occurs in various settings, among them the household, shrines, and seasonal religious festivals, for Shinto is a system arrived at more by amalgamation than by deliberate design. Animal sacrifices are forbidden. Cult practices are minimal, and offerings are usually vegetables, grain, and rice; the rice offered to kami is ideally grown in a sacred field or paddy, worked only by women. Originally, women shamans apparently officiated at these cult ceremonies.

After the advent of Buddhism from China, Shinto and Buddhism coexisted more or less peacefully, despite some opposition from the traditional-minded aristocracy, until modern times, since neither excluded the other from its notions of proper religious practice. Shinto has gone through many changes since the 500s C.E. Today, it exists in several forms, including Imperial Household Shinto, Shrine Shinto, Sect Shinto, New Sect Shinto, and Folk Shinto. During the Meiji Restoration, State Shinto became important, resulting in the government's control of most shrines and rituals as a means of advancing the ideological and cultural aims of the Meiji government, particularly its association with the imperial household and the divinity of the emperor. Ultimately, State Shinto would be used to assert and support ultranationalism, militarism, and the goals of a Japanese empire in the twentieth century, until the end of World War II. Concern on the part of the Allies—and among many Japanese as well—that Shinto had become mere propaganda, rather than religion, led to the disestablishment of State Shinto. It was placed on the same legal basis as other religions.

William Douglas Burgess Jr.

See also Buddhism; China; Japanese Empire; Religion

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Siam

See Thailand

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone, the name given to a mountainous peninsula in West Africa by Portuguese explorers, was a site of European trade for slaves, ivory, and spices, beginning in the fifteenth century. Although many European nations traded there, none exercised control over the peninsula before the nineteenth century.

In 1787, British abolitionists established Freetown on Sierra Leone as a settlement for freed English slaves. During the 1790s, Freetown grew under the private Sierra Leone Company, which transported escaped American slaves from Nova Scotia and Maroons (free blacks) from Jamaica. These people spoke English, and many were literate Christians. After outlawing the slave trade in 1807, Great Britain established the Colony of Sierra Leone in 1808, whence naval patrols sailed to capture slave ships along West Africa's coast. The British navy eventually carried over 50,000 "recaptives" to Freetown. Since these recaptives, known as *Krios* (derived from the word *Creole*), did not share a common language or culture, the colonial government sought to create a homogeneous, Christian society by encouraging Protestant missionaries and pastors, of both European and African origins, to work in the settlement. This policy was highly successful, and in 1876, the Church Missionary Society established Freetown's Fourah Bay College, West Africa's first college, to train teachers and missionaries. During the nineteenth century, Krios resettled throughout West Africa, often as traders or missionaries, and formed an educated elite; among them were James Africanus Beale Horton and Samuel Adjai Crowther.

Economic changes following the decline of the slave trade resulted in a greater European demand for Sierra Leonean products, such as timber, palm oil, and peanuts. To secure these resources, Great Britain established a protectorate in the Freetown hinterland in 1896, which provoked an unsuccessful

ful revolt by indigenous leaders. Subsequently, the British gradually replaced the Krios in government positions, and development stagnated.

After World War II, Britain yielded to nationalist demands, and parliamentary rule was established with the 1951 constitution. In 1961, the Republic of Sierra Leone became an independent member of the British Commonwealth, under President Milton Margai.

Chris S. Duvall

See also British Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Sikhism

The Sikh religion has nearly 20 million adherents in India, most of them in the Province of the Punjab, the Sikh homeland, and over 1 million followers around the world, primarily in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. The word *Sikh* comes from *sisya* (disciple). The history of the Sikhs falls into three main periods: the age of the gurus (1469–1708), when the Sikh community was formed and led by ten spiritual leaders; the great age of Sikh history (1708–1849), when the Sikhs built an empire in the Punjab; and the period of British domination and independence that began in 1849, when the Sikhs adjusted to being a minority group once again.

The Sikh religion originated when the guru Nanak (1469–1539) and nine succeeding gurus developed a way of life derived from combining some of the traditions of the Hindus with the mysticism of Muslim Sufism. The faith recognizes one God as creator, and it rejects the caste system in favor of an egalitarian community. Nanak chose Angad (1504–1552) as his successor guru, and the latter began to compile the Sikh hymns. The third guru, Amar Das (1479–1574), organized the Sikhs under twenty-two local leaders and instituted the tradition of the communal meal (*langar*). The fourth guru, Ram Das (1534–1581), established the Sikh holy city of Amritsar, and the fifth guru, Ram Das's son Arjun (1563–1606), constructed the Golden Temple in the center of the sacred lake at Amritsar; he also produced the authoritative collection of devotional texts, the *Adi Granth* (Original Book). Guru Hargobind (1606–1644) constructed the

Akal Takht, the seat of temporal authority opposite the Golden Temple, and the tenth and last Sikh guru, Gobind Singh (1666–1708), began the transformation of the Sikhs into a warrior community and declared that henceforth there would be no more gurus; the guru Granth Sahib would be the permanent guru as his teachings contained all the teachings of the first ten gurus. The *Panth* (community of Sikhs) would have authority over the followers.

On April 13, 1699, Gobind Singh established the *Khalsa* (company of the pure), the martial community of the Sikhs, when he baptized some 20,000 men and decreed that all male Sikhs would take the surname Singh (meaning “lion”) and all Sikh females would be named Kaur (meaning “li- oness” or “princess”). Each member of the Khalsa would wear five items: *kesh* (long hair), *kanga* (comb), *kara* (steel wristband), *kachh* (short breeches), and *kirpan* (sword). The Sikh martial tradition developed by Gobind Singh continues today, and the bearded Sikhs are considered the guardians of orthodoxy. In the early eighteenth century, the Sikhs abolished the *zamindars* (land- lords), giving the land directly to the cultivators and creating a very productive agricultural state in the Punjab. In 1801, Ranjit Singh, “the Lion of the Punjab,” founded a powerful Sikh empire that lasted until the British took over the Punjab in 1849.

Roger D. Long

See also Hinduism; India; Islam; Religion

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Silver

Silver was widely mined in many colonial territories, often in conjunction with other nonferrous metals. In Spain's American empire, silver mining centered around Mexico and Peru and was much more important than gold mining in terms of the value and volume exported and the role it played in sustaining wider economic development and urbanization and attracting people into the less hospitable Andean interior. By far the most important single mine was at Potosí in Upper Peru–Bolivia.

Indigenous smelting techniques, superior to those of the Europeans, were replaced in the sixteenth century by the patio process, which facilitated treatment of lower-grade ores. Pulverized silver ore and mercury were pounded, by Indian feet or machinery, into an amalgam, from which the mercury was then evaporated. This helped increase royal revenues through the royal *quinto* (one-fifth of all minerals produced) and through a royal monopoly on Spanish and American mercury. By 1800, Potosí had yielded over 60 million troy pounds of silver. American silver enabled Spain to pursue its European adventures and, along with increased Central European output, was a major factor in sixteenth-century price inflation.

Nowhere else in Europe's overseas empires, formal or informal, did silver play such a major role, except indirectly in India and China. Europe produced relatively little that Asians wanted in exchange for their highly prized spices, textiles, and other commodities. This meant that Europeans had to pay for such goods with major amounts of silver; without American silver, the large volume of East-West trade would not have been possible. In a mercantilist age, European trading nations found this situation unacceptable. Among other efforts to balance its books, the British East India Company promoted the export of Indian-produced opium to China. When the Chinese grew alarmed by the widespread addiction that ensued and attempted to halt or limit the opium imports, the British fought the Opium Wars to protect the trade.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Bolivia; Economics; Mexico; Opium Wars; Peru; Potosí; Spanish Empire

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Sinai War (Suez War)

A brief conflict involving Egypt, Israel, France, and the United Kingdom—fought largely on the Sinai Peninsula and around the Suez Canal in October 1956—the Sinai War is considered by historians to be one of the last expressions of old-style European imperialist aggression against the Third World. The war was triggered by Egypt's nationalization of the canal and was largely stopped by the United

States—the new dominant power in the West—which was adverse to such colonialist adventurism.

The origins of the Sinai War date back to 1952, when the Arab nationalist Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt seized power in a coup. Nasser resented the fact that Britain and France maintained control over the canal, which ran through Egyptian territory, and he coveted the fees that the canal generated. (In an arrangement known as the Condominium, France and Britain had run the canal after its completion in 1869.)

In July 1956, Nasser announced that he would nationalize the canal, though he offered to pay London and Paris fair compensation, thus satisfying international law. The latter, angry at Nasser's support of Algerian rebels fighting against French colonialists, particularly resented the nationalization. Secretly, France convinced the Israelis and, later, the British to go to war with Egypt. The Israelis, believing that Egypt would quickly lose a war against the two European powers, hoped to force Cairo to accept Israel and cut off support for guerrilla actions against the Jewish state.

On October 29, Israel launched its attack against the Sinai, quickly moving toward the canal at the west end of the peninsula. Then, France and Britain issued their prearranged ultimatum, calling for both sides to withdraw 10 miles from either side of the canal or risk attack. When Egypt failed to do so, Paris and London attacked by air and sea on October 31. Not surprisingly, the Arab world and the Soviet Union reacted harshly. More surprisingly, so did the Americans.

The administration of Dwight Eisenhower was angry for two reasons. First, the attack turned world attention away from the Soviet invasion of Hungary that had occurred earlier in the month. More important, Washington feared that Britain and France's atavistic imperialist aggression would aid the Soviet Union in the Cold War struggle for the hearts and minds of peoples of the Third World, many of whom were emerging from Western colonial domination at the time. In the end, Eisenhower's openly hostile attitude forced the British and French to quickly withdraw. In December, a United Nations force was stationed around the canal, and the Israelis withdrew from the Sinai in March of the following year.

To many people in the Middle East and in the Third World generally, France and Britain's humili-

ation symbolized the end of the European imperialist era and the rise to predominance of the United States and the Soviet Union as the post-World War II arbiters of power around the globe. For Nasser, the war was a glorious success, solidifying his government in Egypt and thrusting him into the position of leader and spokesman for the Arab world.

James Ciment

See also British Empire; Cold War; Egypt; Eisenhower, Dwight; French Empire; Israel; Nasser, Gamel Abdel; Suez Canal

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Singapore

The tiny island of Singapore was bypassed by the Portuguese and Dutch in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which made it a good candidate when Sir Stamford Raffles sought an English trading post in the Straits of Malacca, on the route between India and China. He landed on the island on January 29, 1819, getting the local Malay chief, the Temenggong, to agree to a “factory,” or trading post, the next day, for 3,000 Spanish dollars a year.

In August 1824, the British East India Company secured permanent possession of Singapore by treaty with the Temenggong and his notional superior, Sultan Hussein. The latter was one of two claimants to the title of sultan of Johore, the British having recognized the claimant who was least under Dutch influence. The Dutch themselves relinquished all claims to Singapore by a March 1824 treaty.

Singapore, Malacca, and Penang were then united as the Straits Settlements from 1826 to 1946, under Indian control and with Singapore as the capital from 1832. In 1867, the Straits Settlements were transferred from Indian Office to Colonial Office control, becoming the Straits Settlements Colony.

With its strategic position between India and China, its good harbor facilities and free trade policy, and its role as an exporter of Malayan tin and

rubber, Singapore developed into a bustling entrepôt. The number of inhabitants grew from some 1,000 in 1819, mainly *orang laut* (sea people) and Malays, to 52,000 by 1849 and 418,000 by 1921, with roughly three-quarters being Chinese and with several men to every woman.

Singapore epitomized empire on the cheap. On the domestic front, prostitution was rife, *laissez-faire* ruled, and opium continued to be overwhelmingly the largest source of government revenue until after World War I. Only in the 1920s and 1930s did the government start to improve the health, housing, and grinding working conditions of the masses. On the international front, a few naval guns and a handful of troops sufficed to defend Singapore at first; the real protection came from the Royal Navy’s global supremacy. As the latter waned, a large local naval base was built (completed in 1938), with Britain expecting Singapore to hold on if a threat arose until a relieving fleet could arrive from afar. By 1941, a Japanese attack was expected from north Malaya, but the poorly equipped and ill-prepared British forces were still sent reeling from the events of December 8, when the Japanese attacked Singapore. A total of 130,000 Allied forces were lost—most of them captured—by the time of Singapore’s surrender on February 15, 1942.

The Japanese period, from 1942 until 1945, was inaugurated by a spine-chilling *sook ching*, or a cleansing of “anti-Japanese” Chinese. When the British forces returned in September 1945, the population was relieved, having lived for several years with increasingly severe shortages and under the harsh discipline of the dreaded military police, the *kempeitai*.

Postwar Malacca and Penang were integrated with the predominantly Malay Malaya; Singapore, which was mainly Chinese, was a separate crown colony from April 1946. The first elections to its Legislative Council were held in 1948 and 1951, and the April 1955 elections returned the first chief minister, David Marshall, and a coalition government led by the Labour Front to power. Constitutional conferences in 1956 and 1957 promised virtually full internal self-government. This promise was realized in June 1959, after May elections returned Lee Kuan Yew as the head of the socialist People’s Action Party. Fearing Communist subversion, Britain and Malaya retained a majority

in the Internal Security Council, which in theory could order Singapore's ministers to take action.

British control of foreign and security policy was relinquished on September 16, 1963, when Singapore joined the new Federation of Malaysia, comprising also Malaya, British North Borneo (now Sabah), and Sarawak. Singapore had briefly declared itself independent on August 31, 1963, after the federation's inauguration was delayed. Following a period of rivalry between Singapore's People's Action Party and Malaya's United Malays' National Organization, as well as disputes over special Malay rights, Singapore left the federation to achieve final independence on August 9, 1965.

The British bases remained by agreement and were used during the defense of Malaysia in the latter's confrontation with Indonesia from 1963 to 1966. They also underpinned the economy. Then, between 1967 and 1968, Britain announced it would withdraw by 1971. Meanwhile, Singapore introduced national military service and created new jobs by attracting multinationals and service industries. Under Lee Kuan Yew's leadership as prime minister from 1959 to 1990, government-directed labor and social discipline were accompanied by a free market, meritocracy, efficiency, and spiraling wealth. Singapore remains a member of the Commonwealth.

Karl A. Hack

See also British East India Company; Malaysia; Raffles, Sir Stamford

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Sino-Japanese Wars

The struggle between China and Japan to exert political influence over Korea led to the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and 1895. From the Japanese perspective, the conflict pitted a progressive Japan, which could bring the benefits of civilization to Korea, against a reactionary China, which was trying to keep Korea in its conservative fold. China was soundly trounced in the war and was forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki in

1895. Korea then became a Japanese protectorate (and ultimately colony in 1910). China had to pay a huge indemnity to Japan, which also gained access to the Chinese market as well as steam-navigation rights on the Yangtze and manufacturing rights in the treaty ports. Japan thus joined the ranks of the imperialist powers with political and economic privileges in China. Finally, Japan became a colonial power by acquiring Taiwan and the Pescadores from China.

The subsequent expansion of Japan's informal empire in China escalated in the 1930s with the Japanese military occupation of Manchuria and north China, leading to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (or the War of Resistance to the Chinese) in 1937. Japan quickly occupied eastern China. But the Japanese were unable to persuade the majority of the Chinese to accept their rationale for the war: to build an Asian alliance against Western imperialism and Russian communism. Japan's expansion of the war against the United States and Britain in 1941 ended in its defeat in 1945.

The Second Sino-Japanese War undermined the power and legitimacy of the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party and allowed the Chinese Communist Party to build its military and political strength on the back of nationalist resistance against Japan. The War of Resistance thus led to the victory of the Communists in 1949.

Robert Y. Eng

See also China; Chinese Communist Party; Japanese Empire; Korea; War and Warfare; World War II

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Slavery and the Slave Trade

In 1441, Portuguese captain Antão Gonçalves returned from a voyage to present-day Mauritania with twelve Africans. These individuals were used as “exhibits” for Prince Henry to illustrate how Portugal could take slaves directly from West Africa instead of purchasing them from outside agents. Within a year, the pope granted Portugal

exclusive rights to the African continent—an easy decision, as the rest of Europe had no interest in Africa beyond conventional trade goods.

The trade in slaves was not a new development in Iberia, for African slaves had been taken to the Middle East, Egypt, China, and India as far back as the first century. Indeed, slavery had been a part of colonial expansion since Greek and Roman times. The trade in slaves, however, had never reached the scale that it would after the fifteenth century. The first fifty years of this new trade involved the Portuguese taking enslaved Africans to Iberia and the West African Atlantic islands; the expansion of sugar cultivation and mass-produced staple crops such as tobacco and rice later created a sharp demand for African slaves. Portugal was the first to monopolize the African supply, with the rest of the European nations eventually gaining a piece of the trade.

After Christopher Columbus's initial voyage to the Americas in 1492, a flood of European explorers and fortune hunters followed. English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies in the form of viceroalties, principalities, and provinces increasingly peppered the New World, with their inhabitants busily re-creating the metropolis in form and fashion. Europeans originally intended to enslave the Native American populations, but many resisted and escaped into the mountains and forests. The majority of the Amerindian slaves died from European diseases, to which they had no immunity. This was not a problem for the colonizers at first, as Native Americans were enslaved and transported to and from various regions in the Americas. During this time, Africans accompanied explorers and conquistadores on their journeys, worked in the mines and vineyards of the Latin American mainland, built churches and cathedrals, and toiled in various capacities on the fledgling plantations of the Caribbean.

In the Americas, Europe found a new land filled with potential and endless possibilities. After the Dutch introduction of sugar to the region, colonial labor gradually shifted both in intensity and in the choice of laborers, with the transatlantic trade in African slaves dominating. Sugar brought life back to the forgotten Caribbean islands, which had been abandoned for the golden riches of the Spanish Main. With a European population uninterested in the hard work of taming the new lands, a

rapidly declining indigenous population in the Americas, and a tested plantation system, which had very successfully utilized African slave labor in the Atlantic islands off Africa, Europe turned to Africa for the solution.

Europeans set up fortified trading posts and centers on the West and East African coasts, and African middlemen supplied slaves from various parts of the continent. Africans found themselves enslaved in various ways and were taken from about twenty principle slave markets, as well as many smaller ones, on a 3,000-mile coastline stretching from Senegal to Angola. Warfare between African kingdoms produced the majority of the slaves. Other individuals were kidnapped, imprisoned, or sold as payment for debt. Finally, periods of famine or economic decline also led to high rates of enslavement among the population. Traveling through various market towns in coffles, the slaves gradually made their way to the coastal forts and markets where they would be offered for sale. There, they waited for weeks or even months in barracoons, forts, or coastal pens before they were bought by European traders.

The slaves were branded with the symbols of the trading companies or traders who had bought them and placed aboard ship. An estimated 10 to 15 million Africans made the arduous trip across the Atlantic Ocean on a notorious voyage known as the Middle Passage. This voyage, taking anywhere from three weeks to five months, was a harrowing experience that claimed the lives of slaves and crew alike. Conditions on these ships were horrible, as slaves were forced to stay below deck in dark, cramped areas with little ventilation or sunlight. As a result, millions died even before landing in the Americas. No other colonial experience of slavery—and certainly not the trade in African slaves to South Asia and the Near East—came close to matching the sheer volume or horror of the Atlantic slave trade from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

The Middle Passage ended in the Americas, where the slaves were either sold at auction or taken directly to owners who had paid in advance for their transport. The majority of the slaves then worked in gangs, made up of both men and women, for ten to twelve hours a day, six days a week. The remaining slaves worked as skilled laborers, craftspeople, and domestic servants. Throughout their

years of slavery, Africans and their descendants suffered a loss of identity. Forced to leave their cultures behind, American and Caribbean slaves created their own cultures, religions, and societies. However, these cultures constantly changed with new importations of slaves from Africa and influences from their European owners.

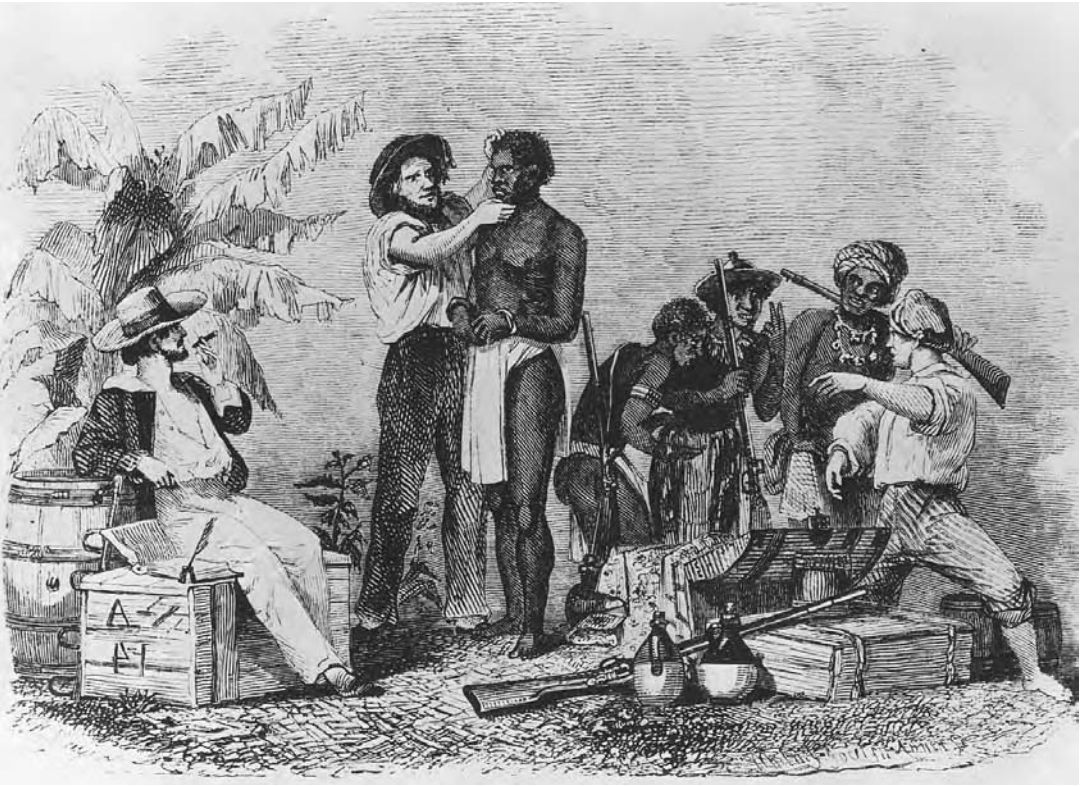
All of this was of no concern to the colonial businesspeople, traders, and plantation owners. For them, slavery and the slave trade were means to produce profits, revolutionize the Americas and the plantation complex, and ultimately build nations. Crops such as cotton, indigo, sugar, and tobacco made them rich and powerful. Merchants, traders, and insurance agents in Europe reaped the benefits as well by supplying the Americas with African labor for their plantations. The slave trade turned ordinary, middle-class businesspeople into wealthy entrepreneurs. Beyond that, the increase in commerce and economy brought high profits that helped to finance European growth and industrialization and thereby ease Europe and the Americas into a modern capitalistic society. The slave trade also boosted sugar production in the Caribbean, which increased sugar consumption in Europe; in turn, this led to a higher demand, which led to more slaves, which led to more sugar, and so on. The production of products that were often consumed with sugar, such as tea and coffee, rose as well. As a result, by the eighteenth century, the American colonies were at the center of world commerce and economy. African slavery was largely responsible for this outcome.

By the mid-1700s, however, the tide began to turn. What was once considered a favorable enterprise soon developed a tarnished image. Humanitarians, particularly in the English-speaking world, saw the slave traffic as an inhumane business that sold human beings into bondage. Figures such as William Wilberforce, Lord Grenville, and Charles Fox led the fight against the slave trade in the British House of Commons, calling for boycotts against the colonies and any products made with slave labor. At the same time, wage labor was becoming more profitable. Thus, as humanitarianism attacked the morality of the slave trade, capitalism attacked its economics. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, an emerging industrial revolution led a coalition of British industrialists and investors in the East In-

dies to challenge colonial slavery. Products could be produced more cheaply and in larger quantities with free wage and indentured labor from Asia and the East Indies. By the first years of the nineteenth century, humanitarians and businesspeople alike united against the slave trade. As a result, England became the voice of the abolitionist movement.

On March 25, 1807, the House of Commons passed the Abolition of the Slave Trade Bill into law. This measure was not intended to—nor did it—put an end to slavery; it simply proscribed the acquisition of more slaves from the African continent for enslavement in the Americas and the West African Atlantic islands. People who had already been enslaved in the Americas remained slaves, as their purchase, trade, and shipment within the Americas had been legal. But despite the U.S. abolition of the trade in 1808 and continuing British efforts to advance the abolitionist cause, the capture and trade of people from the continent of Africa for the purpose of enslavement in the Americas continued. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, following the Napoleonic Wars, England proposed the creation of an international police force to combat the slave trade. That proposal failed, leaving the British navy—with limited support from the United States—with responsibility for policing the high seas in search of illegal slaving vessels, British or otherwise. England continually pressured the rest of Europe to abide by the abolition law, and it policed the ocean for slave ships. However, the traffic did not stop. If slave ships were in danger of being captured by the British navy, their captains simply disposed of their illegal cargo, often with disastrous results for their captives.

Even as sentiments in favor of colonialism continued to run high, there was a growing sense in Europe that slavery was wrong and should be abolished. The campaign to abolish slavery emerged as the first peaceful mass protest movement of modern times. Leading white abolitionists included Granville Sharpe, who helped Africans and their descendants fight test cases in the courts, and Thomas Clarkson and Thomas Fowell Buxton, who collected evidence of the cruelty of the slave trade from all over Britain. They worked with black abolitionist campaigners such as Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cuguano, who



European slave traders examine Africans in this 1850s wood engraving. In fact, the trade in African slaves had been banned in the early nineteenth century. Thus, this image either depicts a scene from an earlier time or illegal smuggling of African slaves, which continued through the late nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

published memoirs of their experiences and traveled across England lecturing on the horrors of slavery, and Mary Prince, a freed slave who also wrote an important book about her experiences.

Most countries and colonies were free of slavery by 1848. Acquiescing to the demands of industrialists and abolitionists, the British government made slavery illegal in all British territories in 1834, although it agreed to a period of apprenticeship for former slaves, which involved a transition to freedom, that ended in 1838. The French and Danish colonies ended slavery ten years later, with the Dutch following suit in their colonies by 1863. In the United States and its territories, slavery ended with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865. Spain, however, did not put an end to slavery in Puerto Rico and Cuba until the last half of the nineteenth century (in 1873 and 1886, respectively). In 1888, Brazil became the last country to

abolish slavery. Laws were enacted to apply to colonies in other parts of the world as well, but slavery continued to be a legacy of colonialism worldwide in many guises.

For Europe, slavery and the slave trade helped speed the transition to modernity. Economies grew and profited thanks to their connection to the products made by slaves, particularly in the American colonies. Those effects carried into the colonial experiences in Asia and elsewhere as well. Africa, however, fared far worse. Population decline brought famine and economic stagnation in many areas, with repercussions that are still felt today. And African peoples experienced a human loss that can never be fully calculated, let alone comprehended.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Brazil; British Empire; British West Indies; Coffee; Cotton; Dutch Empire; Dutch West Indies; French Empire; French West Indies; Labor; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire; Sugar

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Smith, Adam (1723–1790)

Adam Smith was a Scottish political economist who challenged the principles of mercantilism and colonialism and argued for the development of a capitalist system based on free trade. Born in Kirkcaldy, Fife, Scotland, Smith attended Oxford University before receiving an appointment as a professor of logic at Glasgow University in 1751. Within the year, he occupied the moral philosophy chair, teaching such topics as law, political economy, and ethics. In 1759, he wrote *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, outlining the principles he believed were necessary for the proper conduct of human interactions.

In 1776, he published his most important work, entitled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. After discussing the division of labor, the role of the government in the economy, and the demands of the market, Smith focused on trade and duties. He argued that the principles of free trade should be suspended only in regard to industries necessary for the national defense and in cases involving taxes on imported goods whose domestically manufactured counterparts were similarly taxed. Thus, according to Smith, since Great Britain's naval strength contributed substantially to the defense of the country, the Navigation Acts were acceptable, whereas the subsequent Sugar, Stamp, Quartering, Declaratory, Townshend, Tea, and Coercive Acts failed to fulfill his requirements. By challenging the mer-

cantile system, Smith provided an economic alternative for the American colonies to pursue after signing the Declaration of Independence. Writing at a time when the king declared the colonies in open rebellion, he avoided any controversial political commentary but stated that the issue of American independence would be addressed at a future date. In 1778, he accepted the post of commissioner of customs in Edinburgh, Scotland. After a short illness, he died on July 17, 1790.

Cynthia Northrup

See also American Revolution; Economics; Theories of Imperialism

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Smith, Ian Douglas (1919–)

Ian Smith was Rhodesia's first and last white native-born leader. As such, he led a revolt to protect white minority rule in the country that was Britain's last African colony (Rhodesia existed as a colony from 1890 to 1965). After supporting racial "partnership" in the 1950s, Smith resigned from the colonial administration to protest a 1961 constitution that gave black Africans minimal rights. As a founder of the Rhodesia Front (RF) in 1962, he gave voice to white reaction to black power and pledged to instill "civilized standards," which he defined to his political advantage. He led the illegal Rhodesia Front regime from 1965 to 1979. Godfrey Huggins, an earlier Rhodesian prime minister, described Smith as "a farm boy from Selukwe . . . devious, parochial and suspicious" (Smith 1997).

Except when it came to Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain in 1965, Smith was a moderate reactionary. As Britain's empire disappeared, he misled Rhodesia's whites, believing he alone could protect their racial privileges against the encroachment of African nationalists. Many Rhodesians regarded "good old Smithy," a World War II hero, as warmly as his African, British, and RF detractors reviled him. Smith sought British recognition of the UDI, claiming that the 1961 constitution had been accepted by white Rhodesians on the basis of a British pledge of independence for Southern Rhodesia should the federation of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasa-

land (Malawi), and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) break apart, as it did in 1964. Never committed to “provincialization,” that is, RF-style apartheid, Smith presided over a police state and then a hopeless counterinsurgency war against nationalist guerrillas in the 1970s. Finally, in 1976, South Africa and the United States forced him to acknowledge the inevitability of majority (black) rule.

Just a few months earlier, Smith had rejected the prospect of black majority rule in Rhodesia—“not in a thousand years” would it occur, as he put it at that time. So his acceptance of majority rule in September 1976 split the RF. Militants argued that white supremacy was still salvageable, and Smith offered one final illusion: that whites might concede power without losing privilege. After the country achieved independence in 1980 and became Zimbabwe, Smith’s Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (holding ten parliamentary seats for ten years under a compromise Lancaster House constitution) continued to stymie black-white reconciliation.

John David Leaver

See also British Empire; Nyasaland; Racism; South Africa; Southern Rhodesia; Zambia

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Smuts, Jan Christiaan (1870–1950)

Jan Smuts, a prime minister of South Africa and a British and Boer military leader, was born in a Boer farming family in the Cape Colony but studied law at Cambridge on scholarship, returning to South Africa to begin a law practice. Originally sympathetic to the plans of Cecil Rhodes, his political relationship with Rhodes soured after the 1895 Jameson Raid, and Smuts moved to the Transvaal as a state’s attorney under Paul Kruger. During the South African War, Smuts began as a government official but quickly organized his own guerrilla force and led his men on a 1901 raid of the Cape Colony, advancing to within 150 miles of Cape Town. An important negotiator of the peace that followed, Smuts insisted that black rights wait

until South Africa achieved self-government, and he promoted the Afrikaner language and amnesty for Boer soldiers. With Louis Botha, Smuts engineered the constitution of the Transvaal and then the 1910 union of South Africa.

During World War I, Smuts resumed military leadership, aiding the British in stopping incursions from German South West Africa and defeating the Germans in Kenya. Highly regarded by the British government of David Lloyd George, Smuts was able to exert great pressure at Versailles for acceptance of the League of Nations, but he failed to convince Britain to not crush Germany with punitive measures. In 1919, Smuts was sent to Hungary as an observer of the Communist government of Bela Kun, but he returned to South Africa on the death of Botha to become prime minister from 1919 to 1933 and again from 1939 to 1948. Smuts pressed South Africa to follow Britain into World War II and consulted with the Allies extensively about the war in North Africa. Although he represented South Africa at the organization of the United Nations in 1945, his country was of little further importance to the Allies, and Smuts returned home to political defeat by the Nationalists under D. F. Malan in 1948. Honored as chancellor of Cambridge University, Smuts died at home in Pretoria in 1950.

Margaret Sankey

See also Cape Colony; Cape Town; Kruger, Paul; Rhodes, Cecil John; South Africa; South West Africa

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Social Darwinism

The term *social Darwinism* was coined in the late nineteenth century and summarized a body of ideas that applied the theory of evolution to society, history, and education. More specifically, social Darwinist theories applied the laws of natural selection developed by Charles Darwin to individuals, groups, and races and argued that humans, like plants and animals, competed in a struggle for existence in which the process of natural selection resulted in the survival of the fittest.

The leading proponents of this theory, Herbert Spencer and Walter Bagehot in Great Britain and

William Graham Sumner in the United States, rejected any form of state intervention and advanced the thesis that the process of natural selection aided in the advancement of societies. This theory legitimized contemporary notions of laissez-faire capitalism and political conservatism. As class differences were explained on the basis of natural inequalities among individuals, social reforms through state intervention were interpreted as interference with the natural processes of biological selection. The poor were seen as unfit; wealth was a sign of success.

At the societal level, social Darwinism was used as a philosophical rationalization for imperialist, colonialist, and racist policies, sustaining the belief in Anglo-Saxon cultural and biological superiority. Colonialism and the strive for empire assumed the role of natural selection, with weak states and cultures to be controlled by the stronger nations. International relations was interpreted as a biological selection process.

In this context, a “struggle school” developed toward the end of nineteenth century. The English journalist Walter Bagehot expressed the fundamental ideas of this school in *Physics and Politics* (1872), in which he described the historical evolution of social groups into nations. The process of state formation was interpreted as an evolution through success in conflicts with other groups. American observers interpreted this theory as additional justification for imperial overseas expansion. Social Darwinism became a central feature of all Euramerican expansionist ideologies.

Frank Schumacher

See also Racism; Spencer, Herbert; Theories of Imperialism

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Social Sciences

Generally considered to include such fields of study as anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, and sociology—and sometimes history as well—the social sciences came into prominence during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, their development into sys-

tematic disciplines for inquiry roughly coincided with the great era of colonial expansion, as well as the growing anticolonialism and anti-imperialism in the late twentieth century. This coincidence led to the linking of social science and colonialism in a number of ways.

Rather than emphasizing the significance of individuals, as had much of the philosophical and historical scholarship in the post-Enlightenment period, the social sciences were generally (although not always) concerned with collective groups of humans. Of particular importance, especially at first, were attempts to explain how human cultures were organized and how each produced characteristic societies. But these attempts soon began to encompass more practical uses of that knowledge. These approaches were described as early as 1890s as “applied” branches of the social sciences, first with sociology and then with anthropology leading the way. Many social reformers in the United States and Europe embraced the applied applications, believing that they would uplift those people needing special assistance.

The rigorous application of social scientific methods to an understanding of colonized peoples and their societies greatly enhanced the body of human knowledge concerning especially Asia and Africa, as well as parts of the Americas and the Pacific islands. Following on the often anecdotal reports of the first amateur “geographers” to travel in many of those regions, the more careful work of early social scientists provided valuable insights to scholarly communities and sometimes to a general public as well. In many ways, this was a positive development and was welcomed by almost everyone concerned.

The creation of the League of Nations Mandate Commission following the adoption of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 gave a major impetus to such efforts. Greater collection of information by the colonial powers concerning their mandated territories also spurred similar activities in other colonies. However, as more systematic attention was also focused on the policies and practices of colonial government, many of the policymakers in colonial countries began to look to the social sciences and the information they generated to provide for more systematic—some even referred to it as more scientific—approaches to governing

their subject peoples. Some and perhaps even most of these efforts led to genuine attempts at providing what the colonial rulers believed would a better life for these peoples.

But in the demand societies created under colonialism, many subject peoples thought individual as well as collective privacy was compromised for what sometimes seemed to be incessant requests for information. They were also skeptical that the answers ever really led to anything better in their lives. Most certainly, it did not lead to political independence from colonial rule! And as the process of decolonization progressed, a number of the programs developed by anticolonialists encouraged opposition to the most inquisitorial of the social sciences; this was particularly true of anthropology. Of course, the anthropologists' propensity to describe colonial peoples as "primitive"—as opposed to the advanced cultures of their own colonizing nations—did little to ease the nationalists' concerns. This approach often seemed counterproductive to the colonizers and

only enhanced their frequent determination to resist decolonization.

Melvin E. Page

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Decolonization; Exploration; League of Nations; Theories of Imperialism; Versailles, Treaty of

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Society of Friends (Quakers)

The Society of Friends was a radical nonconformist religious sect founded by George Fox in the 1650s; Fox told a judge to quake or tremble at the name of the Lord, hence, their historical nickname of Quakers. His followers adopted the names Friends of the Truth and, by the eighteenth century, Religious Society of Friends. In their meetings, they avoided formal worship and rejected a ministry of priests or



William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania and a leader in the Society of Friends, or Quakers, trades with Native Americans in this late-nineteenth-century engraving. Pacifist in orientation, the Society of Friends largely enjoyed amicable relations with local Indians. (Library of Congress)

preachers but sought God's "inner light," the interior voice of God, as the source of truth rather than Scripture and tradition. They had a firm belief in spiritual equality and emphasized persuasion rather than force in seeking converts.

The earliest Quakers were poor people of marginal status and from the radical fringe associated with the Fifth Monarchists from northwest England who showed no respect for social rank; refusing to pay tithes, swear oaths in court, or take off their hats in symbolic defiance to the authorities, they thereby attracted persecution in both England and North America. The 1662 Quaker Act made their assemblies illegal; a third conviction for violation of the act was penalized by transportation.

Quakers were among the first European settlers both in Ireland and on the eastern shores of North America. Their close ties of kinship, their sober dress code and manners, and their industrious way of life—especially in the cloth trade and later in banking and commerce—gave them a distinctive presence wherever they settled. Their colony in western New Jersey began as an offshoot of New York in 1675–1676, whereas eastern New Jersey was sold to another group of Quakers in 1682. These groups antedated the celebrated Quaker colony of Pennsylvania founded by William Penn as a New World refuge for about 2,000 Quakers. Penn's vision and his peaceful relations with the indigenous inhabitants did much to develop the middle colonies of America, roughly the area between Chesapeake Bay to the south and New England to the north.

Quakers were among the first participants in antislavery movements, but the institution of slaveholding divided the Quakers, and not until the second half of the eighteenth century would they take a formally united stand against slavery. They became prominent in philanthropic and reform movements, including humanitarian work in Ireland during the potato famine, or "great hunger," in the 1840s. Later, many Quakers were attracted to various colonial reform movements, particularly in the British Empire.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; Christianity; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands, made up of seven large islands—Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, and San Cristobal—and numerous smaller ones, stretch for 900 miles on a northwest-southeast axis from the Bismarcks to within a few hundred miles of Vanuatu. The names of the larger islands give a clue to the pattern of European discovery. Alvaro de Mendana, sailing from Peru in quest of the Ophir gold-bearing region of King Solomon (hence the name Solomon given by mapmakers), found the islands in 1568, and in 1595, he made an abortive attempt at colonization. The Solomons, however, lapsed into obscurity until the eighteenth century, when English and French explorers rediscovered them (and did some naming of their own).

In the early nineteenth century, the usual assortment of Europeans began arriving, whalers first, followed by traders, missionaries, naturalists, and labor recruiters for the Fiji and Queensland sugar fields. The Melanesians inhabiting the islands were a fierce and proud people—some, like the warriors of Roviana in New Georgia, were much feared headhunters—and a number of killings occurred, gaining the Solomons a savage reputation.

Great Britain, under pressure to protect the labor market and faced with both German and French competition in the region, established a protectorate in 1893 (from 1877 to 1893, British nationals had been under the jurisdiction of the high commissioner of the western Pacific in Fiji). Then, in 1896, Britain sent the naturalist Charles Woodford to the islands as acting resident commissioner. As in the partition of Africa, the Solomons were divided, with Germany retaining Bougainville—a partition that has remained in place until today. Under Woodford's administration, head-hunting was stamped out and investment in coconut planting was encouraged, the latter to ensure that the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) would pay its way as the Colo-



U.S. Marines put out a fire started by a Japanese air attack at the Guadalcanal airport in the Solomon Islands in 1942. A British protectorate from the 1890s, the Solomon Islands won their independence in 1978. (Library of Congress)

nial Office in London insisted. By the outbreak of World War II, the Lever Brothers Company and a number of independent plantation owners had made copra (dried coconut kernel) the chief source of wealth in the islands.

World War II undermined traditional colonial rule in the area. Some of the most savage fighting of the war occurred there, making the names Guadalcanal, New Georgia, and Bougainville familiar to the rest of the world. Unlike the Bougainvillians, many of whom sided with the Japanese, the Solomon Islanders remained loyal to the Allied cause and were a major factor in the latter's victory there. But the arrival of thousands upon thousands of Americans from 1942 to 1945 (Guadalcanal was a base for the drive north toward Japan) changed everything. The abundance of material goods, the egalitarian and anticolonial attitude of the Americans, the presence of black troops wearing the same uniforms and eating the same foods

as the Europeans—all these factors contributed to the breakdown of the colonial master–native servant culture. As in the rest of the South Pacific, the war spawned nationalist movements, the most important one in the Solomons being Maasina Rule Movement. Although it did not force the British from the Solomons, it did unify many divergent groups of the island population in a common cause and resulted in the British beginning the process of local government, the first step toward the eventual granting of independence that occurred in 1978.

Ronnie Day

See also Fiji; World War II

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Somalia

European colonialism first arrived in Somalia in 1887 when the British, attempting to safeguard their trade interests in the Indian Ocean, proclaimed a protectorate (British Somaliland) in the northern portion of the territory. Shortly thereafter, in 1889, the Italians established their own protectorates over the Obbia and Mijertein sultanates and continued expanding southward toward the Juba River. By 1892, Italy had laid claim to all of Somalia outside of British Somaliland. Between 1892 and 1899, both the British and the Italians tried to consolidate control over their respective territories. Only the Italians, however, managed to institute any semblance of formal administration. In 1898, the Italian government halfheartedly assumed control of the colony from two commercial societies that had attempted to administer the territory for narrowly economic purposes.

Both the British and Italian projects were challenged by a formidable Somali resistance movement that emerged in 1899. This anticolonial rebellion was led by Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, a religious leader from the north who attracted a huge following among like-minded Somali. This extensive resistance movement was not completely suppressed until 1920, at great and long-lasting human and material cost to northern Somalia. Although the Italians negotiated a separate understanding with Hassan in 1905, they felt constantly threatened by his supposed designs on the Benadir region until the movement's final defeat.

Italy hoped to receive a substantial increase in its African territorial holdings after World War I as a reward for allying against Germany, but they were to be disappointed: the minor addition of Jubaland to their Somali possessions in 1925 marked the extent of their colonial gains in the region. Colonialism in Somalia underwent substantial change in the 1920s under Benito Mussolini's fascism. These changes were manifested in authoritarian policies and repression of the Somali population, as well as a deliberate focus on attracting Italian settlers to the colony. In October 1935, Italian troops invaded Ethiopia from Somalia, and in May 1936, they took Addis Ababa. They then integrated Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland into a unitary colonial state named Italian East Africa. In 1940, after entering World War II on Ger-

many's side, Italian forces invaded British Somaliland, briefly holding the territory until British forces took it back the next year. The British then conquered all of Somalia, placing it under a British military administration. After the war, Italy had to renounce all claims to its African possessions. In 1948, after the Big Four powers failed to agree on how to deal with Italy's former colonies, the United Nations granted Italy a trusteeship over the former Italian Somaliland. Somali nationalist agitation against Italian rule reached the level of violent confrontation in 1948, when a number of Italians and Somalis died in rioting in several coastal towns. Italy administered the territory until Somalia became an independent nation in 1960.

Michelle Moyd

See also British Empire; Ethiopia; Italian Empire

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Soto, Hernando de (c. 1500–1542)

Hernando de Soto accompanied Pedrarias Davila to Central America in 1519, participating in the conquest of Peru. He returned to Spain with a fortune earned in the sacking and burning of Cuzco. Charles V commissioned him to conquer Florida in 1537, after the failure of Juan Ponce de León, and gave him the title of governor of Cuba.

In 1539, with 600 colonists, he landed at Tampa Bay, as had Panfilo de Narvaez in 1528. De Soto soon set out to seek a rich region called Cale, beginning an expedition that was to last nearly four years. The Spaniards were led on from one region to the next by tales of gold and treasure, always hoping to repeat the successes of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro. De Soto emulated them by capturing local chiefs, holding them hostage, and compelling them to provide food for the soldiers and bearers for the baggage.

He and his troops wandered throughout the southeastern portions of North America, going first to Apalachen, where the expedition wintered. De Soto then led his men northward to the Savannah River and thence to the northwest, discovering the Mississippi River near the present city of

Memphis. From there, the expedition turned westward across Arkansas and into Oklahoma. The soldiers discovered the Arkansas River and followed it to its mouth, where De Soto died in May 1542. His body was buried in the Mississippi. His followers, under the leadership of Luis de Moscoso, soon gave up trying to march to their home base in Florida and returned to the Mississippi, built a small fleet of boats, descended the river, skirted the coast of Texas, and arrived at Panuco in 1543.

De Soto's expedition has been credited with the European discovery of the Mississippi River and the first exploration of the regions lying west of Florida, including the gulf states. Although no gold or treasure was found, their travels generated considerable interest and led to the later expedition of Francisco Coronado.

Henry H. Goldman

See also Charles V; Exploration; Incas; Peru; Pizarro, Francisco; Ponce de León, Juan; Spanish Empire

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South Africa (Union of South Africa)

The name South Africa was used for the region long before it was given to the country formed in 1910 by the union of the four existing British colonies: the Cape, Natal, the Orange River Colony, and the Transvaal. Roughly one-sixth the size of the United States, South Africa extends from the Limpopo River in the north to the southernmost tip of the African continent. Entirely within it—and totally dependent on it—is the small independent country of Lesotho. It was the British who, particularly in the 1870s and building on their base in Cape Colony, tried to bring about a political union of the various white-ruled states in South Africa. In the Anglo-Boer 1899–1902 South African War, all of what would be the country of South Africa came under British rule for the first time, and after the war, the movement to unify the four colonies intensified. The British welcomed the new union, despite the fact that it was dominated

by the Afrikaners and had a constitution based on white supremacy.

For some time after 1910, the government was in the hands of advocates of a policy of conciliation, who accepted South Africa's position within the British Empire. But the imperial connection was unacceptable to some Afrikaners, and a new republicanism gained support under the leadership of Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog. As the white poor were increasingly mobilized into the Afrikaner nationalist movement, he took office in 1924, but in the economic crisis of the early 1930s, he was forced into a union with his former rival, Gen. J. C. Smuts. In 1939, Hertzog broke with Smuts over the issue of whether South Africa should remain neutral in World War II, and Smuts became prime minister for the second time. D. F. Malan and the "purified" nationalists, who had broken away from Hertzog in 1934, then challenged Smuts, and in 1948, Malan's National Party came to power. Under successive leaders, the National Party held power until 1994, and for over forty years, it implemented the policy of apartheid.

To some extent, the National Party built on a racial segregation that existed before the establishment of the union: land and urban legislation in 1913 and 1923 set the framework of a segregationist society, legislation to segregate Natal Indians was passed in 1943 and 1946, and the job color bar was extended by Hertzog in 1926. The individuals who came to power in 1948 believed they had a formula to ensure the future of white minority rule. Those blacks still on the common voters' roll were removed; the job color bar was tightened; and black Africans were given a separate, inferior educational system. Everyone was forced to live in a racially defined "group area," and "Bantustans" (black African territories) were created in which black Africans were to exercise their political rights. H. F. Verwoerd, Malan's successor, decided that the Bantustans might be led to so-called independence: in time, four of them were given nominal independence, although they remained under virtual colonial control by South Africa.

The apartheid state gradually removed most civil liberties (even for whites), made extraparliamentary opposition illegal, and engaged in massive social engineering, which included the formal removal of millions of people from areas designated for whites to the Bantustans. In response,

the international community slowly began to challenge—and isolate—the apartheid regime. South Africa was forced to withdraw from the British Commonwealth in 1961, and it increasingly became a pariah on the international scene. After policemen murdered the black-consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977, a mandatory arms embargo was enacted by the United Nations. In the mid-1980s, some of South Africa's main trading partners, including the United States, began to impose trade and financial sanctions, at a time when a massive internal revolt was being crushed. Though the South African state retained a large measure of its power, the main resistance organization—the African National Congress (ANC)—grew in strength, especially after the Soweto uprising of 1976, and the armed struggle on which it had embarked in 1961 now began to pose a threat to the regime.

P. W. Botha, prime minister from 1978, realized that some modification of apartheid policies was needed. He allowed trade unions to organize and implemented a new constitution in 1983 that brought Coloureds (mixed white-African people) and Indians into the central legislature. This provoked new resistance, which helped sap white morale, as did the imposition of sanctions. In Angola, the regime became embroiled in what threatened to become a major war, and so, in 1988, it decided to withdraw from both Angola and Namibia, which had been a South African colony since 1915. Fortunately for the National Party, changes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and in superpower relations from 1986 enabled it to take the initiative, as the fall of communism worldwide undermined the justification of the white minority regime as a bulwark against communism in southern Africa. By the late 1980s, it was clear that the Bantustan policy had been a disastrous failure and that the only way to move forward was by negotiating with the African National Congress. Consequently, in February 1990, President F. W. de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organizations and the unconditional release of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

The government and the African National Congress soon found that they could work together to create a new constitutional, nonracial democracy. The continuing political violence in the country helped convince both parties that they had to compromise. Between December 1991 and November

1993, formal negotiations were held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg. These talks resulted in the drafting of an interim constitution, allowing for a general election that was held in April 1994. The election went off peacefully after Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha (the Zulu political organization), agreed to participate at the last moment. The African National Congress emerged the clear winner, with close to two-thirds of the seats, and in terms of the constitution, the Government of National Unity was formed. The new Parliament formed the Constitutional Assembly, which then drafted a final constitution that was approved by the Constitutional Court and took effect in 1997. The government first embarked on a Reconstruction and Development Programme and then adopted a neoliberal Growth and Employment Strategy (GEAR) in 1996, designed to attract foreign investment. Whether the fragile new democracy will be consolidated will depend on whether and how the socioeconomic problems that apartheid had left the country are overcome.

Christopher Saunders

See also Afrikaans; Apartheid; Boer War; Boers; British Empire; Cape Colony; Gold; Mining; Rhodes, Cecil John; Smuts, Jan Christiaan

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South West Africa (Namibia)

The Germans first gave the name South West Africa to the protectorate they acquired in 1884. Their territory expanded until it included all of what is now Namibia except for the port of Walvis Bay, which was under Cape Colony and then South African rule. When South Africa conquered the German-ruled territory, it took over the name South West Africa and applied to it the entire country, including Walvis Bay. From the late 1960s, an alternative name, Namibia (from the Namib Desert), was adopted by the United Nations, and in the 1980s, South Africa came to accept the new name, although South West Africa was still used in some cases until the decision to withdraw from the territory was taken in 1988.

South African troops conquered the territory from the Germans during World War I, and after five years of military rule, the territory was granted as a C-class mandate, a status reserved for former German colonies, to South Africa by the League of Nations in 1920. South Africa continued many of the previous German practices, extended the system of reserves, and introduced more white settlers from the Union of South Africa. Resistance by the Bondelswartz and other indigenous people was put down harshly.

When the league dissolved, the South African government of Gen. Jan Smuts hoped to be able to annex the territory, and it formally applied to the newly formed United Nations in 1946 to do just that, but its request was refused, largely on the grounds that the indigenous people had not been adequately consulted. The UN instead asked South Africa to place the territory under its trusteeship system, which provided for eventual independence for such territories. When South Africa refused to do so, a long legal battle ensued, in which the International Court of Justice at The Hague handed down a series of judgments on the status of South West Africa. In 1966, the court decided that it had no legal standing in a case that turned on whether South Africa was governing the territory in the spirit of the mandate. The UN General Assembly then unilaterally terminated the mandate, a decision that was, a few years later, ratified by the Security Council. In 1971, that ratification was, in turn, given legal validity by the International Court of Justice. In the same year, a general strike of Namibian workers posed a new threat to South African rule in the territory.

In the face of these developments, the South African government decided to abandon its policy of seeking to incorporate ever larger pieces of the territory under its own administration, as a de facto fifth province. It decided instead that the territory should remain as one entity, despite the application there of a policy that established Bantustans on the South African model, in which black Africans were forced onto the poorest lands. An ethnically based advisory council was established, and in 1975, a conference of ethnic representatives was called in the Turnhalle building in Windhoek. When it seemed that the Turnhalle meeting might produce an internal settlement, in which the South African government would give independence to a local

client group (the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, or DTA), the so-called Western Contact Group was formed. Consisting of the five Western countries that were then members of the UN Security Council, this group was to press for a form of independence that would mesh with the UN demand for a transfer of power to the people of the territory under the terms of Security Council Resolution 385 of 1976.

In April 1978, Security Council Resolution 435 provided a formal basis for joint UN–South African administration during a transition period in which the UN would provide a monitoring team and a force to keep the peace. The South African government accepted this plan in April 1978, although in the years that followed, South African government spokespeople offered numerous reasons why the plan could not be implemented. Thereafter, raids were launched against the bases of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), conducted by South African forces from northern Namibia and, from 1980, South West African forces under South African command. Brutal repression was used in northern Namibia in an attempt to destroy SWAPO, while at the same time the DTA and other groups were built up in an effort to form an anti-SWAPO alliance. Finally, as the result of an agreement signed in December 1988 between South Africa, Angola, and Cuba (the latter having sent forces to defend the Marxist government of Angola against South African attacks), the date for implementation of the agreement was fixed for April 1989. Namibia became independent in March 1990, and Walvis Bay was incorporated into the new country in 1994.

Christopher Saunders

See also Angola; British Empire; Cape Colony; German Empire; Herero Revolt; League of Nations; South Africa; United Nations

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Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was set up in February 1955. It resulted from the

Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (known as the Manila Pact) that was signed in Manila, in the Philippines, on September 8, 1954, by the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. The establishment of SEATO owed its emergence directly to a colonial problem, instigated by the government of the United States following its failure to prevent the military defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in April 1954.

With headquarters in Bangkok, SEATO had ambassadorial-level representatives from all the countries that were party to the Manila Pact, as well as a military advisory group and committees for security, economics, and information. An international secretariat and a permanent working group were added following a SEATO meeting in Karachi, Pakistan, in March 1956. The organization's meeting in Canberra, Australia, in March 1957 resulted in the addition of a secretary-general and a military planning office.

A number of military exercises were arranged and conducted under the auspices of SEATO, but the organization never assumed an active military role, even at the height of the Vietnam War in the 1960s. From the outset, SEATO was constrained by internal differences and an absence of any underlying strategic interest around which its members could unite. The government of Pakistan began to drift away at an early stage because of a lack of support for its conflict with India. Pakistan eventually withdrew from SEATO in November 1972, in the wake of the secession of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) in late 1971.

The French government was clearly against the escalation of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s, whereas the British government failed to provide any military support for that conflict. In fact, in July 1967, Britain formally announced its military disengagement from affairs to the east of the Suez Canal. Other signatories to the Manila Pact did send troops to Vietnam, but this was not done under the umbrella of SEATO. The treaty organization was further weakened by the Nixon administration's historic rapprochement with China in early 1972. With the waning of the Vietnam War (particularly after the Paris Peace Agreements of January 1973), SEATO lost any vestige of relevance, and its military structures were abolished in February 1974. The organization as a

whole was disbanded on June 30, 1977. However, the actual treaty that had given rise to SEATO was retained because it was the only formal military agreement between the United States and the government of Thailand.

Mark T. Berger

See also Cold War; Vietnam

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Southern Rhodesia (Rhodesia, Zimbabwe)

Southern Rhodesia was a British colonial possession in southern Africa, bordered by South Africa to the south and the Zambezi River to the north. Europeans became interested in the Zimbabwe plateau after the explorer Karl Mauch reported the existence of a "lost city" in the region in 1872. Mauch's account drew European adventurers and missionaries into the lands of the Ndebele king Lobengula. The prospect of mineral wealth attracted the attention of the Cape Colony's prime minister, Cecil Rhodes, who hoped to annex the territories of the indigenous Shona and Ndebele peoples. When British support was not forthcoming, Rhodes created the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and invaded the region in 1889. However, the promise of gold proved illusory, and many of the white settlers turned to farming. They initially expropriated lands from the Shona, then provoked a war with the Ndebele and seized their lands as well. In 1896, the Shona and Ndebele rose together in a desperate but ultimately unsuccessful rebellion. By 1897, the BSAC was in control of a vast region of central Africa. The territory was divided into the separate colonies of Northern and Southern Rhodesia in 1912.

Southern Rhodesia's economy was based on mining and cash-crop agriculture. In 1922, the settlers voted against incorporation into South Africa and in favor of a separate administration. The British government reserved (though ultimately never exercised) the right to veto any legislation enacted by the colony's Legislative Assembly. In 1931, the government passed the Land Apportionment Act, which formalized the division of the colony into white and black areas. The act forced

Africans onto marginal agricultural lands and soon led to crowding and environmental degradation. In 1951, the Legislative Assembly passed the Native Land Husbandry Act, which sought to de-stock cattle herds and privatize communal lands, and a massive influx of white immigrants into the colony after World War II encouraged this program of land expropriation. In fact, by 1951, there were more than a quarter of a million European settlers in Southern Rhodesia. Two years later, the growing settler population voted for federation with the neighboring British colonies of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

African opposition to white rule revived slowly after the Shona and Ndebele defeat of 1896. The first challenge to the colonial order appeared in 1946 when urban workers staged a series of strikes to protest segregation and low wages. The passage of the Native Land Husbandry Act in 1951 inspired the earliest signs of resistance among rural Africans since the conquest. Urban and rural grievances were further inflamed by the formation of the Central African Federation in 1953.

In 1957, several African politicians, led by Joshua Nkomo, created the Southern Rhodesian National Congress (SRNC), and two years later, the SRNC organized demonstrations to pressure the government into enfranchising Africans. The government responded by banning the movement and interning 500 of its members. By the early 1960s, two new nationalist organizations had emerged—the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe. Though the two groups were both committed to majority rule, infighting between their parties hampered their efforts to end white rule.

British efforts to force majority rule on Rhodesia resulted in the colony's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. An international trade embargo and several attempts to negotiate a settlement had little effect on the settler regime. However, the end of Portuguese rule in neighboring Mozambique in 1975 and the growing insurgency campaign by the forces of ZANU and ZAPU ultimately forced the government to agree to democratic elections in 1979. After the aborted election campaign of 1979 (which the international community refused to recognize), Mugabe and Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith met in London and

negotiated the Lancaster House Agreement, which paved the way for majority rule in 1980.

James Burns

See also Mozambique; Ndebele; Northern Rhodesia; Nyasaland; Rhodes, Cecil John; Smith, Ian Douglas; World War II

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Soviet Union

With the onset of the November 1917 Revolution in Petrograd and Moscow, the Bolsheviks moved to consolidate their holdings and establish their control within the borders of the former Russian Empire. However, many counterrevolutionary groups opposed this move, and several independent governments were declared in Siberia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. During the Russian Civil War (1918–1921), these rebellious groups were subdued and absorbed into what became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922. Although it rejected colonialism, the new government attempted to expand its control outside its borders by instituting the Third International (Comintern) to promote peace through world revolution. Moscow's insistence that it control the Comintern caused resentment among Communist parties elsewhere.

Under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union began a vast program of collectivizing agriculture and nationalizing industry. The government's brutal methods and resistance to them led to the death of millions of Soviet citizens. Despite the ideal of equality, the Russian Republic dominated Soviet politics. Internally, the Soviet Union's anticolonial policies created "enemy nations" within its own borders. These ethnically diverse groups were submitted to Sovietization, including the sedentarization of nomads and the elimination, as much as possible, of religion and other traditional practices, which the regime classed as backward. In its place, the Soviet Union created artificial cultures based on traditional practices but tailored to Soviet ideals.

At the beginning of World War II, the USSR successfully invaded and conquered Finland, acquiring its eastern provinces and the fortress of Vyborg. In 1940, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were transformed into Soviet republics, with the USSR using population exchanges to pacify them. During and after World War II, the government also used large-scale relocation of entire ethnic groups from its border regions in the name of security. Most of these people, including Germans, Tatars, and Koreans, were sent to Central Asia or Siberia, although some were later allowed to return to their homelands.

Following the war, the USSR annexed several territories, including Finnish Karelia, eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. In addition, the Soviets increased their sphere of influence by setting up Communist governments in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. The countries of Eastern Europe, with the exceptions of Yugoslavia and Albania, were controlled by Moscow during the Cold War, one of the defining events of the second half of the twentieth century. The USSR also became involved in Communist-friendly regimes around the world, including those in Africa, Cuba, Korea, and Vietnam, and provided them with economic and military aid. In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, where it became involved in a ten-year war. The strains of that war on the USSR's struggling economy are partially credited with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Afghanistan; Bolsheviks; Brezhnev, Leonid; Cold War; Cuba; Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeevich; Khrushchev, Nikita; Korea; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Russian Empire; Stalin, Joseph; Vietnam; World War I; World War II

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kelema Years—A Memoir: 1946–1965, 1994); novels (*The Interpreters*, 1965; *Season of Anomy*, 1973; *Isara, a Voyage around “Essay,”* 1989); plays (*A Dance in the Forest*, 1963; *The Swamp Dwellers*, 1964; *The Lion and the Jewel*, 1964; *The Road*, 1965; *Madmen and Specialists*, 1970; *The Bacchae of Euripides*, 1973; *Death and the King’s Horseman*, 1975; *Requiem for a Futurologist*, 1985; *Beautification of Area Boy*, 1994, among others); poetry (*Idanre and Other Poems*, 1967; *A Shuttle in the Crypt*, 1974, and more); and books of criticism and political commentary (including *Art, Dialogue and Outrage*, 1988; *The Open Sore of a Continent*, 1996; *The Burden of Memory, The Muse of Forgiveness*, 1998).

Soyinka has taken principled stands against liberalism, Marxism, and capitalism as well as against such theories as *négritude*, or pride in African heritage and culture, all of which he saw as imported contrivances that were not workable in the African context. Instead, he proposed the idea of an “organic revolution” that subsists on the cyclical and progressive rhythms of African ritual, myth, and nature. Because of his outspoken criticism of the brutality and corruption of various Nigerian regimes, Soyinka has been censored, detained, exiled, and even condemned to death in 1997.

The presiding spirit over much of Soyinka’s work is Ogun, god of the road, at once both creator and destroyer. Ogun stands in the volatile and creative spaces between times and places, people and spirits, the mask and the face. In Soyinka’s work, as in his life, there is an inseparability of art and life, the material and the spiritual. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1986, the first African so honored.

Daizal R. Samad

See also Literature; Nigeria

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Soyinka, Wole (1934–)

Born in Nigeria, Wole Soyinka is one of Africa’s most prodigious talents and debatably the most versatile creative artist living today. His large body of work includes several biographies (*The Man Died*, 1972; *Ake: The Years of Childhood*, 1981; *Ibadan: The Pen-*

Spanish Armada

With the Spanish Armada, Philip II of Spain made his first attempt to strike a decisive blow against Elizabethan England in response to its support for rebels in the Spanish Netherlands. The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587 as well as Sir Fran-

cis Drake's raids on Spain hastened the retaliation. The armada was under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who planned to sail to the Dover Straits, the gateway to England, to give cover to an invading army of about 26,000 men led by the Duke of Parma from the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium). The first engagement was fought in the English Channel on July 21, off Eddystone Rock, Devon. The main battle was at Gravelines, where the armada had anchored off northern France on July 29, 1588. The Spanish had set out from Lisbon on May 18 with 130 ships carrying 20,000 soldiers and 8,500 seamen. They were delayed and disrupted by the storms that continued to dog the whole enterprise until the armada's final scattering around the coasts of Scotland and Ireland in the efforts to return to Spain. Parma then stood down his invading force.

Queen Elizabeth ordered a victory medal minted, the first by an English sovereign commemorating a historical event; its motto, *Afflavit deus et dissipantur* (God blew and they were scattered), attributed the victory as much to a favorable wind—thereafter known as the Protestant wind—as to Drake's celebrated fire ships and the skill of Charles Howard of Effingham, the earl of Nottingham, who was the lord high admiral of the English fleet. Two further armadas, in 1596 and 1597, would be destroyed by storms alone. The encounter with the 1588 armada is one of the better-known events of popular English history, partly because the battle was fought on a scale hitherto unseen and partly because it was commemorated as a Protestant success against Roman Catholicism. And since both England and Spain were rivals not merely in Europe but also in terms of global expansion, the famous armada helped shape the subsequent distribution of colonial power as well.

John J. N. McGurk

See also British Empire; Elizabeth I; Philip II; Piracy; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Spanish Empire

Although the Portuguese were the first to “discover” the Atlantic Islands and to explore the coast of West Africa in search of a new trade route to the

spice-rich Orient, it was their dynastic rival, the Kingdom of Castile, that followed in their wake, contested their claims, and established the largest and most enduring overseas colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere. As early as 1344, Castile secured papal recognition of its claims to the Canary Islands, although more than a century passed before the Grand Canary was occupied during the Succession War with Portugal, with its claims confirmed by the subsequent Treaty of Alcaçovas (1479). In the early 1490s, the Spaniards began subduing and dividing up the remaining Canary Islanders and their territories, using the same tactics they had used in dealing with Moorish peasants and lands taken during the centuries-long *reconquista* (reconquest) of the Iberian Peninsula. Bands of private soldiers waged the wars and were rewarded by the Crown with rights to the labor and tribute of the conquered peoples, a system of *encomienda* (forced Indian labor) that would serve as the model for the Spanish Empire in the New World.

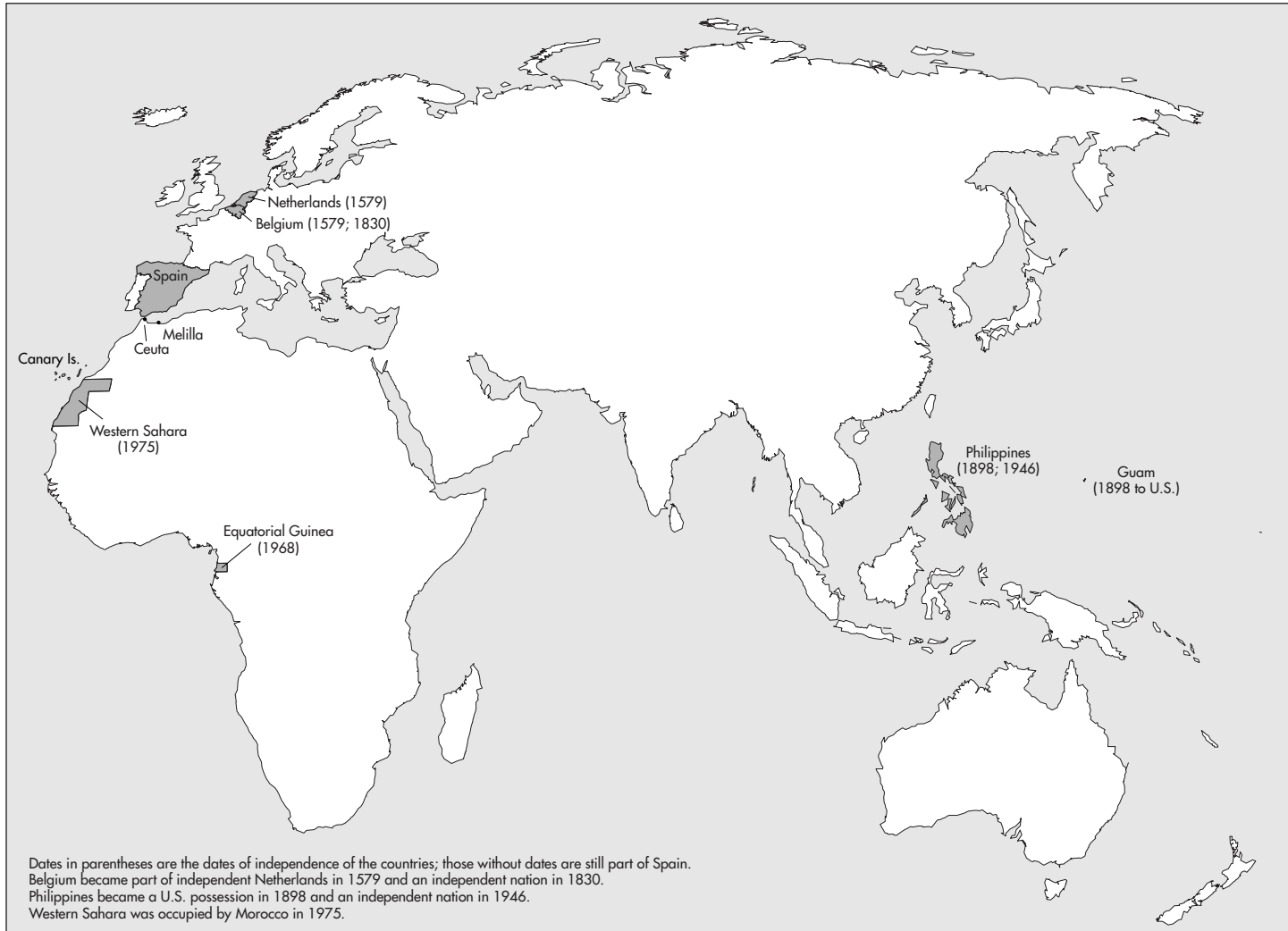
In the same year that the united Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon forced the surrender of Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, Queen Isabella gave Christopher Columbus permission to pioneer a western route to India and the right to govern any oceanic lands he encountered en route. Following the admiral's famous landfall in the Caribbean in 1492, his royal patrons successfully elicited a series of bulls from the Spanish pope, Alexander VI, recognizing their claims to the new lands. Although the Treaty of Tordesillas, negotiated with Portugal in 1494, pushed the papal partition of the world farther west to exclude Portugal's West African possessions, Portugal's easterly route to the spice-rich Orient, and the legendary land of Antilla (and very real land of Brazil), it did provide Castile with unfettered title to much of the Western Hemisphere.

Soon after the Columbus clan established their authority in the West Indies, reports of mismanagement provided the Crown with an excuse to renege on its capitulations in the Treaty of Tordesillas, to dispatch royal officials in 1499 to hear grievances, to take command of the settlement, and to regulate tribute exactions and labor exploitation. In 1503, the Crown established the Casa de la Contratación de las Indias at Seville to

SPANISH EMPIRE—WESTERN HEMISPHERE



SPANISH EMPIRE—EASTERN HEMISPHERE



promote and regulate trade, navigation, and emigration to the Indies. For advice in administering its new colonial possessions, the Crown consulted the Council of Castile, a supreme court and cabinet council, and following the suspension of Columbus's authority, it appointed royal governors to administer the islands. In 1508, the pope conferred on Castile the unprecedented *patronato*—the right in perpetuity to found and organize the church and to appoint ecclesiastics in all of its overseas territories.

By 1513, the colonial administration of Santo Domingo (Haiti) expanded to accommodate not only a royal governor but also an *audiencia* (a court of royally appointed judges who exercised legislative as well as judicial power) and treasury officials charged with overseeing the collection of the Crown's cut; that cut included half of all precious metals and stones taken in war, one-fifth of those discovered or mined, customs duties on trade goods, and tribute imposed on subject Indians. In effect, the Crown had established a checks-and-balances system whereby each of its royal and religious representatives in the Indies jealously watched and reported any abuses of power by the others. In 1519, royal ministers in Spain formed the Consejo de las Indias (Council of the Indies) to better oversee and administer Spain's far-flung colonial possessions just as the kingdom of the Indies moved from the islands onto the American mainland and beyond.

That same year, Hernán Cortés sailed from Cuba to the Gulf of Mexico and initiated the conquest of the Aztec Empire, even as Ferdinand Magellan and his crew began the voyage that would cross the Pacific Ocean and circumnavigate the globe under the flag of Spain in pursuit of a westerly route to the East Indies. The Crown rewarded Cortés's 1519–1521 conquest of the Aztec Empire with a generous grant of Indian labor and tribute and did the same for the Pizarro brothers, Francisco and Gonzalo, after their successful conquest of the Inca Empire in Peru in 1532. With little or no royal support, Spanish colonists affected the conquest of virtually all of the densely settled regions of the Americas by 1550, and they slowly established themselves in the peripheral frontier areas thereafter. The absolutist Spanish government was determined, however, not to allow the conquistadores to establish feudal fiefdoms over-

seas, like those they established in Spain from land seized from the Moors, having fought so hard in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to limit their power and influence at home. Consequently, although the Crown recognized the exploits of the conquistadores with grants of labor and tribute, it rapidly deployed viceroys, governors, *oidores* (judges), *corregidores* (subgovernors), bishops, and other lettered bureaucrats to check the power and independence of the emergent *encomenderos* (forced Indian labor plantation owners).

In its new imperial role, Castile was not without its critics, both at home and abroad. In fact, the earliest complaints of the religious orders (particularly the Dominicans), decrying the unjust wars and slave raids perpetrated on peaceable Amerindian peoples, helped promote a “black legend” of Spanish cruelty. Such charges also provoked a debate in Spain that called into question the very legitimacy of an empire won by force of arms. In response to such criticisms, King Ferdinand promulgated the Laws of Burgos in 1512, designed to shield his Indian subjects from excessive exploitation and to outline the Crown's paternalistic responsibilities for converting them to Christianity and “civility.” For the most part, however, these so-called New Laws were feebly enforced, except in 1544 when the royal governor's attempt to dismantle the *encomienda* system provoked a full-scale rebellion in Peru that was only suppressed by force of arms and only extinguished with the suspension of the hated regulations and reforms.

At its height, the Spanish American empire spanned the North American continent from Virginia on the east coast to California and Alaska on the west, and excluding Brazil, it extended all the way south through Central and South America to the southernmost tip of Tierra del Fuego. With the conquest of the Philippines in the 1560s, the Spaniards at long last reached the East Indies, where they established a lucrative trade in American silver for Chinese silks. From that decade forward, annual convoys of galleons and treasure fleets crossed the Atlantic with regularity, returning to the home country with tons of silver bullion to finance the Catholic kings' costly crusade to drive the Turks out of the Mediterranean and to roll back the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

The Hapsburg dynasty, which ruled Spain until 1700, was primarily concerned with filling the royal coffers with American silver but also encouraged the production of cochineal and indigo dyes, cacao, vanilla, cotton, tobacco, and other commodities not readily available in the home country. In the colonies themselves, self-sufficient agrarian and cattle-raising enterprises predominated in the colonial period, with great *latifundia* (landed estates) springing up in response to the declining Indian population and the ever increasing domestic demands for wheat, sugarcane, and leather goods. Ultimately, the Seville-dominated imperial system was unable either to meet the demands of its colonies for manufactured goods or to foster economic interdependence among its American possessions, and after 1797, it proved incapable of excluding foreigners from its trade monopoly. The money-strapped Bourbon dynasty enacted a series of sweeping political and economic reforms in the eighteenth century, but these, too, failed to meet heightened expectations in the American colonies and added to the growing dissatisfaction with the colonial regime. A crisis of legitimacy regarding the rule in Spain, brought on by the Napoleonic Wars, and the deposition of King Ferdinand VII in 1808 provided American radicals and dissidents with the pretext for declaring independence in the early nineteenth century, after some 300 years of colonial rule. By 1825, Spain had lost the bulk of its American colonies, save for Puerto Rico and Cuba in the Caribbean and Manila and the Carolina, Marshall, and Mariana Islands in the Far East. Following the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, in Havana, Cuba, in 1898, the United States declared war on Spain, and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, Spain relinquished its rights to the last remnants of its overseas empire: Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other islands in Micronesia.

Francis X. Luca

See also Aztecs; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Cuba; Gold; Incas; Peru; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish-American War; Tordesillas, Treaty of

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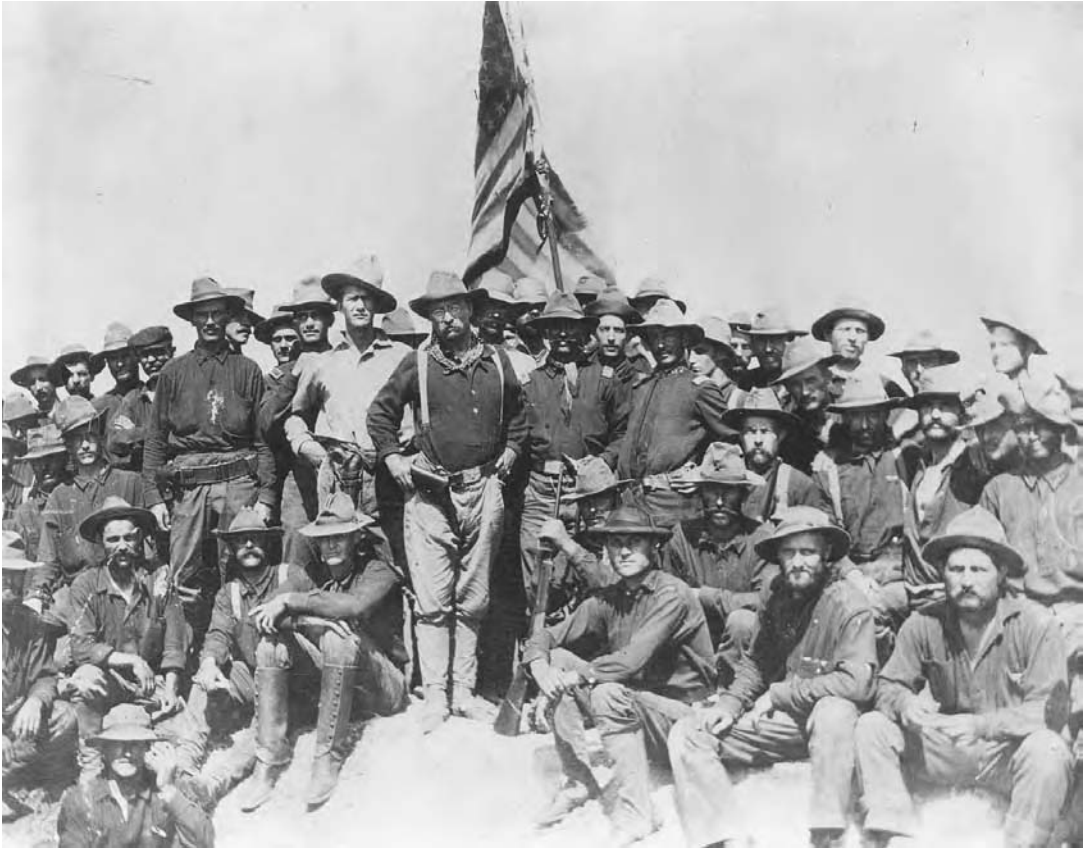
Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War was a three-month conflict fought between the United States and Spain in the spring and summer of 1898. In an overwhelming victory, the United States took possession of much of Spain's remaining empire, including Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific. Although the United States had been obtaining small possessions outside of North America during the previous decade, the war marked the nation's arrival as a global imperialist power.

The war largely arose over Cuba. Since the 1870s, the large island—situated less than 100 miles south of Florida—had been in the throes of a sporadic liberation movement, which flared up again in 1895, leading to a brutal campaign of suppression by the Spanish. The daily press in the United States played up the Spanish atrocities, setting off outrage among a broad cross section of the American public.

In January 1898, President William McKinley—who was initially reluctant to get involved—dispatched the battleship USS *Maine* to the Havana Harbor to express U.S. concern about the situation on the island. On February 15, the ship was destroyed and 260 lives were lost in a mysterious blast that was widely blamed on Spanish saboteurs. In March, McKinley issued an ultimatum to the Spanish government, calling for U.S.-mediated negotiations with the Cuban rebels. When Madrid rejected the offer, the United States prepared to intervene, prompting a Spanish declaration of war on April 24 and a U.S. counterdeclaration the following day.

Although the war began over Cuba, it quickly spread to the Philippines, which proimperial American elites had long eyed as a base from which to project U.S. power in East Asia. The U.S. Pacific Fleet, harbored in Hong Kong at the time, sailed to the Philippines and destroyed the larger but antiquated Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor on May 1. Meanwhile, a small but highly disciplined U.S. Army expeditionary force, including a detachment of Rough Riders led by the future president Theodore Roosevelt, won a series of brief but bloody battles around the city of Santiago in southeastern Cuba in June and July. When the Spanish fleet, trapped by another American fleet in Santiago's harbor, tried to escape, it was destroyed. Spain sued for peace in late July.



Col. Theodore Roosevelt poses with his Rough Riders after the Spanish-American War's Battle of San Juan, Cuba, in 1898. The war—which led to the U.S. seizure of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific—promoted the United States to the front ranks of imperial powers in the late nineteenth century. (Library of Congress)

On December 10, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris, officially ending the war. The treaty terminated Spanish claims on Cuba, transferred sovereignty of the Philippines to the United States, and ceded Guam and Puerto Rico to Washington. In exchange, the United States paid the Spanish government \$20 million.

The United States quickly granted Cuba its independence, although it retained a right to intervene in the island's politics should there arise any threat to U.S. economic interests there. After a brutal guerrilla war against Filipino insurgents—led by Emilio Aguinaldo—the United States governed the archipelago until 1946. Guam and Puerto Rico remain possessions of the United States to the present day.

For both Spain and the United States, the Spanish-American War had significant consequences. Spain's catastrophic loss forced the country to

abandon its pretense as an imperial power and focus on political and economic reform at home. As for the United States, the victory set off a vigorous debate about whether a country that was founded in a revolt against empire could possess an empire of its own. Most historians cite the Spanish-American War as one of the key events in the rise of the United States from a continental power in the nineteenth century to a global one in the twentieth.

James Ciment

See also Aguinaldo, Emilio; Cuba; Guam; McKinley, William; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Roosevelt, Theodore; Spanish Empire; United States; War and Warfare

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Spencer, Herbert (1820–1903)

The British sociologist and social philosopher Herbert Spencer was born in Derby, England, in 1820. He was mainly self-educated and initially worked as a railway engineer (from 1837 to 1846). He occasionally contributed as a freelance writer to journals such as *The Economist*. Spencer was strongly influenced by the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham and early evolutionary theories by French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. In his essay *Social Statistics* (1850) and in *Principles of Psychology* (1855), Spencer outlined his understanding of evolutionary processes even before Charles Darwin presented his findings in 1858.

Spencer seized on Darwin's findings and coined the phrase "survival of the fittest" as he and other social philosophers applied Darwinian science to advance theories of racial superiority and to justify conservative, laissez-faire individualism in claiming that both nature and society evolved from natural law.

Spencer became the most famous and outspoken advocate of social Darwinism. He argued that only the most well-adapted individuals in a population ultimately survived and reproduced. Further, he advanced the thesis that human progress resulted from the triumph of more advanced individuals and cultures over inferior competitors. Wealth and power were interpreted as signs of "fitness," whereas poverty was taken by Spencer as evidence of natural inferiority.

He urged unlimited competition and wanted government to restrict its activities to the bare minimum. Based on his theory of natural selection, Spencer opposed public schools, as he claimed that they created a monopoly for mediocrity by catering to students of low intellectual ability.

Spencer published his ideas in *First Principles* (1862) and in several multivolume works: *Principles of Biology* (1864–1867), *Principles of Sociology* (1876–1896), and *Principles of Ethics* (1892–1893). He was particularly well received in the United States, which he visited in 1883. His visit, hosted by Andrew Carnegie, inspired William Graham Sumner, the most prominent social Darwinist in the United States. Spencer died in 1903, and his reputation declined as social Darwinism waned.

Frank Schumacher

See also Bentham, Jeremy; Social Darwinism; Theories of Imperialism

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Spengler, Oswald (1880–1936)

Oswald Spengler was born in Germany and educated as a professional mathematician. After teaching several years at the university level, Spengler abandoned mathematics in 1908 to begin a decade of research, leading to the publication of *The Decline of the West* in two volumes (1918 and 1923). Appearing at the end of World War I, this work was controversial and groundbreaking in that it posited that the much touted peace agreement concluding that war was inevitably made to be broken. Spengler's idea, couched in the language of Karl Marx and Georg Hegel, was that all civilizations are living organisms, with a "historical destiny" and a life cycle mirroring that of human beings. He identified nine "higher organisms" or cultures. Three had run their course and died: the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman. Three others were in old age: the Indian, Chinese, and Arab-Persian. Western European civilization, he believed, was in maturity and decline. Russia was categorized as young but handicapped by the absorption of Western European ideals. And finally, he described the Mexican-Guatemalan civilization as one whose life had been cut short by the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

Spengler himself was an ethical socialist who put the demands of the state and its survival over the needs of any individual. Highly critical of democracy because it allowed anonymous persons to enrich themselves at the expense of the state and other citizens, he advocated a kind of "Caesarism" and suggested that, although the life cycle of states was inevitable, stages could be prolonged or interfered with by events such as major wars. He was never anti-Semitic, but in the 1920s, he was popular with the rising National Socialist movement of Germany. However, Spengler found himself officially ostracized by the German state after the 1933 publication of *The Hour of Decision*, in which he suggested that influence in Eastern Europe could be lost easily by incompetent German leadership. Out of favor in Germany, Spengler died in 1936.

Margaret Sankey

See also Marx, Karl; Theories of Imperialism

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Sports

The global diffusion of modern sport is a lasting legacy of European colonial and commercial expansion. In the late nineteenth century, European soldiers, sailors, traders, government officials, and missionaries brought modern sport with them to African, Caribbean, Asian, and South Pacific territories. The British swiftly introduced modern sport wherever they arrived, although the French, Belgians, Portuguese, and Italians were a little slower in this regard, mainly because they lacked the established sporting culture of Britain.

In settler colonies, Europeans articulated an exclusionary social identity through sport, thereby unifying white communities and strengthening their cultural bonds with the imperial metropole. In the nonsettler colonies, colonizers viewed sport as an integral part of the “civilizing mission”—a tool for noncoercive political domination and social control of local subjects. Africans, Asians, and Caribbeans, however, adopted football and cricket on their own terms and refused to be passive victims of Western cultural imperialism.

Much of the initial diffusion of sport within the colonies occurred in mission schools. In the Indian subcontinent, cricket spread rapidly among the elite enrolled in Mayo College (founded in 1872) and similar institutions modeled after the British public schools. Soccer was popular among students who formed the first Bengali football clubs in Calcutta in the 1880s: Presidency College, Sibpur Engineering College, Bishops College, Mohan Bagan, and St. Xavier’s College. Similarly, mission schools in the eastern Cape Colony (South Africa) educated elite Africans who then founded the first African cricket club in Port Elizabeth in 1869. This pattern repeated itself in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the colonial world.

In the 1920s and 1930s, sport lost its elite character and became a central aspect of popular leisure among colonized populations. Railway workers, miners, clerks, soldiers, policemen, and manual laborers joined the teachers and preachers in playing and watching football, cricket, and other athletic events. In so doing, these workers drew on vernacular athletic traditions (wrestling, stick fighting, various forms of racing, ball games) and their eagerness to adapt and integrate into urban, industrial life. Although sport was an overwhelmingly male pursuit, women attended matches in small but growing numbers. Netball, field hockey, and softball school competitions saw a tiny minority of female students participate in sporting activities.

Sport added fun, excitement, and uncertainty to the drudgery of everyday life under colonial rule. Sporting clubs served social and political functions, while reshaping colonial games to suit indigenous culture and society. Typical of the cultural remolding was the emergence of new styles of play that self-consciously distinguished themselves from colonial models (fast bowling in West Indian cricket; ball possession in African soccer), as well as the use of religious specialists for the ritual preparation of soccer teams from Abidjan and Accra to Zanzibar and Zululand. These innovations challenged colonial values and objectives. Attempts by the authorities to stamp out fast bowling and magical rituals had political implications, often resulting in acerbic conflicts between colonizer and colonized.

After World War II, the political role of sport in the colonies intensified. In 1950 in Elisabethville, the provincial capital of Katanga, Belgian Congo, the colonial regime organized the first unofficial African soccer championship to improve the image of European colonialism. As anticolonial liberation movements gathered strength, sport drew the nationalist elites and the masses (rural and urban) closer together. Sport provided a common cultural practice that linked people across economic, regional, ethnic, linguistic, and generational lines. It helped that many political leaders had sharpened their organizing skills in sporting clubs and been athletes themselves. In his famous book *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), C. L. R. James described how Caribbean cricket in the late 1950s became intertwined with the broader struggle for

liberation from British colonial rule, as the black population rallied behind Frank Worrell's quest to be the first black captain of the West Indian team. During the bloody Algerian War of Independence, the soccer team of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) conducted international tours from 1958 to 1962 that garnered support for the resistance and conveyed an image of emerging nationhood. More famously, the international sport boycott movement of white South Africa played a key role in the victorious struggle against apartheid. As colonies transformed themselves into independent nations, the new leaders, regardless of ideological preference, used international sporting competitions such as the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games, the Jeux de l'Amitié, and the African Nations (soccer) Cup to forge a cohesive national identity and gain international visibility.

Peter Alegi

See also Children; Education; Media

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Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

Ceylon lies in the Indian Ocean, about 50 miles southeast of the southern tip of India. The Portuguese first arrived there in 1505 but by 1656 had surrendered their possessions to the Dutch East India Company. The Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy gradually lost all its coastal districts but continued to thrive in the central highlands. The island was next annexed by the British East India Company in 1796 and attached to the Madras Presidency, becoming a British colony in 1802. By 1815, the British had finally destroyed the Kandy Kingdom. The British period saw the development of plantations, most notably tea, which still dominate the economy. Britain also developed Colombo as a port in the 1870s.

The Executive and Legislative Councils were introduced in 1833. Pressure for more Ceylonese representation grew, with the Ceylonese National Association (later called the Ceylon National Congress) formed in 1908. By 1924, there were twelve official and thirty-seven unofficial members in the Legislative Council, thirty-four of the latter being elected. The 1927–1928 Donoughmore Commission resulted in a further advance in 1931, granting a universal franchise and leaving just three officials and eight governor's nominees in the State Council. The latter replaced both the old Executive and Legislative Councils. State Council legislators now formed executive committees, whose chairmen joined three British officials to constitute the Board of Ministers.

The Pacific War saw Ceylon become the main base of Britain's eastern fleet, and Kandy was the headquarters for Louis Mountbatten and his Southeast Asia Command (SEAC) from April 1944. The war also encouraged Britain to make further concessions, with the 1944 Soulbury

Commission leading to full internal self-government in 1946.

Independence within the Commonwealth came on February 4, 1948, and was accompanied by agreements allowing Britain to maintain naval and air facilities in the area. The ruling United National Party tolerated these facilities until S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's socialist Sri Lanka Freedom Party took power in April 1956. Under pressure, Britain withdrew from the bases beginning in 1957.

Since 1957, the Tamil minority, comprising over 10 percent of the population, has been increasingly alienated from the mostly Buddhist Sinhalese majority. From 1983, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam have been fighting for *eelam* (independence) in regions where the mainly Hindu Tamils form a majority, in the north and east.

Karl A. Hack

See also British East India Company; British Empire; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; India; Portuguese Empire

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Stalin, Joseph (1879–1953)

Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, known to history as Stalin (the Man of Steel), was named general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1922. He took control of the Soviet state after Vladimir Lenin's death. In opposition to the concept of international revolution, Stalin developed the idea of "socialism in one country." To accomplish this, he placed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on a series of five-year plans to increase industrial and agricultural production. These efforts included the collectivization of agriculture, during which millions of peasants died, and the forced nationalization of industry. Under Stalin, the state became preoccupied with the development of massive construction projects and huge industrial complexes. Many of these were ac-

complished by prison camp labor—camps filled with prisoners of war, dissidents and "class enemies." Some inmates were victims of the 1934–1938 purges of the Communist Party.

In June 1941, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Although the USSR experienced huge losses during the war, it extended the Soviet Empire beyond that reached by its predecessor Russian Empire. Not only did Stalin increase its land area, he also extended its influence. The Baltics, which had been annexed in 1940, sought independence at the war's end. Instead, Stalin resettled one-quarter of the Baltic population, replacing it with ethnic Russians. This method of pacification was widely used during the Stalinist period. At the end of the war, Stalin extended the Soviet sphere of influence as well. In Eastern Europe, satellite states were created, with Communist governments under the control of Moscow. The USSR also exerted its influence in Turkey, Greece, and northern Persia. In addition, the Soviets supported Mao Zedong's declaration of the People's Republic of China, as well as Communist activity in Korea and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In occupied Germany, the eleven-month-long Berlin blockade marked the opening of the Cold War between the USSR and the West.

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Bolsheviks; Cold War; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Mao Zedong; Russian Empire; Soviet Union; World War II

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Stanley, Henry Morton (1841–1904)

Best known as the man who found the missing Dr. David Livingstone in 1871, Henry Stanley was actually far more important as one of the principal actors in the opening of Africa to European expansion during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Born out of wedlock in Denbigh, Wales, he was christened John Rowlands after the man thought to be his father. After an unfortunate childhood spent in a workhouse, he crossed the Atlantic as an unwilling deckhand on the sailing vessel *Windermere*. On arrival in New Orleans in early 1859, he jumped ship and made the acquaintance of a local businessman, Henry Morton Stan-

ley, who helped the boy find work. Eventually, he took the name of his benefactor, although he was never legally adopted.

Rowlands, now Stanley, served in both the Confederate and Union armies and with the Union navy during the American Civil War. Following the war, he drifted into journalism, writing first for the *Missouri Democrat* and later the *New York Herald*. He made his journalistic reputation covering the 1868 Abyssinian War. Acting as the agent of the *Herald*, he undertook the search for Livingstone, arriving in Zanzibar in January 1871. His expedition traveled extensively in central East Africa, finally tracking down the missionary on November 3, 1871, at Ujiji. In 1874, he returned to Africa to lead an expedition sponsored jointly by the *Herald* and the *London Daily Telegraph*. Setting out again from Zanzibar, Stanley circled both Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika, then traveled the length of the Congo River from Nyangwe to the Atlantic.

As he had after finding Livingstone, Stanley presented a series of lectures on his return to the United States and Europe, expounding on the economic potential of the Congo Basin. Neither the British government nor British businesses were willing to underwrite a further expedition; Leopold II of Belgium, however, commissioned Stanley to act as his personal agent, through a shell organization called the Comité d'Étude du Haut Congo. Between 1879 and 1884, Stanley oversaw the creation of some twenty-two trade stations and signed treaties with over 400 indigenous leaders, giving Leopold *personal* control over some 920,610 square miles in the Congo River basin, an area eighty times larger than Belgium and roughly one-fourth the size of all of Europe. Furor over such an enormous acquisition prompted the Berlin Conference of 1884, which generated the Berlin Act of 1885, setting down the ground rules for the "scramble for Africa" that would ensue.

Melvin C. Smith

See also Conference of Berlin; Congo Free State; Exploration; Leopold II

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Sucre, Antonio José de (1795–1830)

A gifted military leader and statesman in the Spanish American independence movement against Spain, Antonio José de Sucre was originally commissioned as a lieutenant in the provincial armed forces of the Venezuelan republics. He served under Gen. Santiago Marino and later under the liberator Simón Bolívar: buying arms, issuing military orders, recruiting and assigning personnel, and enlisting spies and subverting royalists. As Bolívar's chief lieutenant, Sucre found his diplomatic ability tested when he was dispatched to negotiate an armistice with the Spanish forces in 1820. By 1822, he was a general leading troops at the Battle of Pichincha, defeating the Spanish forces and securing the independence of Ecuador. He subsequently won the decisive Battle of Ayacucho in 1824, capturing the Spanish viceroy and securing Peru's independence. The Assembly of Upper Peru supported self-determination and created the independent Republic of Bolivia, honoring the name of Bolívar. Sucre became Bolivia's first elected president in 1826. With a war-weary Bolivia in economic decline, Sucre's reform efforts were not well received, and an internal revolt, compounded by an invasion from Peru, forced his resignation in 1828. In his final military campaign in 1828 and 1829, Sucre repelled Peruvian forces to keep them from invading Ecuador. He then presided over a Bogotá conference in 1830, which unsuccessfully attempted to reconcile divisiveness in the Republic of Colombia. Returning to Quito, Sucre was assassinated on June 4, 1830, in a forest near Pasto, Colombia.

Janet Butler Munch

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Bolívar, Simón; Bolivia; Peru; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Sudan

Arab geographers labeled a large chunk of north-east Africa *al-bilad al-sudan* (the land of the blacks), and until the nineteenth century, this was an ill-defined region, with mysterious sultanates

such as Darfur or Kordofan. Most knew little of its politics or peoples but recognized the Sudan as a source of ivory, gum, ostrich feathers, gold dust, and slaves.

Egypt's powerful viceroy, Muhammad Ali, saw these resources (especially the gold) as valuable to the development of his military-industrial complex. Therefore, between 1820 and 1825, he sent several armies up the Nile into the Sudan. Equipped with modern firearms and artillery, these troops were sufficient to conquer the districts of Dongola, Berber, Kordofan, and Sennar. Another district was formed out of the new administrative center of Khartoum.

Between 1825 and 1871, Egyptian leaders continued a policy of expansion aimed both eastward, toward Ethiopia, and southward, to the great lakes of East Africa. Although the Sudan never produced vast amounts of gold, Egyptian administrators collected significant taxes, and until the 1860s, they allowed massive slave raids to the south. One by-product of the latter was the *jihadiyya*, an army of ex-slaves who were conscripted for life into the military. These individuals formed the basis of Egyptian power until the 1880s.

The period between 1881 and 1898 marked a furious break from colonial domination, as Sudanese rebels destroyed the Egyptian administration. Directed by Muhammad Ahmad, this revolt began in Kordofan, taking advantage of Egypt's weakened state after the deposition of Khedive Ismail in 1879. Within two years, it had spread throughout the land, and by 1885, after the dramatic siege of Khartoum, the Egyptian influence was expelled. Egypt, now dominated by England, was unable to immediately respond. After some debate, both nations marshaled an army, which recaptured the Sudan during the late 1890s. This offensive was attributable to imperial pride and the need to respond to the Sudanese raids, but it was also prompted by British fears of the French Marchand Expedition, which looked to Britain like a potential invasion force.

Sudanese colonial history began its second phase with the creation of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1898. This joint venture featured a very junior Egyptian partner whose influence disappeared in 1924, after the assassination of Governor-General Lee Stack. Until 1956, British diplomats used the Sudan as both carrot and

stick, employing suggestions of reunification or independence in efforts to influence Egypt. These efforts ended with the fall of the Muhammad Ali dynasty in 1952, for the new revolutionary government of Egypt renounced all claims to the Sudan and supported its independence, which occurred four years later.

John Dunn

See also Ethiopia; Gordon, Charles G.; Khartoum; Kitchener, Lord Horatio Herbert; Mahdi, Muhammed al-

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Suez Canal

Considered a wonder of nineteenth-century engineering, the Suez Canal also figures prominently in the story of colonialism. Designed to connect the Red and Mediterranean Seas, it was first contemplated by savants accompanying Napoleon's 1798–1801 invasion of Egypt. This French connection continued in the person of Ferdinand de Lesseps—engineer, entrepreneur, and, equally important, childhood friend of Said Pasha, who ruled Egypt from 1854 to 1863.

Cashing in on this friendship, as well as Said's vanity, de Lesseps secured excellent terms for his Universal Canal Company. Initial opposition by Great Britain, which was wary of the spread of French influence, forced delays and renegotiation, but work finally started in 1859. When opened in 1869, Egypt's contribution totaled about 70 percent of construction costs, whereas its share of canal stock came to just 44 percent. Within six years, Egypt's spendthrift khedive, Ismail, placed these shares on the market, selling the lot to Great Britain. The obvious geopolitical value of the canal was in relation to the British Empire and its jewel, India. As a consequence, Egyptian affairs were of major interest to London. Thus, the canal played a role in the British invasion of Egypt in 1882. Ostensibly to protect European nationals from the Arabi Revolution, the intervention was also designed to protect canal shareholders and the many Western loans threatened by a change in government.

Backed by their decisive military victory, British interests quickly secured control over the

board of the Suez Canal Company, maintaining this hold from 1883 until 1949. This arrangement benefited Britain not only in a strategic sense but also financially. The canal returned generous profits—moneys not shared with Egypt until 1938 and then only in small amounts until the Suez Canal Treaty was signed in May 1949.

John P. Dunn

See also British Empire; Egypt; French Empire; Khedive
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Sugar

Arguably, no crop can be linked to colonialism as much as sugar. This colonial income earner debuted in the Mediterranean but did not reach its zenith until its introduction into the Caribbean. Sugar quickly became the preferred and dominant crop and made monoculture an integral part of

the region. Sugar consumed the colonies, securing dependency on Europe for all supplies and foodstuffs. Barbados and Jamaica were leading producers, second only to St. Domingue (now Haiti). After the Haitian Revolution (1791–1803), however, St. Domingue lost its place in the sun, and French planters took their knowledge to other areas of the Atlantic world, mainly Cuba and Louisiana. And as plantations became industrialized, sugar dominated even more colonies than before. By the nineteenth century, Cuba and Brazil controlled the world sugar economy as the leading producers, thereby extending their tenure as slave societies well into the nineteenth century.

All of this came at a price. In addition to the immense requirements of land and capital, sugar needed labor. As the most labor-intensive crop in the plantation complex (requiring three times the number of workers as other crops), sugar was largely responsible for the Caribbean's dependence on slave labor during the pre-emancipation era.



Cutters pause in their work at a Cuban sugar plantation in 1904. From the fifteenth century onward, European powers colonized tropical lands—first in the Atlantic Islands and then the Americas—to satisfy Europe's ever-growing hunger for sugar. (Library of Congress)

And as the demand for sugar rose, so did the demand for slaves, whose horrific working conditions reduced their life expectancy in the sugar colonies to an average of five to seven years. Emancipation in the nineteenth century only minutely affected sugar's dominance, as slave labor was simply replaced by indentured labor from China, India, Java, and even Africa. Sugar met its match, however, with the introduction of beet sugar in India and Germany. As a result, the Caribbean monopoly was lost.

Sugar made an impact on the colonializers' world, as well as Europe. On its introduction, sugar was a luxury strictly reserved for the elite. As its popularity and production increased, its price dropped, and even the poorest members of society could enjoy sugar—in jam with their tea, for example. Cuisines and cultures changed as eating habits were revolutionized. Sugar became an everyday necessity. Furthermore, the cultural landscape of the colonies shifted due to the influx of workers from all over the world. Sugar made the Caribbean the jewel of its European benefactors, bringing power as well as sweetness to Europe and the world.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also Brazil; British West Indies; Columbian Exchange; Cuba; French West Indies; Haiti; Land; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Sukarno (1901–1970)

Sukarno was the foremost leader in the Indonesian struggle for independence from Dutch colonialism and served as Indonesia's president until 1967. Sukarno was born in Surabaya, Java, on June 6, 1901, at a time of burgeoning national consciousness and great political movement in Indonesia. Sukarno's aristocratic Javanese father enrolled him in Dutch primary and secondary schools, making him one of a tiny handful of



Indonesian independence leader Sukarno in 1945. Sukarno, who would later lead Indonesian forces in a brutal independence struggle against the Dutch, became the first president of Indonesia. He was overthrown in a bloody coup in 1965. (Library of Congress)

Dutch-educated Indonesians, and Sukarno eventually graduated with a university degree in civil engineering. As a student, Sukarno lived with a personal friend of his father, Tjokroaminoto, who was also the leader of the Indonesian protoindependence movement known as Sarekat Islam. Sukarno became active in several anticolonial youth groups and gained a reputation as a powerful orator. Straddling diverse and sometimes competing interest groups, a move that was his trademark, Sukarno and several students founded the Indonesian National Party, or PNI, in an attempt to unite the many disparate Indonesian nationalist movements. Sukarno, along with thousands of nationalists, spent most of the 1930s in Dutch prisons or in forced exile.

The situation of the Dutch in Indonesia was radically altered when the Japanese invaded Southeast Asia in 1941 and 1942 and swept the

Dutch and the other European colonial powers out of the region. Never the ideologue, Sukarno worked outwardly with the imperial Japanese to govern wartime Indonesia while secretly planning an independent postwar state. After the Japanese defeat in World War II, the Dutch sought to reestablish themselves in the archipelago, but stiff Indonesian resistance and international pressure forced the Netherlands to reluctantly recognize Indonesian independence in 1949 and to turn Irian Jaya over to Indonesia in 1963.

The young nation experienced significant growing pains in the late 1940s and 1950s as Indonesian communism, Islam, and a patriot military, among other forces, vied for power. After an ineffective brush with parliamentary democracy, weak coalition governments, and revolving-door cabinets, Sukarno declared a new form of state government in 1959—"guided democracy," based on the idealized village council model in which interested parties would come together to deliberate until consensus was reached, with the leader making the final collective decision. Sukarno's international presence grew as he figured prominently in the meeting of nonaligned nations and traveled widely abroad, but state bankruptcy, confrontation with Malaysia, and increasing involvement with the People's Republic of China widened the gulfs separating the military, communism, and Islam in Indonesia. On September 30, 1965, the military, under Indonesia's future president, Suharto, took control of Indonesia's government under the pretense of a counterinsurgency campaign, followed by the mass murder of hundreds of thousands of Communists and alleged Communists. Sukarno died under house arrest on June 21, 1970.

Eric A. Jones

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Dutch East Indies; Dutch Empire; War and Warfare

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Suleiman I (1520–1566)

Called "the Magnificent" by Europeans or "*al-Qanuni*" (the lawgiver) by Arabs, Suleiman I ruled the Ottoman Empire at the high point of its power. Although his European contemporaries, such as

Charles V, were also powerful, they were often distracted by Hapsburg-Valois struggles or the Reformation. Suleiman's aggressive nature and astute diplomatic skills allowed him to profit from these divisions. Under his direction, Turkish authority pushed deep into the Balkans, creating a long-lasting presence there but also gaining large numbers of unhappy Christian subjects.

Suleiman's initial conquests included Belgrade (1521) and Rhodes (1522), but his greatest campaign focused on Austria. He attacked Vienna in September and October 1529. Although he employed some of his best forces, this attack was the first major setback for Suleiman's European offensive. Viewing this as a temporary setback, the sultan forged an alliance with France, whose rulers were dynastic enemies of the Hapsburgs.

Although a short Franco-Turkish naval campaign ensued, another part of the understanding between France and the Ottomans, the so-called capitulation system, was more permanent. The latter made French subjects residing in Ottoman lands subject only to their own legal system. This provision later was extended to other European nationals, giving them significant business, economic, and political advantages over Ottoman citizens. Thus, though Suleiman is remembered as one of the Ottomans' greatest leaders, he also sewed the seeds for serious future problems.

John P. Dunn

See also Ottoman Empire; Serbia

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Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan, Sun Wen) (1866–1925)

Sun Yat-sen was a Chinese revolutionary leader and director-general of the Kuomintang (KMT). He was born in rural south China but educated in a missionary school in Hawaii and a medical school in British Hong Kong. Contrasts between the efficiency of the British colonial administration and the corruption of the government of China motivated Sun to work for the replacement of the Manchu dynasty by a republic. From 1894 on, he was an indefatigable organizer of revolutionary groups and uprisings, and he was

a globe-trotting fund-raiser among overseas Chinese communities. After the 1911 Revolution broke out, he was elected provisional president of the new republic, but he stepped aside in favor of the experienced bureaucrat Yuan Shih-k'ai (Yuan Shikai).

When Yuan adopted strong-arm tactics to coerce Parliament into submission and outlawed Sun's party, the Kuomintang, Sun joined in unsuccessful efforts to overthrow the president. After China was plunged into an era of warlordism following Yuan's death in 1916, Sun made two abortive attempts to set up a government in Canton (Guangzhou) in south China between 1917 and 1922, as a step toward national unity under his leadership; both efforts ended with him being driven into exile by warlords.

Canton was recaptured, and Sun returned in 1923. Having previously been rebuffed in his appeals to the West and Japan for support, Sun accepted aid from Soviet Russia. The KMT was transformed into a Leninist organization with a strong ideological foundation based on Sun's Three Principles of the People—nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. The Chinese Communist Party was admitted as a junior partner in a united front against Chinese warlords and foreign imperialists. Canton was to serve as a revolutionary base for a northern expedition against the warlords and to unify China; political tutelage of the people to prepare them for democracy would follow. In late 1924, Sun went to Peking (Beijing) to negotiate with the militarists for his election to the presidency of the republic. He died there in 1925.

Sun was posthumously honored by the KMT and the Chinese public as "the father of the nation" for his role in the 1911 Revolution. He is also revered by the Communists as a "pioneer of the revolution" that culminated in 1949. Sun Yat-sen remains a potent source of political legitimacy for both the KMT and the Communists.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; China; Chinese Communist Party; Kuomintang

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Swedish Empire

King Gustavus Adolphus had successfully expanded Sweden into northern Pomerania, the borderlands between Sweden and Finland and the Baltic, and was engaging in a program of settling or repopulating these areas with Swedes when he was encouraged by Willem Usselinx to found a colony in America. The king's death in the Thirty Years' War prevented this, but his successor, the regent Axel Oxenstierna, joined with Adm. Klaus Fleming and the former governor of the Dutch New Netherlands, Peter Minuit, to establish a Swedish presence in America. In 1638, Minuit arrived on the Delaware River with two ships and a mixed group of Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch colonists, who then built Fort Christina (named for the infant Queen Christina of Sweden) on land purchased from the Lenape tribe, today the site of Wilmington, Delaware. Between 1638 and 1656, the Swedes made twelve separate expeditions to New Sweden, bringing new colonists to settle an area located in what is now Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. The settlers, who never numbered more than 500, introduced log cabin construction to America, while the Dutch among them began constructing windmills in 1642.

In 1641, the Swedish government forced Dutch investors in the colony to sell out their shares, making New Sweden entirely under Swedish control but causing friction with the Dutch in Europe and in the neighboring settlements in America. Two years later, new governor, John Printz, moved the capital of the colony from Fort Christina to Tenicum Island (Philadelphia), while establishing a chain of blockhouses at New Vasa, New Gothenburg, and New Korsholm to protect the settlement from Native Americans and the Dutch. This pushed Peter Stuyvesant, governor of the New Netherlands, to construct Fort Casimir—dangerously close to Fort Christina—which a force of Swedes captured in 1654. Due to shifting politics in Europe, the Dutch and Swedish governments found themselves at odds in the 1650s and broke their former ties of friendship and cooperation in America. In 1655, a small army of Dutchmen conquered all of New Sweden and ejected the Swedish administration. Subsequently, this area and all of New Netherlands were taken by the English in 1664 and retained as a British colony.

Although always thinly populated, New Sweden established a European presence at strategic sites along the Delaware River and introduced the classic America frontier architecture, the log cabin, from the forest settlements of Scandinavia. Sweden retained its European possessions in the Baltic until the early eighteenth century, when the possessions were lost to Russia in the Great Northern War.

Margaret Sankey

See also Dutch Empire; Gustavus Adolphus; New Amsterdam; Swedish Empire

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Sykes-Picot Treaty

The Sykes-Picot Treaty was a secret convention signed on May 16, 1916, between a senior British diplomat, Sir Mark Sykes, and the former French consul in Beirut, Francois Georges Picot, to partition Ottoman Empire provinces in the Middle East among the Allied powers during World War I. The agreement laid the foundations for a formal British and French imperial role in the region after the war. It aided in establishing many of the problematic boundaries between states and contradicted prior pledges made to local Arabs about the ultimate status of the region.

The European powers had designs on the Middle East that predated the war. The British sought the Palestine ports of Haifa and Acre, as well as the Ottoman provinces of Basra and Baghdad. The French desired all of Syria, including most of the modern state of Lebanon, the oil-rich Ottoman province of Mosul in Mesopotamia (later passing to British control), as well as parts of Turkish Armenia and portions of Anatolia. Imperial Russia sought to gain Istanbul, hegemony on the Black Sea, and control of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. And Greece and Italy sought portions of western and southern Anatolia. Most of Palestine, due to the highly sensitive nature of its holy sites, would come under international control. The full intent of the Sykes-Picot accord was

never fully realized and was altered by the San Remo Conference (1920), the Treaty of Sévres (1920), the establishment of formal League of Nations mandates in the region, and Turkish success in expelling the Allied powers from Anatolia.

Ultimately, the British gained more than the Sykes-Picot accord would have allowed. The French received slightly less, and Russia, due to its departure from the war in 1917, got nothing. Nonetheless, the treaty's legacy stands, in some measure, as an example of European deceit over pledges made to the Arabs during the war. Even many British imperial officials, such as David Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, and even Mark Sykes himself, came to express misgivings about the accord.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also League of Nations; Lloyd George, David; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; World War I

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Syria

Before the second century B.C.E., Syria belonged to the Persian Empire and the kingdom of Alexander the Great as of 333. In 64 B.C.E., Pompeius made Syria a Roman province, which laid the foundation for Syria's incorporation into the Byzantine Empire.

Then Muslims conquered the country from 636 until 639 C.E., but the strong position held by Christians outlasted the presence of the Omajjades in Syria and their kingdom (Damascus). Eventually, Syria was influenced by the Fatimids (in the tenth century), and it belonged to Egypt from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries (especially the Mameluks, from 1252 to 1516 or 1517). Crusader states were established as far inland as Edessa. From 1516 or 1517 until 1918, Syria was a part of the Ottoman Empire. This continued to be the case despite the fact that the Druze created an independent government between 1604 and 1633. Nor did the pasha of Damascus—who fashioned a nearly independent government from 1775 until 1814—manage to change this state of affairs. Brisk trade made French-Turkish agreements possible as of 1535.

In 1799, Napoleon tried to secure his power by using Syria as a starting point. And from 1833 until 1840, Syria belonged to the sphere of influence of Mehmed (Muhammad) Ali of Egypt. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Syria became a center of Arab nationalism. Faisal had himself elected king of Syria in 1920 but was expelled by French troops. Faisal based his claims on Great Britain's pledges during World War I that promised Arabs independence. The French referred to the Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916, which granted the French sovereign control of Syria. Syria became a French mandate and was acknowledged as such by the League of Nations in 1922. With great difficulty, the French crushed a Druze rebellion in 1925 and 1926. In 1930, a constitution went into effect. The French-Syrian treaty of 1936 promised Syria

independence, but it was never approved by the French Parliament. After the conquest of Syria by British and Free French troops in 1941, the French declared the independence of Syria. The new Syrian constitution entered into effect in 1944. Syria also became a founding member of the United Nations and the Arabian League.

Martin Tamcke

See also French Empire; League of Nations; Lebanon; Ottoman Empire; Sykes-Picot Treaty; World War I

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T

Taiping Rebellion

The Taiping Rebellion was the greatest and most devastating revolt against the rule of the Qing dynasty in nineteenth-century China. The Taiping movement was guided by the vision of its founder, Hong Xiuquan, and his subsequent, partly Christian-inspired interpretation of that vision. Hong referred to himself as the younger brother of Christ and claimed that the Heavenly Father had commissioned him to extinguish polytheism and Confucianism and to bring back the Chinese people to the one true god.

In the mid-1840s, one of Hong's associates founded the God-Worshipping Society (Bai Shangdi Hui) in the southern province of Guangxi. The society's iconoclasm soon led to tensions with local inhabitants and subsequently with the imperial government. Under these circumstances, Hong and his followers proclaimed the Heavenly Kingdom of the Great Peace (Taiping Tianguo) in 1851 and marched northward, defeating several Qing armies. Two years later, they established their capital in Nanjing (Nanking). At the point of its greatest extension, the Heavenly Kingdom comprised several provinces of central and south China. The Taiping leaders, however, soon became embroiled in a deadly power struggle, thereby crippling the movement. At the same time, members of the regional scholar-gentry, most notably from Hunan Province, began to recruit militia and rallied to the support of the Qing dynasty. By 1864, the Heavenly

Kingdom was crushed, its leaders killed or executed and their followers mercilessly punished.

If the Taiping leaders had counted on foreign assistance, their expectations were confounded. Since the Western powers doubted that the Taiping rebels could establish an effective government, they chose to remain neutral throughout the 1850s. After Britain and France had defeated China in the Second Opium War (1856–1860), the Western representatives preferred a Qing court now committed to cooperation to the Taiping leaders who demanded equality for their country. However, British and French military intervention on the side of the imperial government was not a decisive factor in putting down the rebellion.

To some degree, the Taiping rebels anticipated certain features of the Chinese Revolution. Society was thoroughly militarized, women were granted equal status (but segregation of the sexes was strictly observed), and each individual was to have his or her share of land, although all surpluses belonged to the state. Modern as this social program seems, it was never fully implemented, though it may have inspired future generations of revolutionaries.

However, the Taiping movement also caused what was “probably the nineteenth century’s most gigantic man-made disaster,” according to historian Philip Kuhn (1977). The rebellion and its subsequent repression took 20 million or more lives

and left vast regions in a state of devastation from which they but slowly recovered.

Thoralf Klein

See also China; Opium Wars; War and Warfare

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Taiwan

An island located approximately 100 miles across the Taiwan Straits from southeastern China, Taiwan was originally settled by Malayo-Polynesian aborigines and colonized by the Dutch in 1624. The Ming loyalist general Koxinga (Cheng Ch'eng-kung or Zheng Chenggong) expelled the Dutch in 1662 and formed a base of resistance against the Manchu conquerors of China, which would make him a modern symbol of Chinese nationalism against foreign imperialism.

In 1683, the Manchu dynasty pacified Taiwan, where waves of Chinese immigration would result in a population of 2.5 million by the late nineteenth century. After China's defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan and became its first colony. Although exploitative and discriminatory, Japanese colonial administration also developed the infrastructure and the economy so that Taiwan could supply raw materials and foodstuffs (principally rice and sugar) to the home islands.

After Japan's surrender in 1945, Taiwan was restored to Chinese sovereignty. Taiwanese hopes for full participation as citizens of the Republic of China were dashed when mainland Kuomintang (KMT) officials treated them as a colonized people, looted the economy, and, after an uprising of the island's native-born urban middle class, decimated the Taiwanese educated class in the February 28 incident of 1947.

As the Kuomintang suffered defeat by the Communists in the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the gov-

ernment and 2 million of its supporters sought refuge on Taiwan. President Harry Truman's decision to send the Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Straits in response to the North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950 insulated the beleaguered KMT government from Communist invasion, and U.S. military and economic assistance helped it to survive and even thrive. A small handful of mainlanders dominated the KMT government, which continued to claim to be the legitimate government of all of China. Although the government's economic policies helped to transform Taiwan into a prosperous economy and create a substantial Taiwanese bourgeoisie by the 1970s, political repression and authoritarian rule stimulated Taiwanese political consciousness for autonomy and even independence.

From the late 1980s, the emergence of a full-blown opposition party, the Progressive Democratic Party, capable of challenging the KMT in elections, and political reforms undertaken by the KMT itself (including the toleration of opposition parties and the Taiwanization of the KMT or the replacement of mainlanders by Taiwanese in its leadership ranks) paved the way for Taiwan's transition from an authoritarian state into a multi-party constitutional democracy. In 1991, Taiwan renounced its claim to be the government of all of China. However, the People's Republic of China's goal of eventual unification, with Taiwan as a province, contributed to continuing tensions, despite the growing economic ties between China and Taiwan.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Chiang Kai-shek; China; Japanese Empire; Kuomintang

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Tajikistan

Tajikistan is a poor, landlocked, and mountainous Central Asian state with a long history of outside rule, separated by brief periods of internal prosperity. Diverse peoples inhabited Eastern Transoxia (Tajikistan) long before the Christian era. The fertile river valleys evolved into a trading crossroads for nomadic and agrarian peoples who, between armed conflicts, engaged in a mutually



A Tajik woman in traditional costume poses for a 1957 photograph. The Central Asian land was contested by Russia, China, and Britain from the late 1700s through the 1890s, when it firmly came under the control of Moscow. (Library of Congress)

lucrative exchange. A succession of Iranian kingdoms, marauding Tatars from the east, invading Turks, Arabs, and Genghis Khan's Mongols all ruled the Tajiks. Tamerlane led a brief Tajik regime following the Mongol retreat until bitter infighting convinced the Uzbek people to put their house in order in the 1400s.

Two more centuries of foreign penetration began in the late 1700s when imperial Britain, czarist Russia, and China played the "great game" of political maneuvering to gain suzerainty in Central Asia. Each coveted Tajikistan to protect interests in adjoining lands. In the 1890s, Russia took control of the Pamirs west of the Sarikol Range and north of the Pianj River; landforms that mark Tajikistan's current east and south boundaries with China and Afghanistan.

The Bolshevik Revolution within Tajikistan was fought entirely by Russians. When the Communists assumed power in Moscow, they quickly secured buffer states to protect the Russian homeland. Vladimir Lenin rejected the "Astro-Marxist"

idea of autonomy separation and instead spliced together minority republics to dilute ethnic nationalism. Thus, northern Tajikistan was lopped into Turkestan. In 1924, the Bolsheviks united southern Tajikistan into Uzbekistan as the Tajik Autonomous Republic.

The Soviets built a modern state bureaucracy. They distributed lands belonging to the emir and religious leaders, collectivized most agriculture, and introduced industry (especially smelting, food processing, and textiles). The 0.5 percent literacy rate improved with the introduction of schools in the 1920s. The 1940s marked Tajikistan's transition from a subsistence agrarian economy to a mechanized industrial one oriented toward Moscow. Tajikistan was upgraded into a union republic in 1929, and Soviet-style modernization of this mountainous buffer state began in earnest. Throughout the sixty-year Communist period, Tajiks were the most underrepresented ethnic group within the Communist Party apparatus. The political ostracism and curtailed religious freedom promoted numerous armed revolts, including mass demonstrations and ethnic riots that preceded independence in 1991. The Soviets transformed the economy, culture, and physical environment of Tajikistan.

The changes that most influence postcolonial life today include the forced relocation of mountain peoples into lowland cotton communes, mechanizing transportation, and the agricultural and industrial modernization mentioned earlier. Social engineering initiatives that barred religion, destroyed mosques, and prohibited immigration and commerce into China and Afghanistan also complicate Tajik emergence into the post-Soviet world. The 1991 Communist devolution and subsequent Tajik independence in 1992 eclipsed the latest period of colonial order. Since then, a prolonged civil war and severe economic hardship have marred independence. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Tajikistan was brought into the U.S. antiterrorism alliance, and its territory was used for U.S. attacks on neighboring Afghanistan, where the suspected mastermind of the terrorist attacks, Osama bin Laden, was believed to be hiding.

Stephen F. Cunha

See also Communism; Russian Empire; Soviet Union
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Tanganyika (German East Africa, Tanzania)

Tanganyika first came under formal European colonial influence in the mid-1880s. In 1885, following the Berlin Conference, Germany's chancellor Otto von Bismarck granted imperial protection to the possessions of Karl Peters's German East African Company (DOAG), which had been acquired through dubious treaty agreements with local African representatives. The DOAG expanded its territorial control between 1884 and 1886, meeting with some African resistance and attacks on DOAG stations. The first major conflagration erupted, however, in 1888, when DOAG agents attempted to take over seven coastal towns. This action provoked the so-called Abushiri, or Arab, revolt—a moniker that obscures the actual involvement of a number of members of the coastal society, including slaves, caravan porters, and local plantation owners. The Germans finally suppressed the revolt in 1890 after hastily assembling a largely Sudanese mercenary force, supplemented by German artillery and naval vessels.

Following this action, the Germans moved to establish control over the Tanganyika territory vis-à-vis Britain by signing the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty in July 1890. During the rest of the 1890s, they consolidated their rule by "pacifying" African peoples of the interior who resisted the nascent German colonial regime. They also introduced railway initiatives to develop the colony for profit and attempted to turn the African population into a migrant plantation and railway labor force—an effort that would have a lasting impact on the lives of Tanganyikans. In 1905, the Maji Maji Rebellion broke out, resulting in another brutal German military campaign characterized by a scorched-earth policy designed to sever the rebels' links to food and supply sources. The war continued into 1907, devastating the Ungoni and southern highlands regions of Tanganyika through famine and disease. After Maji Maji, the Germans made some reforms to colonial administration and continued formalizing their rule. Their efforts were disrupted by the prosecution of the East Africa campaign of World War I, which embroiled Tanganyikans in

four more years (1914–1918) of human and ecological catastrophe.

After the Allied defeat of Germany and the stripping of its colonies, Britain assumed control over Tanganyika as a mandate territory in 1922. The British applied the doctrine of indirect rule to Tanganyika's administration by ostensibly reviving institutions that had existed before the German colonial period and by creating "tribes" by which to manage the population. The global economic crisis that began in 1929, followed by World War II, continued to wreak havoc on the Tanganyikan colonial economy. It also served as a catalyst for burgeoning African labor and nationalist associations. The postwar period saw both a reassertion of colonial power and a surge in nationalist momentum, which resulted in the formation of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) under the guidance of the dynamic leader Julius Nyerere. When the British agreed to grant Tanganyika independence in 1961, Nyerere became the nation's first president.

Michelle Moyd

See also Bismarck, Otto von; Conference of Berlin; German Empire; League of Nations; Maji Maji; Nyerere, Julius

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Tasman, Abel Janszoon (1603–1659)

Abel Tasman was born to a peasant family in a small village in the northern Netherlands in 1603 and, unusually for the time, taught himself to read and write. By 1633, he had joined the Dutch East India Company, and only two years later, he was placed in command of a fleet whose purpose was to harry the trading vessels of England, Spain, and Portugal when they challenged Dutch commerce in the East Indies. Already possessed of a reputation for reliability, quick thinking, and loyalty, Tasman came to the special attention of Anthony van Diemen, the governor of Batavia, after he served as navigator on a mission to survey the northern Pacific, including the coast of Japan. Van Diemen was fascinated by the task of finding and mapping *terra australis* (southern land), which the Dutch had happened on in 1605 and which continued to be a sailing hazard and tantalizing prospect for

trade. Pairing Tasman with Frans Visscher, an expert pilot, van Diemen dispatched them in two company ships, the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*, each provided with a year's provisions, to sail east from the Mauritius Islands at about 52 degrees latitude and hopefully encounter land.

While his family waited at home in Batavia, Tasman joined Visscher and sailed in 1642 for unknown waters, but storms forced them to alter their route to travel east on a 44 degree latitude line. Averaging about 125 miles a day, the ships encountered land in November, which Tasman named Van Diemen's Land after his patron. This was the tip of the island later named Tasmania for Tasman himself. A week later, the party made landfall in New Zealand and had a hostile encounter with the indigenous Maoris, which led to Tasman naming the area Murderer's Bay. A gifted artist, Tasman kept a sketchbook with invaluable drawings of local peoples, canoes, and weapons. Returning to Batavia via the Tongas and Fiji, Tasman had accomplished a major feat—finding Australia, while losing only 14 men from a crew of 110! Van Diemen sent Tasman and Visscher on a second voyage in 1644, and they further explored the north coast of New Guinea but found nothing to interest the Dutch East India Company, which had curtailed exploration for its own sake and demanded opportunities for profit. Tasman returned to his regular duties for the company, and although his last years were marred by a drunken incident in which he threatened to hang two junior officers, Tasman retired a wealthy landowner in 1651 and died eight years later, having left his fortune to the small village in the Netherlands where he was born.

Margaret Sankey

See also Australia; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; Exploration; New Zealand; Papua and New Guinea

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the borders of Europe. This search for materials and markets led to fierce competition abroad and contributed in great measure to the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference, set up to minimize conflict and competition among European powers seeking colonies for economic exploitation. The appearance of Vladimir Lenin's book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 1917 leveled severe criticism at the role of Western capital in the backward countries of the world. This role was evaluated in terms of the raising of revenue in the colonies and the extent to which that practice contributed to development or underdevelopment.

Great Britain, France, and Portugal had had centuries of contact and trade with the outside world. Through the activities and exploits of their trading companies, national revenues were augmented long before formal colonization. With colonization came the pressing reality of generating revenue to administer the colonies profitably. Previously, they had traded with coastal towns, where cash-based economies developed. Now, they had to confront the 90 percent of colonial populations outside such economies. The new challenge was to steer the course between forging interdependence or, through misplaced fiscal policies, creating dependence and impoverishment in the colonies. There were added costs, too, to finance administration, pay for military services to consolidate colonial rule, and maintain law and order.

The colonies, with the one important exception of Great Britain's dominion in India, had limited resources to bolster colonial revenues through imports, exports, or taxation. Two forms of taxation were introduced in the colonies: direct and indirect. Under the former came such taxes as the poll tax (or personal or head tax), the hut tax, and the income tax (only practical for Europeans in commercial enterprises or in colonial service). Under indirect taxes came a whole host of taxes, most notably the labor tax, rents, tributes, and taxes on goods and services.

The earliest hostile encounter between local inhabitants and colonial administrators erupted with the imposition of direct taxation. Some examples will illustrate this. In French West Africa, local revenue depended for many years on two taxes: customs duties and the head tax. Of these, it was the head tax that produced the most revenue. In the Ivory Coast, it was decreed in 1901 that

Taxation

The industrialization of Western Europe led to the search for raw materials to be manufactured into finished products destined for markets far beyond

every indigenous inhabitant—man, woman, and child ten years or older—had to pay 2.50 francs per year. In this and other instances in the colonies, where taxes were to be paid in cash, the objective was to encourage local wage labor. Where such taxes could not be paid in cash, goods were collected at market price. Since payment of taxes to colonial authorities was the most hated aspect of colonial rule, the authorities resorted to the cruelest measures possible to extract taxes: flogging; imprisonment; devastation of huts, fields, and whole villages; and forced labor to build roads and carry goods, often under threat of torture and the whiplash. The resistance to direct taxation—individual, spontaneous, and collective—is well cataloged in colonial history: French Equatorial Africa from 1897 to 1920, the Sierra Leone “hut tax war” of 1898, and disturbances in Nigeria in 1918 and 1929 are good examples.

Where possible, colonial administrations tempered the hatred for and resistance to direct taxation by introducing and relying more heavily on indirect taxation, mainly through the imposition of customs duties. The British in Africa were able to do this better than the French because of the greater volume of external trade they enjoyed. In 1937, for example, 27 percent of the revenue from taxation in French West Africa came from direct taxation whereas British West Africa derived only 1 percent from this source.

Import duties were an important source of indirect taxation. Here, too, the British held an advantage. In 1924, for example, imported goods into the British Gold Coast alone totaled some £23 million whereas the whole of French West Africa came up with only £9 million; in 1928, one-third of the Gold Coast’s total revenue came from customs duties on a single imported item—gin.

In many French colonies in Africa, taxes were imposed on animals, including goats that affected all families whether nomadic or sedentary. The village chief estimated the number of taxpayers and animals and was responsible for collecting and handing over of taxes. In addition, the French had an indirect tax called *prestation* (allocation), which imposed a number of days of free labor to be performed for the government. Whether free or forced labor, this form of indirect taxation was a burden on many colonial subjects in most colonial jurisdictions everywhere. The number of such

days in French colonies was a maximum of twelve, and in British colonies, it totaled four weeks a year. Only a few subjects were able to redeem this labor tax by paying cash equivalents.

There were many other indirect taxes, such as license fees and taxes on firearms and alcohol, but these affected European settlers more than local inhabitants. Since such settlers were a very small percentage of the total population in most colonies, the burden of taxation for administrative and development purposes fell heavily on the shoulders of the indigenous populations.

In the story of taxation in colonial territories, tax collection is a vital subject. Colonial administrators were few; the territories were usually sprawling, inaccessible rural areas; and the ability to speak local languages was an important requirement. The result was that local village and tribal authorities were co-opted or coerced to do the job at great risk and for few rewards. The season for collecting direct and indirect taxes was usually a time for a battle of wits, as villagers deserted their households to evade a much hated colonial imposition.

In this story, another feature looms large: the issue of colonial economic development. Two questions were paramount. How was the revenue raised? And who were the principal beneficiaries? One area from which answers are still coming in is the history of the construction of railways in the colonies, a subject that has diverged into a whole host of economic tributaries: road building, cash crops, marketing, repayment of loans received from metropolitan capitals, forced labor, reduction of food crops in favor of cash crops and raw materials destined for European industries, and loss of land. In most cases, certainly, there are entries on both sides of the economic ledger. The final balance sheet awaits further research and considerable analysis, although some authorities are emphatic on one point: colonial “development” did more harm than good.

What is incontrovertible in any study of taxation in colonial territories is that the colonial powers extracted far more from the colonies than they put in. It was the burden of taxation, both direct and indirect, that paid for the many wars that were fought to advance colonial and imperial objectives. It was taxes that paid for colonial administrations and administrators, and it was taxes that

financed economic development with more than blood, sweat, and tears. In this context, the axiom about the “white man’s burden” should be turned on its head.

Bridglal Pachai

See also French West Africa; Gold Coast; Labor; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Nigeria; Sierra Leone

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Technology

Technology played a key role in the success of imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The technological advancements of the Industrial Revolution provided imperial powers with physical and economic advantages that allowed them to create their empires. Such advances made empire easier and more cost-effective, giving Westerners more power over both nature and indigenous inhabitants in their colonial possessions. Quinine allowed Westerners to overcome the threat of malaria in tropical regions. Breech-loaders gave imperial soldiers an advantage over local peoples. In particular, developments in transportation and communications—including steamships, canals, submarine telegraph cables, and railroads—allowed for what one Englishman called the “annihilation of time and space.” Technology, then, was just as important as any of the political or business motives that led to the new imperialism of the nineteenth century.

Steamships played a critical role in European imperial expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The trip from England to India that took five to eight months by sailing ship took only three weeks by the 1870s. Though little used in Eu-

rope itself, steamships were utilized by Europeans as gunboats to penetrate the rivers of Asia and Africa. Combined with improvements in medicine, such as quinine, gunboats allowed Western officials, merchants, and missionaries to successfully open the major river basins of their colonies. As early as 1824, the British East India Company used steamships in a war fought against Burma. The British employed steamers to transport troops, bombard fortifications, and capture enemy boats. The early use of steamships showed Westerners the potential advantages to be gained from this new technology, and its use soon spread. By 1830, British steamers traveled the Ganges River in India. The British also successfully used steamers during the Opium War in China in the 1840s. British gunboats, such as the famous *Nemesis*, were the first foreign warships to ever attack such upriver cities as Canton. These gunboats even traveled up the Yangtze River to the Grand Canal, contributing to the Chinese decision to surrender to the British. In Africa, steamships would play an important role in areas such as the Congo River basin. There, Henry Morton Stanley and his employer, King Leopold of Belgium, began using steamers on the upper Congo in the 1880s. By the turn of the twentieth century, more than 100 steamboats transported Europeans upriver and brought natural rubber downriver.

The voyage from Europe around the southern tip of Africa was too costly for steamships carrying cargo, as coal had to be shipped from England to the coaling stations. This problem would be solved by the construction of the Suez Canal. In 1869, after ten years of construction, the canal opened, connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. The canal was built largely with French money and machinery and Egyptian labor. Until 1864, most of the work was carried out by Egyptian manual laborers. After 1864, large and expensive dredges did most of the work. But if French money and Egyptian labor built the canal, it was the British who benefited most from the canal. Within a short time, some three-quarters of the ships passing through the canal were British. By the 1880s, the canal operated at capacity, and more than 3,000 ships annually passed through it. The new route to the Red Sea cut the voyage from London to Bombay by half. Soon, the British would gain direct control of the canal, for in the 1870s, its

heavy debt forced the Egyptian government to sell its shares of the canal to the British. Then, after an uprising in 1882, the British sent in troops and occupied the country for the next seventy years.

Starting in the 1860s, the British began laying submarine telegraph cables that connected their vast empire. Other countries would follow suit, although such cables were extremely expensive so only the most prosperous nations could afford this technology. For those countries that could afford it, these submarine cables greatly reduced the time needed to communicate with distant colonies. Messages that might have taken weeks or even months could now be sent and received in less than a day. The British laid the first successful submarine cable across the Atlantic in 1866. By the 1870s, Europe was connected with Latin America and Asia. In the 1880s, Africa and Europe were joined by a submarine cable. And by 1904, cables had been placed across the Pacific Ocean.

Western powers also used railroads during the era of imperial expansion. After about 1860, the use of railroads spread beyond Western Europe and the United States. In all parts of the nonindustrial world, rail construction was financed by the industrial nations. In some colonial and neocolonial regions of the world, European settler populations demanded railroads, as in Australia and Argentina. In other regions, Europeans utilized the railroads in an attempt to increase power and profits. In some places, the railroads might be used to connect towns, as was the case in India and South Africa. However, most colonial railroads connected mines or agricultural regions with ports. Some Europeans had visions of more elaborate railroads systems, such as the British Cape-to-Cairo scheme or the French trans-Sahara plan. However, such plans never came to fruition. Railways in the colonies made transportation cheaper and faster. For example, in Africa, the journey from Mombassa to Uganda took a year on foot. By rail, the same trip could be made in two to four days.

The most elaborate rail system in the colonial world was in India. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century, India's rail system was longer than the one in Great Britain itself. By 1900, the Indian network was among the longest in the world, ranking fourth behind those in the United States, Russia, and Germany. However, as was the case in other colonies, it was the colonizers who profited

from the railroads. Although many Indians did actually ride the trains—in third class, of course—it was the British stockholders who profited. And though trade did increase, the presence of railroads did not greatly alter the economy, as India did not industrialize.

Ronald E. Young

See also Communications; India; Industrial Revolution; Medicine; Science; Transportation

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Ten Years' War

Unlike many of Spain's Latin American colonies, Cuba did not gain its independence in the early 1800s but continued to struggle to do so during the rest of the century. Economic crises in the 1850s and 1860s, higher prices for imported African slaves, and the resulting labor shortages all had struck Cuban sugar and coffee planters hard. Spanish resistance to reform and increasingly repressive measures only further exacerbated existing Cuban concerns.

The Ten Years' War began on October 10, 1868, with the "Grito de Yara," which proclaimed Cuba's independence and established a provisional government. Planters, slaves, and free blacks all participated as the rebellion quickly spread through eastern and central Cuba. The rebels looked to the United States for assistance, even asking on several occasions for annexation or admission to the Union. The arrival of Spanish reinforcements in 1877 and a promise of reforms finally persuaded the rebels to negotiate. The 1878 Pact of Zanjón offered a pardon for the rebels, limited administrative and political rights for Cubans, and freedom for the slaves and Chinese contract laborers still fighting. By March 1878, the Ten Years' War was over.

The war had little immediate political impact beyond eastern Cuba, but it did bring important issues of race and citizenship to the fore as rebels debated issues of abolition and citizenship for the slaves who fought. Spain addressed some of these issues in the 1870 Moret Law, which declared all

slaves born after its passage free, following a period of tutelage. Many issues remained unresolved after the war, however, and during the next two decades, the fight for Cuban independence only continued.

Charlotte A. Cosner

See also Cuba; Martí, José; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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Terrorism

Terrorism is the use of systematic and politically motivated violence (assassinations, bombings, kidnappings, seizure of hostages, and so forth) against governmental and public targets as well as against civilians. Throughout the history of imperialism and colonialism, terror was widely used for conquest, for maintaining imperial control, and for denial of foreign domination. A grasp of the diverse and multifaceted experience of colonial and anticolonial terrorism is important for an understanding of the development of contemporary terrorism.

The very terms of terrorism and terror originate from the French Revolution, when the system of mass repressions (*la terreur*) was used against real and supposed enemies. The terror in revolutionary France influenced significantly the violent anticolonial revolution and civil strife in Haiti. Nevertheless, practically all conquest, from the ancient times to modern imperialism, witnessed numerous atrocities, committed frequently both by conquerors and their victims and caused by mutual racial animosities, religious and ideological intolerance, and cultural alienation. Moreover, being unable to challenge the military superiority of invaders in open battle, oppressed peoples intentionally resorted to terrorism as a politically more effective weapon.

Historically, a wide array of anti-imperialist terrorist organizations emerged out of various political, social, and cultural conditions and circumstances. Beginning with the Sicarii and the Zealots in Roman Judea in 66–73 C.E., a number of secret and fanatic groups were organized according to religious, sectarian, and tribal loyalties; such groups

actively used terrorism to spread fear, to mobilize and discipline supporters, and to provoke large-scale hostilities in order to expel foreign domination from their countries. Examples include the Assassins who functioned from 1090 to 1256 and the Moslem Brotherhood (since 1928) in the Middle East, numerous secret societies in India and the Far East in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the Kenyan Mau Mau in the 1950s.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, secret societies in Ireland and Italy, which fought against British and Austrian domination, respectively, declared terrorism to be an integral part of liberation struggle, and they developed as direct predecessors of modern terrorism. Anti-imperialist terrorism benefited significantly from various political, social, and technological changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although technical progress made the tools of terror more deadly, the democratization of the Western societies and the introduction of mass media widened the ability of terrorists to conduct propaganda warfare, mobilize supporters, win international attention, and exploit the growing vulnerabilities of imperial polities. The rise of nationalism, as well as the radical doctrines of communism, fascism, and nazism, multiplied a number of movements that used terrorism in the struggle for independence.

In many cases—such as Ireland since 1800s, India since the late 1890s, the Resistance in World War II, French Indochina from 1945 to 1954, Malaya from 1948 to 1951, Algeria between 1954 and 1962, Angola and Mozambique from 1961 to 1974, Aden between 1964 and 1967, Southern Rhodesia from 1965 to 1979, and South West Africa from 1966 to 1989—the national liberation movements used terrorism as a part of broader struggles against foreign domination. In Turkish Armenia and Macedonia since 1890s, Palestine from 1937 to 1948, Kenya from 1952 to 1956, and Cyprus from 1955 to 1958, terrorism developed as a primary strategy of the insurgency against foreign rule, used by narrowly based, clandestine terrorist organizations. In many countries, including Ireland, India, Palestine, Algeria, and Cyprus, the anticolonial terrorism was accompanied by extensive communal and sectarian strife between different ethnic and religious groups, which also widely involved terrorist methods.

Tactically, the modern terrorism employed rural terrorism, in order to win the countryside, and urban terrorism, which enabled terrorists to publicize their actions while at the same time limiting clashes with enemy troops. Ideologically, anticolonial terrorism in the twentieth century involved some leftist, Marxist movements such as the Viet Minh and the Malayan Race's Liberation Army; the radical nationalist organizations such as the Jewish Irgun and Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, LEHI) or the Greek-Cypriot Ethniki Organosis Kiprion Aghoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters, EOKA); and a huge number of groups inspired by an eclectic mixture of various extremist doctrines.

In terms of the military and political experience of modern anti-imperial/anticolonial terrorism, the activities of leaders such as Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and Michael Collins (Ireland), Menachem Begin and Abraham Stern (Palestine), Saadi Yacif (Algeria), and Georgias Grivas (Cyprus) had a lasting influence on subsequent terrorist campaigns. Prominent features of this military and political experience can be summarized as follows:

- The introduction and use of a wide array of terrorist methods and activities, such as political kidnapping (the nineteenth-century Italian and Irish terrorists), seizure of hostages (the Macedonian terrorists), large-scale operations to liberate captured comrades (the Irish terrorists), selective strikes against enemy command and intelligence structure (the Irish Republican Army [IRA] and Jewish terrorists), armed robberies and criminal and legal business activities to finance terrorist operations (the IRA and the Jewish and Macedonian terrorists)
- Development of a widespread combat and support infrastructure for terrorist cells (the Algerian nationalists)
- Division of labor and de facto coordination between underground groups and the surface political movements (the Irish and Jewish terrorists)
- Creation and use of wide and diverse transnational ties, which contributed significantly to the growth of terrorism as an international phenomenon and enabled ter-

rorists to mobilize outside support for their struggles (the Italian, Irish, Armenian, and Jewish terrorists)

- Introduction of technological innovations such as dynamite and plans to use submarines, gas, and trains with explosives (the Irish terrorists) as well as the invention of mail bombs (the Indian terrorists)

In dealing with nationalist terrorism, the imperial powers, particularly Britain, France, and Portugal, developed a counterterrorism strategy—a complex of special military, political, social, psychological, propaganda, and economic measures—as an integral part of colonial counterinsurgency; this was particularly effective in Malaya and Kenya. In some countries with particularly strong ties with metropolitan powers (Algeria, Ulster), the struggle against anticolonial terrorism gave rise to secret organizations to terrorize nationalists and force the home country to preserve its control.

The history of colonialism and imperialism suggests that the use of terror by dominant powers, despite its short-term effect in some cases, frequently instigated a vicious circle of violence and destabilization in the long run. At the same time, the anti-imperial terrorism, though making things difficult for authorities, was not a driving factor in decolonization due to its inability to inflict decisive defeat on dominant powers. Moreover, the anti-imperial terrorism often demonstrated its counterproductivity, provoking large-scale reprisals from authorities, disorganizing opponents of foreign rule, or even detonating the chain reaction of wider political consequences. For example, the 1914 Sarajevo assassination did lead to the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire—but only after the four-year turmoil of World War I. Additionally, the religious or tribal fanatics who also performed acts of terrorism were unable to formulate and pursue sound political goals.

Yet, in some cases when the well-organized and motivated terrorist organizations flexibly diversified their tactics and activities and coordinated them with broader military and political campaigns for independence, terrorism was instrumental in destabilizing foreign rule (Ireland and mandated Palestine). Such efforts have also succeeded in winning international attention to na-

tionalist causes (Ireland, Turkish Armenia, mandated Palestine, Cyprus, Algeria, Aden) as well as emphasizing the need for reforms (Ireland, India). The spread of anticolonial terrorism also inspired the radical anti-Western political ideas of Vinayak Savarkar, Frantz Fanon, and other adherents of violent decolonization.

At the same time, a huge and multifaceted legacy and practice of anticolonial terrorism has become the hallmark of contemporary terrorism, particularly for the groups committed to achieving succession from larger states and nationalist organizations that opposed foreign influence in their countries (the current major Irish and Armenian nationalist terrorist organizations portray themselves as successors of the anti-imperial terrorism). Since the 1970s, there have also been terrorist activities in Western countries indirectly rooted in the colonial past, such as the campaign against autonomy for Corsica, promoted mainly by French settlers from Algeria, or the Moluccan terrorism, which attempted to force the Netherlands to support independence for the Moluccan Archipelago from Indonesia (a former Dutch colony). Additionally, there are the right-wing terrorist movements in Western Europe that actively oppose a nonwhite immigration from the former European colonies.

Peter Rainow

See also Aden; Algeria; Angola; Armenia; Atrocities; Communism; Cyprus; Decolonization; Dutch East Indies; French Indochina; French Revolution; Haiti; India; Ireland; Italian Empire; Mau Mau; Mozambique; Nazism; Palestine; South West Africa; Southern Rhodesia; Torture; War and Warfare

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Thailand (Siam)

In 1688, a revolution erupted after the Siamese king Narai's involvement with France, his favoring of the Greek adventurer Constantine Phaulkon, the proliferation of missionaries, and finally the king's death. From then until the reign of King Nang Klao (Rama III of the Chakri dynasty, 1824–1851), Siam had limited contact with the West. It also

pushed outward toward Burma and into the Malay Peninsula, reasserting sovereignty over the northern Malay states. One of the latter, Kedah, lay next to Penang Island, where the British East India Company established a trading post in 1786.

Fortunately for Thailand, the 1824–1826 Anglo-Burmese War made the cost of confronting Britain brutally clear. Thailand made commercial concessions in June 1826 that boosted trade, and the Burney Treaty of the same date limited Thai influence in the Malayan peninsula to the northern states, keeping the Thai commercial influence a safe distance from British possessions at Singapore and Malacca. Despite this, Rama III presided over a traditional state and restricted further western penetration.

His successor, King Mongkut (Chakri IV, 1851–1868), went much further. For years a monk and scholar, he had helped strip away superstitions from Thai Buddhism, learning from foreign Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the process. He also took note of China's 1839–1842 loss of Hong Kong and the Anglo-Burmese War of 1852. His April 1855 Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Britain opened up Thailand. It abolished many royal monopolies and gave Britain a consulate in Bangkok and far-reaching freedoms to trade at fixed rates of tax as well as extraterritorial rights. Similar agreements followed with other countries, including France and the United States in 1856.

Mongkut also began to modernize the monarchy, allowing commoners to gaze on the king's face and employing a few foreign experts. His eldest son, King Chulalongkorn (Chakri V, 1868–1910), received a thorough Western education, including visits to India and Java. Reforms came even more quickly when Chulalongkorn's minority ended in 1873, only to slow after an 1874 revolt. From the 1880s on, the feudal provincial administration was brought under central control, European-style schooling was provided for royalty and civil servants, laws were reformed, a cabinet system was instituted, and slavery and corvée labor were abolished (by 1905). Railroad building and surveys also cemented the country, with foreign advisers from Britain, Germany, France, the United States, and other countries carefully balanced to prevent any one country gaining too much influence in Thailand.

In this way, Thailand escaped colonization—but at the cost of extraterritorial rights, fixed customs rates, and reliance on foreign loans and of its exports being dominated by the sale of rice to British imperial territories. Britain came to control much of the modern economy. Peripheral areas were also conceded: Cambodian sovereignty went to France in the 1860s and 1907; Laos went to the French in 1893; and the northern Malay states received British advisers under Thai pay from 1902, before passing under British sovereignty in 1909. In a sense, then, Thailand was integrated into an overall pattern of imperialism and subject to significant informal British influence. It also remained unclear whether Thailand was saved from colonization through internal modernization or simply because Britain and France wanted a buffer state between French Indochina and British Burma. A Franco-British convention of 1896 agreed to a British sphere of influence in the west and a French sphere in the east, with only the central Chao Phraya Valley guaranteed full autonomy. A secret Anglo-Thai convention of April 1897 further promised Thailand would not grant any third power privileges on the Malay Peninsula without consulting Britain, nor build a canal at its narrowest point on the Kra isthmus.

Thailand joined the Allies in World War I in July 1917, attending peace treaty negotiations and becoming a League of Nations member. Having thrown off extraterritorial rights by 1926, it used the cover of Japanese expansion in Asia to regain lost territories. In November 1940, it recovered some Cambodian and Laotian areas from France. After Japanese-occupied Thailand declared war on Britain and the United States on January 25, 1942, Japan confirmed Thailand's seizure of Shan territories from Burma in the same year and gave Thailand the northern Malay states in 1943. Following the war, Thailand returned these territories and was soon controlled by military-dominated governments, much as it had been after a June 1932 coup turned its absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. This pattern continued until civilian governments regained control beginning in 1992.

Karl A. Hack

See also British East India Company; Buddhism; Burma

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Theories of Imperialism

The proponents of overseas expansion provided the earliest theories of imperialism. Influenced by the Roman ideal of kingship, humanists in the nascent centralizing states in sixteenth-century Western Europe—England, France, Spain, and Portugal—saw empire as a legitimating tool of kingship. The acquisition of territories overseas redounded to the glory of the king as well as, it was thought, assuring wealth for the state and divine favor as a result of missionary activities.

The mercantilist state of the ancien régime saw colonies as a means to acquire wealth by monopolizing trade with them. Although Adam Smith (1723–1790) opposed mercantilism, he acknowledged that colonies might be beneficial to a nation needing customers for its goods. James Mill (1773–1836) equally thought so. In the 1830s, Edward Wakefield (1796–1862) recommended colonies as a convenient outlet for what he believed was Britain's surplus of capital. This economic argument became particularly important in the late nineteenth century. The British radical John A. Hobson (1858–1940), opposed to the Boer War, attempted to find the basis (or “tap-root,” as he called it) of British and other European imperialisms in the late nineteenth century. In his *Imperialism* (1902), Hobson depicted overseas conquest as the result of underconsumption at home: because capitalists provided low wages to their workers, the workers had a low purchasing power, which meant that capitalists had to find markets abroad and places to invest their surplus capital. They pushed governments to acquire overseas territories for their narrow benefit.

Hobson's theories developed at a critical time in the life of European socialism. Karl Marx had predicted the collapse of capitalism, and yet it appeared to be flourishing in the 1890s. How was one to explain that Marx had been wrong? A number

of socialists in the early twentieth century resorted to seeing in imperialism an explanation for the delay in the expected collapse of capitalism. By finding markets overseas and a placement for their capital surplus, capitalists had managed to delay the inevitable smashup. Such arguments were presented by the Austrian Rudolf Hilferding (1877–1941) in *Das Finanzkapital* (1910) and the Polish Rosa Luxemburg (1877–1919) in *Accumulation of Capital* (1913). The best-known Marxist writing on imperialism was Vladimir Lenin's (1870–1924) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917), written in the midst of a world war. Although Hobson and many of the socialist writers on imperialism had argued that empire had been an option capitalists had chosen instead of improving consumption and investment at home, Lenin argued that imperialism was the inevitable result of capitalism, dictated by the internal needs of capitalism. In constant need of ever more markets and places for their capital, financial interests pushed for overseas expansion. Having divided up the globe, the imperialist powers now struggled against each other. After the war, having exhausted all alternatives, capitalism would collapse. The Hobson-Lenin interpretation has been the single most influential theory of imperialism.

Challenging the Hobson-Lenin school was the Austrian economist J. A. Schumpeter (1883–1950), who penned a very influential essay, "The Sociology of Imperialism" (1919). Although a socialist, Schumpeter discounted the link between capitalism and imperialism. On the contrary, he argued, imperialism was the result of precapitalist impulses. It was a "social atavism," a throwback to feudal times when the possession of land was seen as assuring wealth and power.

In various forms, this antieconomic argument was taken up by those who argued that empire was fueled by Europe's heated nationalisms in the late nineteenth century. In the United States, perhaps the best proponent of this view was the Harvard historian William Langer in the 1930s. In the 1960s, it became a common interpretation in both the United States and Western Europe.

If the Marxist interpretation was challenged and undermined, it also had a new life in the 1960s with the ideas propagated by "dependency theorists"—foremost among them Andre Gunder Frank with his *Capitalism and Underdevelopment*



Although best known for his writing on capitalism, Adam Smith, seen in this 1790 portrait, also theorized about the need for empire. While generally opposed to mercantilist policies involving government direction of the economy, he nevertheless advocated government support of colonization as a way for a country to develop markets for its goods. (Library of Congress)

(1967)—who argued that the wealth of the industrial West had been created by the exploitation of the peripheral areas of the world system. In fact, the West was charged with the underdevelopment of the nations designated as underdeveloped.

Historians' interpretations of imperialism were influenced by various trends in the historical profession. With decolonization, some historians moved away from a Eurocentric view of imperialism: the indigenous people were given agency. Ronald Robinson in Britain and Henri Brunschwig in France saw, for instance, Europeans pulled into local African power struggles. European conquest was not solely the result of European motives and desires but was also influenced by local conditions and the prevailing balance of power among local states, ethnic groups, or social classes. The group desiring dominance or security

might well pull in a European power to stabilize its interests.

Feminism made historians aware of gender as a formative influence in empire building. The application of gender to the colonial situation reminds us that women, both as colonizers and the colonized, often behaved differently from men. Historians interpreted empire building as the result of the European desire to affirm virile male virtues, while seeing the colonial peoples as weak and effeminate. Opportunities for sexual exploitation of the colonial peoples worked as a lure of overseas expansion. Studies have shown how European notions of the proper relationship between the sexes informed their colonial policies. In Kerala, southern India, inheritance and descent were matrilineal; the British tried to legislate this tradition out of existence, since it disturbed their notion of the proper relationship between the sexes.

The development of the field of cultural studies considered how empire was part and parcel of the European outlook. The notion of the rightness of European rule was informed by a hierarchical view that saw the upper class dominating the lower one, men lording it over women. Empire, consciously or not, was part of the essence of European culture.

The most influential postcolonial work was Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which argued that European knowledge of the Orient was based on the desire to control and dominate. The constant in the relationship between the West and the non-West (already a very ethnocentric term) was the desire to dominate the "other." The deconstruction of Western motives triggered, especially in the field of literary studies, consideration of the undisguised and also latent desire to conquer and dominate, which was seen as an intrinsic part of Western culture.

In the postcolonial world, a new field of study to understand the imperial experience developed, based on the insights of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) about the weak, unorganized working classes—the subaltern. Especially centered in India, subaltern studies took Gramsci's subaltern theories regarding class and projected them onto the imperial scene. The colonial power was cast in the position of the hegemonic capitalist state, the nonelite colonized in a position of the subaltern working class. Subaltern

studies considered the problem of knowing what the relationship of the imperial forces and colonized people really was, given the preponderant evidence available about the former and the paucity of information about the subject peoples. Furthermore, the whole way of conceptualizing the relationship had been established by the West. Subaltern studies insisted on new ways of trying to recover the voice of the oppressed and of understanding the colonial relationship in ways free of Western categories of thought.

From being centered on material, economic reasons, the study of imperialism in recent years has considered the cultural dimensions of imperialism. Participating in forming the newer historiography on empire are scholars not just from the West but also from the former colonies. Decolonization brought to an end the formal centrality of European power, but it also brought in its wake postcolonial studies with a new sensibility and understanding of the colonial enterprise.

William B. Cohen

See also Hobson, John; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Luxemburg, Rosa; Marx, Karl; Mercantilism; Schumpeter, Joseph; Smith, Adam; Wakefield, Edward Gibbon

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Third World

The term *Third World* was apparently first used in 1952 by Alfred Sauvy, a French economist. However, the Bandung Conference of 1955 is widely regarded as the event that crystallized the idea of the Third World and provided the point of departure for the various movements and initiatives with which the idea became associated. Following Bandung, the term was increasingly deployed to generate unity and support among a growing number of nonaligned nation-states whose governments were reluctant to take sides in the emerging Cold War between a U.S.-centered First World and a Soviet-centered Second World.

The notion of a Third World was taken up and promulgated by influential political leaders, such as Jawaharlal Nehru (prime minister of India from 1947 to 1964) and Sukarno (president of Indonesia from 1945 to 1965), who sought to chart a path between the liberal capitalism of the First World and the state socialism of the Second World. Many of the leaders had been prominent in the process of decolonization. The idea of a Third World also became central to a growing body of academic and policy-oriented work on economic development and underdevelopment. Since the 1960s, commentators and policymakers had postulated a modern and developed North America and Western Europe, where the problems of development had been more or less solved, in contrast to a traditional underdeveloped, or developing, Third World.

The idea of a Third World informed the establishment of organizations such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which was set up in 1961 as many nations achieved independence from their former colonial rulers. Following the Sino-Soviet split in 1960, Third Worldism also had its Soviet and Maoist varieties. The former was seen as incorporating those governments in the Third World that were formally allied with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This Moscow-oriented Third Worldism sought to establish a broad front between the Second World and the Third World against the First World. The Maoist variant articulated a Beijing-oriented Third World, which included China, against the First World, of which the USSR was perceived to be a part. Between the 1940s and the 1970s, the dramatic addition of a range of new nations based on former colonies in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Oceania saw the membership of the United Nations rise from 51 to 156 nation-states by 1980. As a result, Third World governments gained greater influence at the UN. By the beginning of the 1980s, the U.S. and British governments sought to reinvigorate the Cold War. This outlook was backed up by North American and West European power over the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank; meanwhile, the influence of the UN and related organizations, such as the International Labor Organization (ILO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the

United Nations Development Program (UNDP), declined in the 1980s.

Mark T. Berger

See also Bandung Conference; Decolonization; North-South Conflict; United Nations

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Three Emperors' League

The Three Emperors' League was a system of diplomatic cooperation devised primarily by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck. It existed from 1873 to 1878 and from 1881 to 1887 between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia and influenced the Great Power rivalry and expansion in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the first period of its existence, the league was based on agreements between the emperors William I of Germany, Alexander II of Russia, and Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary and envisaged mutual consultations in case of international crisis. The diplomatic cooperation between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia was heavily based on the dynastic links and conservative monarchical solidarity of three powers in dealing with the rising nationalism and radicalism in Eastern and Central Europe. The league was particularly instrumental in the development of the Russo-German cooperation over partitioned Poland. The 1875–1878 Eastern Crisis, when an expansionist Russia failed to secure firm German support to overcome British and Austria-Hungarian opposition, effectively destroyed the first Three Emperors' League.

The League of 1881 to 1887 was a far more formal system of cooperation, which ensured the mutual benevolent neutrality of the three powers in the case of war and attempted to coordinate their

interests in the Balkans. The fragile and short stabilization of the Great Power rivalry in the Balkans allowed the Russians to go ahead with their colonial acquisitions in Turkestan and Pamir. The result was the intensification of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia, which, in its turn, temporarily pressed the new Russian emperor Alexander III close to Berlin and Vienna, despite continuous friction between Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Balkans.

At the same time, Austria-Hungary managed to extend its sphere of influence in the Balkans, including the former Russian satellites Serbia and Romania, even as Russia failed to obtain support from other members of the league for its own expansionist schemes toward Bulgaria and the Turkish Straits. Germany, fearing Russia's pan-Slavic ambitions, repeatedly tended to favor Austria-Hungary at Russia's expense in the Balkans. The 1885–1887 Bulgarian crisis, when the Russian and Austrian interests collided directly, put an end to the Three Emperors' League.

Peter Rainow

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bismarck, Otto von; British Empire; Eastern Question; Franz Joseph; German Empire; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire; Serbia

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Tibet

Geographically isolated throughout much of its history, Tibet was a theocracy where the spiritual and temporal ruler, the Dalai Lama, was an incarnate *bodhisattva* (enlightened person) and where thousands of monasteries constituted the centers of religious, cultural, and economic life. Tibet became a vassal state of China in 1721 but gained virtual independence (though not Western diplomatic recognition) after the overthrow of the Ch'ing (Qing) dynasty in 1911.

In 1950, the Chinese Communists invaded Tibet, and in the following year, China and a Tibetan delegation signed an accord acknowledging Chinese sovereignty in exchange for the maintenance of traditional institutions until the point when the Tibetans wanted reforms. A Tibetan re-

bellion in 1959 was crushed, and the Dalai Lama fled to Dharamasala, India, where he set up a government in exile. China then confiscated the feudal estates of the Tibetan elites and shut down most of Tibet's monasteries. Destruction of Tibetan society, culture, and religion was especially severe after the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

After 1978, a reform-minded leadership in China attempted to correct the political excesses of the past by implementing policies in Tibet to improve the living standards of the Tibetans, to revive Tibetan culture and religion, and to replace Chinese cadres by Tibetans. It also negotiated for the return of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan exiles.

As the Tibetan issue became internationalized, the Chinese Communists and the Tibetan exiles presented competing views of Tibet: long an integral part of China and an oppressive feudal society badly in need of modern reforms versus a historically independent state with a peaceful religious culture being destroyed by Chinese occupation.

Anti-Chinese riots in Tibet between 1987 and 1989, coupled with the success of the Tibetan exiles in gaining popular support in the West and international condemnation of Chinese human rights practices as well as the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in 1989, hardened the position of the Chinese. They abandoned dialogues with the Dalai Lama and concentrated instead on the rapid modernization of Tibet and the integration of Tibet with China.

Robert Y. Eng

See also Buddhism; China; Chinese Communist Party

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Tito, Josip Broz (1892–1980)

Born Josip Broz on May 7, 1892, to a Croat father and a Slovene mother in Kumrovec, Croatia, which was then a possession of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Marshal Tito fought for the imperial Hapsburg forces during World War I. Captured by imperial Russian forces in April 1915, he later fought for the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War.

In 1920, he returned to Croatia, now part of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and became a founding member of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which he headed after 1937. In the wake of the Axis partition of Yugoslavia in 1941, Tito led his partisan forces against the Axis powers, their satellite proxies, and the local, promonarchy Chetnik resistance.

Triumphant by the end of the war with aid from the Soviet Union and the Western Allies and as an independent, homegrown Communist leader not brought to power by Soviet imperial aims, Tito charted his own course. He systematically eliminated all opposition within Yugoslavia and emphasized independence from Soviet imperial aims by refusing to yield to Moscow; this resulted in Yugoslavia's 1948 expulsion from the bloc the Soviet Union was creating in Eastern Europe and ultimately pushed Yugoslavia into the nonaligned camp. Seeking to avoid becoming a neocolonial vassal of any great power bloc, Tito walked a fine line. He opposed the aims of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact, met with other leaders of the nonaligned movement in Bandung in 1955, and hosted a non-aligned gathering in Belgrade in 1961. He sought to develop a self-sufficient Yugoslav economy to resist economic dependency on the outside world.

His repressive measures against nationalist aspirations bought three decades of internal stability, but his system did not long survive his death on May 4, 1980. Nationalists in the various republics of the Yugoslav federation mounted a challenge to the state in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which brought about the disintegration of his system and, ultimately, Yugoslavia itself.

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bandung Conference; Soviet Union; Yugoslavia

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Tobacco

During Christopher Columbus's 1492 expedition, Europeans first viewed Amerindians using tobacco. By the end of the sixteenth century, tobacco trade and cultivation had spread throughout the globe, although not everyone approved of its use.

Yet, just two decades after the 1603 publication of the English king James I's harsh treatise against the plant, even England approved of tobacco and proposed the founding of Virginia, Bermuda, Barbados, and St. Kitts as colonies for its production.

Tobacco was a commodity heavily influenced by colonial powers. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish, French, and English officials realized the economic potential of this crop and enacted tobacco monopolies. Fixed prices and other such governmental intrusions angered planters, and periodically they responded with violence, often destroying their crops. Nevertheless, tobacco helped to shape colonial settlement patterns, labor forms, and social structures.

Years of intensive tobacco farming drained the soil of vital nutrients and forced farmers to search for virgin farmland, expanding colonial territory into the frontiers. Tending, harvesting, and processing of the plant differed little from place to place, yet labor forms varied widely and fostered diverse social structures. Although Virginia's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century James River tobacco plantations used African slaves, for example, tobacco was produced by both free and slave labor in Cuba. Even into the twentieth century, the connection between colonialism and tobacco continued. The cultivation of Virginia flue-cured tobacco on European-owned farms in Zimbabwe began in 1904, and in the mid-1940s, tobacco became the territory's leading export, surpassing gold.

Charlotte A. Cosner

See also Americans, Native; Columbian Exchange; Cuba

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Tordesillas, Treaty of

The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 was an agreement signed between Spain and Portugal (and

mediated by the Vatican) in which the two Crowns agreed to divide the world between them. Portugal and Spain were the only European countries at the time involved in the race for overseas empires, as well as the race to find a maritime route to the lucrative spice trade in the East. The rivalry between Spain and Portugal in regard to overseas expansion reached a dangerous stage when Christopher Columbus returned from his first trip to the Caribbean in 1493 and claimed that he had reached the Far East by sailing west, across the Atlantic. The treaty was an attempt to prevent a conflict between the two nations. It set forth an imaginary line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, running from the North to the South Poles. Portugal got jurisdiction over everything 180 degrees west of the line; the Spanish controlled everything to the east.

A Portuguese renegotiation of the treaty after the first agreement led some historians to suspect that Lisbon had prior knowledge of a land to the west of Europe. The Portuguese Crown demanded that the imaginary line that divided the world between the two European powers be moved 270 leagues to the west (from 100 to 370 leagues). This demand, which seemed illogical at the time, guaranteed that the northeast coast of Brazil fell into Portuguese territory.

This treaty explains why people in the eastern portion of South America speak Portuguese whereas those in the western portion speak Spanish. However, the treaty was not always respected. For instance, other Europeans (such as the English, the Dutch, and the French) attempted, on many occasions, to take over areas that supposedly belonged to the Portuguese or the Spanish. Even the Portuguese themselves did not respect the limits that the treaty had imposed on them in Brazil. In fact, they occupied more land in South America than the Treaty of Tordesillas had assigned to them when the discovery of gold and diamond mines in the western portions of South America attracted an enormous flow of Portuguese migrants to that area. In 1750, after three years of exhausting negotiations, the Treaty of Madrid abrogated the Treaty of Tordesillas by accepting the principle of ownership by occupation.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Exploration; Portuguese Empire; Spanish Empire

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Torres Strait Islanders

One of Australia's two indigenous groups, the Torres Strait Islanders inhabit the islands between Papua New Guinea and mainland Australia. First visited by European explorers in 1606, the Islanders only experienced an increased interaction with a wider world in the early nineteenth century, when the strait became an important navigation route. The discovery of commercial quantities of *bêche-de-mer* (sea cucumber) and pearl shell in the 1860s led to a rapid influx of fishing interests and the beginning of colonial occupation. The introduction of Christianity by the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1871 also had a profound impact. The colony of Queensland moved swiftly to annex the islands, and from 1877, Thursday Island was the commercial and administrative center.

Introduced diseases decimated the Islanders, who nonetheless adopted Christianity. Pacific Islanders and other foreigners who crewed the fishing boats settled and married local women, although many Islanders needed to work the boats to pay for European goods and dowries. Under government resident John Douglas (1885–1904), the power of the LMS was curbed, and elected councils formed to advise the teacher-supervisors who administered the island communities. Following Douglas's death, Islanders were brought under restrictive legislation similar to that applying to Aborigines, consigning them to a colonial status as a separate race who would gain little by participation in Australian life.

Islander resentment over conditions in the fishing industry culminated in the maritime strike of 1936, their first organized challenge to European authority. During World War II, Islanders played a vital role against the Japanese, and as a result, state government restrictions on Islanders lives were gradually reduced. With British Commonwealth involvement in Torres Strait affairs from the 1970s, the period of colonial-style governance ended. The Mabo Native Title decision of 1992,

recognizing Torres Strait Islander occupation of the territories prior to British colonization, was followed by further successful land and sea claims and a concerted push for self-determination and autonomy.

Jeremy Martin Hodes

See also Australia; British Empire

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Torrijos Herrera, Omar (1929–1981)

De facto dictator of Panama from 1968 to 1978, Omar Torrijos Herrera is remembered for negotiating two treaties with U.S. president Jimmy Carter that would return control of the Canal Zone and the canal itself to Panama by the end of the twentieth century. Schooled in El Salvador, the United States, and Venezuela, Torrijos was a leader of the October 1968 National Guard junta that toppled President Arnulfo Arias. In September 1972, an elected assembly gave him full military and civil control for six years, and he ruled as chief of government and supreme leader of the Panamanian revolution.

Although concerned about economic and social reform, Torrijos was most passionate about Panamanian sovereignty. In September 1977, he and President Carter signed the Permanent Neutrality Treaty, which declared the canal neutral and open to ships from all nations, and the Panama Canal Treaty, which called for joint government of the Canal Zone until December 31, 1999. At that point, Panama would take control. Despite much controversy, the first of these treaties was passed by the U.S. Senate in March 1978 and the second a month later.

Shortly after he was named commander of the National Guard in August 1978, Torrijos began working to oust Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, and he supported the Sandinistas in their struggle for power. Panama became a place of refuge for the Sandinistas, an interim station on the road to Cuba, and a prime market for arms and armaments. The exiled ruler of Iran, Mohammed

Reza Shah Pahlavi, and his wife, Farah Diba, also lived in Panama from December 1979 to March 1980. Torrijos died when his plane crashed into a mountain during a thunderstorm on July 30, 1981.

Gail Tinsley

See also Panama; Panama Canal; United States

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Torture

The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (fourth edition) defines *torture* as “the infliction of severe physical pain as a means of punishment or coercion.” Although torture has been inflicted in a variety of situations since the beginning of recorded history, it only became an important international legal issue when the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 specifically prohibited the use of physical or mental torture against civilians or combatants during times of war or conflict. (The first Geneva Convention, signed in 1864, did not mention torture as such but did indicate that wounded combatants should receive medical attention and be removed as quickly as possible from battle zones.) The 1949 convention even went so far as to say that these rules applied to undeclared civil wars.

The distinction between international and internal conflicts became especially important during the various colonial conflicts that erupted after World War II. All of the European colonial powers (Great Britain in Kenya, France in Indochina or Algeria, the Netherlands in Indonesia, or Belgium in the Congo) claimed that their colonial conflicts were, in fact, internal police operations designed to maintain the stability of their political systems and that they should not be considered as traditional armed conflicts or even as civil wars.

During the French Indochina War, for instance, both sides of the conflict used torture as a tool of war. The Viet Minh used “reeducation camps” to conduct massive torture sessions, employing some of the basic tools of the trade: sleep deprivation, lack of adequate food or sanitation, hard and generally futile labor, and extended yelling sessions in which the virtues of socialism were extolled and the evils of the capitalist system denounced. Many

of the soldiers who returned from these camps never fully recovered from their ordeal. French and allied troops, for their part, also used torture on a regular basis against their military opponents as well as civilians suspected of dealing with the adversary. For instance, they often used electric shocks, applied to sensitive parts of the body such as the genitals, to make their victims talk. These acts of torture became public knowledge in France as early as August 1945 but were the subject of a wider debate only in July 1949 when the Catholic weekly *Témoignage Chrétien* published a series of articles purporting to demonstrate that the French army systematically used torture to obtain information from captured Viet Minh soldiers or even from “suspect” civilians. But these stories never remained in the public eye for long, in part because the methods described invoked disturbing memories of the German occupation of France between 1940 and 1944.

The French armed forces carried over these practices to the Algerian war that began in November 1954. In fact, according to many scholars, torture became an intrinsic part of this conflict and distorted every aspect of it, especially since the Algerian nationalists also perpetrated horrific acts of violence against both their adversaries and the civilian population. Reports of torture on the part of the French forces began as early as 1955 in such publications as *L'Express* and *Le Monde*. In spite of this negative publicity, the situation only worsened in Algeria, until the government secretly approved the use of “supervised” torture by French forces in January 1957. This decision was essentially an admission by the French authorities that torture played a fundamental role in the conflict. It certainly did nothing to encourage the Algerian nationalists to be gentler in their dealings with the French or their supposed sympathizers. Torture, in other words, created a spiral of violence that could only get worse before it got better because each side in the conflict needed to prove to the other that it was more ruthless and therefore more likely to prevail. It is no surprise that, once begun, the violence continued even after the Evian Accords of March 1962 officially put an end to the Algerian war and granted the country its independence. In fact, perhaps 100,000 or more Algerians have been killed since the end of the war, and the country as a whole is still dealing

with the spiral of violence that began during this colonial conflict.

The many conflicts of decolonization clearly showed the limits of the 1949 Geneva Convention, since the United Nations was never able to prevent the use of torture during these conflicts and was never allowed to conduct independent investigations after the fact, let alone sanction the belligerents. It is also interesting to note that torture in general, not solely as it applied to armed conflicts, only became the object of a specific international treaty when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment in June 1987.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Geneva Conventions; Terrorism; United Nations; War and Warfare

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Touré, Sékou (c. 1922–1984)

President of Guinea from 1958 until his death, Sékou Touré stands as a much-revered symbol of Africa's fight for independence. He is, however, also remembered, by Guineans especially, as a ruthless dictator under whom thousands perished and about 1 million fled. He also left his homeland in poverty and disarray.

Born into a family of poor farmers, he was an unruly pupil whose formal education ended when he was fifteen. Thereafter, he educated himself by reading widely. Chance encounters with Communist students won him over to Marxism. In 1941, when working for the Post and Telecommunications Service (its French acronym is PTT), he joined the trade union representing the PTT's workers, and by 1945, he was its secretary-general, bent on socialism and liberation from colonialism. In 1946, he became one of the founders of the African Democratic Assembly (RDA) and secretary-general of its Guinean branch, the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG). He was elected deputy to the French National Assembly, and he founded the first black trade union, the General

Union of Black African Workers (UGTAN). His boundless energy and charismatic speeches won him fame and a large following. In 1958, he distanced himself from other nationalist leaders and campaigned against joining the new French Community offered by Charles de Gaulle. Guinea, alone among the African French colonies, voted no overwhelmingly. The French immediately withdrew financial aid, technical assistance, and the administrative infrastructure. Touré was enthusiastically elected president.

Isolated and a socialist by persuasion, he turned to the Soviet bloc for economic and financial help. This he received; however, agricultural collectivization and nationalization of industries did not improve the situation. But Touré's pursuit of personal glory, his need for total control, and the violence and corruption of those around him brought about a disaster. Touré blamed all problems on imperialist plots. A different Touré appeared on the international scene. He played an important role in the creation of the Organization of African Unity, and he cleverly played the West against the East during the Cold War. Abroad, he remained a hero of African independence.

Audra N. Diptee

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; Cold War; French Empire; French West Africa; Organization of African Unity

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Tourism

Tourism is more than the frivolous aside or pleasurable privilege it is often mistaken to be. A pervasive feature of daily life and planned escapes from it, tourism ranks as one of the most significant global industries. It figures as a key source of revenue for many communities and as a chief component of the gross national products of many countries. During the latter half of the twentieth century, it emerged, on the one hand, as a fundamental feature of development strategies and modernization projects intended to improve the quality of life in formerly colonized regions and, on the other hand, as an important medium for representing and encountering cultural difference. Tourism stands as a testament to the lasting lega-

cies of colonial relations and as a sign of the changing shape of these relations in contemporary global culture. Colonialism quite literally laid the foundations for tourism, and tourism, in turn, has made possible the reinvention of colonial relations in the postcolonial world.

Tourism arguably corresponds with the transformation of colonialism in the wake of decolonization, reinscribing it in neocolonial terms. It stresses visitation over occupation and settlement. Still, appropriation and control remain paramount. Rather than land or natural resources, tourism cultivates culture by marketing places, pleasures, and performances deemed traditional, exotic, and ultimately different. Moreover, Euroamerican agents, institutions, and ideologies anchor tourist enterprises and experiences, setting the priorities, defining the terms, and enjoying privileged positions.

These conditions foster romantic and nostalgic attitudes among many tourists. They arrive after other colonial agents—administrators, merchants, missionaries, settlers, and soldiers—have radically altered local circumstances: pacification, forced assimilation, absorption into the world system, and decolonization. Yet ironically, they often seek out peoples and places on the margins supposedly spoiled by modern life or Western culture.

Tourism relies on stereotypical images of formerly colonized peoples and places. These images essentialize and exaggerate, reducing complex societies to clichés. They vary from the evocations of paradise associated with tropical regions and the historical grandeur of Central American empires to the attribution of cannibalism to market tours in Papua and New Guinea and the connection between sexuality and places such as Tahiti and Thailand. Importantly, these representations derive, in part, from colonial interpretations of cultural difference and are given popular form in travelers' tales, administrative reports, anthropological studies, and world's fairs.

Not surprisingly, given the pervasiveness of such images, many argue that the desires, relations, and experiences at the heart of tourism hurt the people who animate them. Tourism commodifies culture. It transforms traditional dress, crafts, and rituals as well as historically important and picturesque locations, into objects that may be bought and sold. This process of



A 1940s poster advertises Mexico as a tourist destination. While bringing in much-needed capital, tourism is sometimes seen by nationalists in developing countries as an aspect of neocolonialism, whereby the industrialized world controls the economies of developing economies without actually formally governing them. (Library of Congress)

commercialization distorts and disrupts local practices. The internal functions and historical meanings of art, ritual, and spirituality erode as they become products consumed by visitors. Traditions become dramatic props in the staged performances that are often taken to be authentic expressions. Moreover, external values dictate the significance of cultures put on display in the tourist industry. The tastes and funds of tourists determine both the content and the development of cultures visited by tourists, shaping what is deemed beautiful, valuable, and important. The commodification associated with tourism condenses the societies toured to a set of fixed images, practices, and traditions. Consequently, tourism both stifles change because a fixed version of a given society prevails and fosters relatively flat, dehumanized versions of other cultures, pivoting around essentialized images. Together, these aspects of tourism denigrate formerly colonized people and cultures. Worse yet, according to some social critics and indigenous activists, they induce formerly colonized peoples to participate in their own oppression.

Despite the obvious inequities of tourism, the industry remains an important development strategy. It promises to infuse communities with much-needed funds and grant peoples on the margins entry to the global community. And tourism does offer tangible benefits, including employment opportunities, improved infrastructure, increased land values, and a higher standard of living. Some have suggested that these benefits are short-lived and, worse, that these improvements pale in comparison to the massive profits enjoyed by multinational corporations and external cultural brokers.

Within the limited space of tourism, formerly colonized peoples have few opportunities to exert autonomy. Studies have suggested that they retain a sense of dignity and power for themselves and manage their relations with tourists in three ways: (1) through humor; (2) by divorcing their roles in the tourist industry from their everyday lives; and (3) in some case when they run tourist sites, by establishing rules to delimit tourist behavior.

However, although they are lacking formal structural power, frequently they do use tourism to make statements about themselves and the world system. This process facilitates the efforts of

local cultures and state institutions to formulate identity, community, and history. In addition, participating in tourism has permitted some indigenous peoples to maintain traditional practices. For instance, some Maasai communities in Kenya have used tourist sites as a means to preserve practices and rites fundamental to male initiation yet outlawed by the state. Beyond that, tourism is not merely conservative but constructive as well, and it has fostered the revitalization of indigenous practices. Finally, tourism also has promoted anti-colonial activism. Struggles over sacred sites transformed into tourist sites in both the United States and Australia have energized sociopolitical movements and in some case (for instance, Ayer's Rock in Australia) have affirmed indigenous sovereignty as well. States, in turn, have used their indigenous identity as a means to formulate national identity. Guatemala, to take but one example, used signs of Indianness to market tourism and linked the state to certain sites and festivals as official or national.

In the wake of decolonization, tourism must be read as a primary force in the formation of global culture. It contributes to globalization by reworking European imperialism in a more ambivalent, less visible form. The neocolonial contexts structured by tourism manifest the effects of commodification, pronounced stratification, and disturbing stereotypes, while granting the cultures that are toured limited opportunities for development, sovereignty, and equality.

C. Richard King

See also Architecture; Art; Decolonization; Economics; Exhibitions, Colonial; Third World; Transportation

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Transportation

When European powers began their penetration of the regions that were to become their empires, they used the existing forms of transport—human and animal—as well as existing trade routes, roads, tracks, rivers, and sea. In many regions, rivers were of only limited use either because they were not located in the areas of most

interest to imperialists or because they flowed at very low levels during dry seasons, making them usable only to boats with very shallow drafts. This was the case with nearly all African rivers. Although water transport was important in India's Indus and Ganges Valleys, parts of the Ganges, too, were only navigable for part of the year, whereas the Multan River in India had become almost entirely silted up by the mid-seventeenth century. In North America, rivers such as the St. Lawrence froze over during the winter, also limiting their utility. By contrast, the Plate River in Spanish America provided a useful, year-round rear access to the mineral-rich interior but had virtually no impact whatsoever on the economic development of Argentina itself until the nineteenth century.

Long-distance caravan routes continued to operate across parts of India and North Africa well into the colonial period and, with regard to the latter, have not entirely disappeared even today. In Africa, people carried goods in a series of overlapping trading networks, with some of that transport being linked to the slave trade. Slaves could carry ivory, for example, but, of course, not every carrier could be sold, as goods had to be transported back into the interior as well. The use of animals was severely limited by disease, although, contrary to popular belief, African elephants were trained to do some carrying and other work in parts of the eastern Belgian Congo.

As imperial rule and exploitation expanded, more efficient means of transport had to be developed in order to provide access to the interior, either to tap mineral resources (real or imagined) or, as with Napoleon and his roads in France, to facilitate troop movements into the interior. Railways were the answer. In many instances, both strategic and mineral interests could be served, a prime example being the railway line from Accra into Ashanti, which facilitated both the subjugation of the Ashanti and the exploitation of their gold mines. In southern and central Africa, most lines were constructed privately rather than by government and almost entirely to serve mining areas; in contrast, the East African line from Mombasa to Uganda was exclusively strategic. There as elsewhere, it was expected that agriculture and trade would develop along the lines of rail. Such development did occur in some areas, particularly farther south in Southern Rhodesia

and South Africa, but these expectations were frequently disappointed.

Minerals were such a strong attraction in Africa that more railways were built than were economically justified. Neither Transvaal gold nor Katanga and Northern Rhodesian copper required three different railway lines to meet import demands, but three separate lines they each had. These lines were built to accommodate imperial interests—to connect mining areas to the coast and thus facilitate the importing of machinery and other equipment needed—not to promote wider economic development in the colonies themselves. The same was the case in Portuguese Brazil, whose railways were largely financed by the British. Exceptions to this rule were France's territories in North Africa, where Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria were joined by rail and by road in the interior. South Africa also developed an extensive internal rail network, but it was India that had the most extensive railway system: virtually the entire country (then including Pakistan and Bangladesh) was connected by rail, which was clearly a major factor in postimperial economic success. Canada's railway, effectively linking the west and east coasts, can also be seen as an exception to this rule, although that line and its branches did have economic as well as strategic value.

The lure of Africa's minerals reached such a high pitch that schemes were elaborated for the construction of even more railway lines. The most famous of these "mythical" railways was Cecil Rhodes's dream, the Cape-to-Cairo line, which, of course, had no economic justification. Nonetheless, there were French schemes for a western version of the Cape-to-Cairo, trans-African line, which was to be linked to the trans-Saharan line that connected Algeria to Senegal. More concrete but totally unsuccessful mythical lines were actually begun in both southern and northern Angola, intended to provide even more rail access to the gold of the Rand. Short portions of these lines were actually built but to no ultimate avail.

Roads were also constructed by the imperial powers to provide access to areas not touched by rivers and not able to support the large costs of rail construction. Roads were often built as feeders to railways, although in some cases, such as Nigeria, roads could also be constructed instead of railways—not necessarily the best long-range



Africans lay track for a railroad in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in the early twentieth century. The British and other imperial powers largely built transportation networks to serve their own needs—including raw material and troop transport—rather than those of the colonized. (Library of Congress)

decision. Roads had the advantage of being relatively cheap, and there are more examples of roads connecting different countries' colonies than of railways.

Canals did not play much of a part in imperial transport, with the obvious exception of the Suez Canal, which was, in essence, more an aspect of Indian, rather than African, economic development. Again, a mythical element can be found in several French plans to link the Mediterranean by canal to some parts of the Sahara Desert, which were below sea level. Nothing came of them, which is not surprising in view of the fact that there was nothing of value in those parts of the desert.

When colonial rule ended, most of Africa was left with an imperial railway system. India had a good rail infrastructure on which it could build. In these major areas, at least, colonial transportation systems provided a link to postcolonial prosperity.

Simon Katzenellenbogen

See also Communications; Economics; Energy; Exploration; Industrial Revolution; Panama Canal; Piracy; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Suez Canal; Technology; Trans-Siberian Railroad

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Trans-Siberian Railroad

The Trans-Siberian Railroad, begun in 1891, stretches 5,800 miles from Moscow to Vladivostok. Viewed as the backbone for Russia's development, defense, and Russification of its vast Siberian territories, the line was expected to attract colonists and investors to the country's underdeveloped regions. During the czarist period, the line helped to substantially increase the population of Siberia, but its economic effect on Russia as a whole was minimal due, in part, to its inefficient single-track system. The government also hoped the line would strengthen Russia's position in East Asia. When the proposed 1,200-mile-long Amur section, from Sretensk to Khabarovsk, was shelved in 1885 because of high costs and difficult terrain, Russia negotiated permission to run an alternate route

through Chinese Manchuria. To mask Russia's virtual possession of a strip of Chinese territory, the line and the right-of-way were placed under the control of a private company, the Chinese Eastern Railway (CAE).

The Trans-Siberian Railroad finally reached its terminus at Vladivostok in late 1901 and opened for regular service two years later. It was an important, albeit slow, supply line for Russia's 1904–1905 war with Japan over possessions in China. After Russia's defeat, czarist officials proposed replacing the Manchurian section to allow the Trans-Siberian to run entirely within Russian territory. In 1908, work began on the alternate route, although this was not completed until 1916. The Trans-Siberian Railroad was an important east-west supply line during World War I. During Russia's Civil War, the Siberian sections of the line were held for several years by foreign interventionists, including the Japanese, British, and Americans. Under the Soviet Union, the line continued to facilitate Siberian development and served as a nucleus for rail-line expansion. By the 1930s, however, the main line was in bad repair, and new east-west routes were developed, such as the Magnitogorsk-Kuznetz line and the Baikal-Amir Mainline (BAM).

Rebecca Woodward Wendelken

See also Manchuria; Russian Empire; Soviet Union; Transportation

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Triple Alliance

The Triple Alliance was a secret treaty of mutual assistance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in effect from 1882 to 1915 and a diplomatic manifestation of the dissatisfaction felt by Italian imperialists. In May 1882, Italy, angered by the establishment of the French protectorate in Tunisia (1881), joined the Austro-German Dual Alliance. According to the treaty, the three powers were to support each other if the French should attack. Additionally, Germany and Austria-Hungary

promised to help Italy acquire Tunisia (from the French) and Tripoli (from the disintegrating Ottoman Empire).

The coordination of the Austria-Hungarian and Italian policies in the Balkans within the framework of the Triple Alliance was instrumental in establishing and maintaining the de facto Austrian protectorates in Serbia (1881–1895) and Romania (1883–1916). After 1895, the three powers successfully concerted their opposition to the Japanese expansion and coordinated their policies in China.

Nevertheless, the immediate Italian territorial ambitions in the Mediterranean and the Balkans remained unfulfilled. Additionally, Germany from 1899 to 1902 clearly shifted the focus of its alliance policy while trying to create a bloc with Russia and France and set the limits to British overseas expansion.

Dissatisfied Italy turned to Paris and recognized, in 1900, the French protectorate in Tunisia and claims in Morocco in exchange for being given a free hand in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. At the beginning of World War I, Italy refused to support Germany and Austria-Hungary, stressing that France was not the aggressor. In 1915, Italy's entry into the war on the side of the Triple Entente formally liquidated the Triple Alliance.

Peter Rainow

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; China; French Empire; German Empire; Italian Empire; Morocco; Ottoman Empire; Serbia; Triple Entente; World War I

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Triple Entente

The Triple Entente was an international collaboration between Great Britain, France, and Russia from 1907 to 1917 that developed from the settlement of their long-standing and intense colonial conflicts and differences. The earlier Anglo-French Entente, out of which the Triple Entente grew, was based on several conventions concluded on April 8, 1904. These agreements provided that France would recognize the priority of the British in Egypt in return for its own predominance in Morocco. France and England agreed that no fortifi-

cation in Morocco should be erected that would menace Gibraltar and that the Spanish claims in northern Morocco should be recognized. France surrendered its ancient exclusive fishery rights on the shores of Newfoundland in return for British territorial concessions on the borders between Gambia, Nigeria, and the French possessions in Africa. Additionally, Britain and France settled their disputes over spheres of influence in Siam, the customs regime in Madagascar, and control over the New Hebrides.

Another core treaty that led to the Triple Entente was the Anglo-Russian Entente, which was based on a bilateral convention concluded on August 31, 1907. The agreement sought to prevent the German penetration in the Middle East and envisaged the division of Persia into spheres of influence: Russian (northern), British (southwestern), and a neutral zone between them. Additionally, Russia acknowledged Afghanistan and Tibet as being in the British sphere of influence.

Although the earlier Franco-Russian defense alliance of 1894 dealt primarily with the European strategic situation, the two powers successfully coordinated their attitudes and policies in the Middle East and China as well. Additionally, the Anglo-Russian and Anglo-French agreements had a broader international impact. The Anglo-Russian Entente was instrumental in the Russo-Japanese rapprochement over their imperial interests in the Far East (in 1911). The Moroccan crisis of 1906 stimulated the development of military cooperation within the Anglo-French Entente.

During World War I, the Triple Entente finally developed into a multilateral military and political alliance. In 1915 and 1916, Britain, France, Russia, and Italy reached an agreement about the future partition of the Ottoman Empire. The entente powers also pledged (but did not fulfill their promise) to compensate Italy in case the German colonial empire was partitioned. After their victory, England and France managed to obtain control over German and Ottoman possessions through the League of Nations mandate system, but the revitalized controversies over colonial issues contributed to the final breakup of the entente in the 1920s.

Peter Rainow

See also Afghanistan; British Empire; China; Egypt; French Empire; Gibraltar; League of Nations;

Madagascar; Morocco; Newfoundland; Nigeria; Ottoman Empire; Russian Empire; Tibet; World War I

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Truman, Harry S. (1884–1972)

The thirty-third president of the United States, Harry Truman presided over a critical transitional period in the history of U.S. foreign policy, as the nation took up the leadership of the West from a collapsing British Empire in the wake of World War II. Liberal on domestic issues but hawkish in foreign policy, the Democratic Truman is best known for the so-called Truman Doctrine, first enunciated in 1947, in which he committed the United States to protecting first Greece and Turkey and then any other nation threatened by Communist subversion from within or aggression from without.

Born to a farming family in Missouri in 1884, Truman served in World War I and failed in several businesses before entering politics in the early 1920s. Although he was first sponsored by the Kansas City political machine of Thomas Pendergast, Truman nevertheless earned a reputation for stubborn honesty in the U.S. Senate from 1935 until he was picked as Franklin Roosevelt's running mate in 1944. On Roosevelt's death in April 1945, an inexperienced Truman was thrust into the center of a rapidly evolving international situation.

Almost immediately, Truman demonstrated that he was more hard-line on communism than Roosevelt, standing up to the Russians in the wake of World War II. Over the course of his presidency from 1945 to 1953, the United States developed its so-called containment doctrine, whereby aggression by Communist forces was by met by U.S. might. Truman sent troops to South Korea, following invasion by the North Koreans; he gave hundreds of millions of dollars to the French in their effort to maintain control of Indochina against the Communist-nationalist forces of the Viet Minh; and, through the Marshall Plan, he approved the spending of billions to prop up Western Europe in

order to prevent the rise to power of Communist parties there.

At the same time, Truman maintained the tradition of U.S. anticolonialism as he presided over the independence of the Philippines in 1946. Moreover, despite its record in Indochina, the Truman administration advocated peaceful decolonization by European powers, fearing that the prolonged thwarting of independence aspirations in the Third World would turn nationalists into Communists.

After leaving the presidency in 1953, Truman became a senior statesman, advising subsequent presidents, particularly Democratic ones, on foreign policy. He died in 1972.

James Ciment

See also Cold War; Decolonization; French Indochina; Korea; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Soviet Union; Turkey; Viet Minh; World War II

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Tshombe, Moïse (1919–1969)

Moïse Tshombe Kapenda was born in Musumba, Belgian Congo, in 1919. He served first as prime minister of the secessionist state of Katanga, then as prime minister of the Congo, from which Katanga had attempted to secede. He came to symbolize the danger of neocolonialism in Africa. His father was one of the most successful businessmen in the Congo, and his mother was a member of the royal house of the Lunda state.

Tshombe inherited a sizable business from his father, but when it began to fail, he declared bankruptcy and turned to politics. He headed a Lunda ethnic association, and when electoral politics began in 1959, he became president of the Confederation of Tribal Associations of Katanga (Conakat). Conakat was a "moderate" party, supported by European settlers and by the Belgian firm that controlled Katanga's copper mines. It advocated a loose confederation of provinces and favored continued close relations with Belgium. Conakat thus was sharply opposed to Patrice Lu-

mumba, whose Congolese National Movement opposed “tribalism” and advocated a strong central government as well as a radical break with colonialism. When 1960 elections gave Lumumba control of the central government and Tshombe control of the Katanga provincial government, setting the stage for secession, Tshombe announced the secession of Katanga. Lumumba, deposed as premier of the central government, was murdered in Katanga in 1961, with Tshombe’s apparent complicity. When the United Nations forcibly ended the secession in 1963, Tshombe fled to exile in Spain.

Tshombe was recalled from exile and named premier in 1964 to help President Joseph Kasavubu put down a Lumumbist rebellion. He was dismissed the following year because of his rivalry with Kasavubu and went back to Spain. In 1967, after his return to the Congo was rumored, he was kidnapped and taken to Algeria, where he died of a heart attack in 1969.

Thomas Turner

See also Belgian Congo; Decolonization; Lumumba, Patrice; Lunda; War and Warfare

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Gao and Timbuktu. But they never formed a truly unified political power.

When French colonizers arrived, they broke the confederations, relocated the Tuareg to agricultural villages to control them more easily, and forbade slavery, depriving the Tuareg of agricultural labor and food. The French imposed taxes on trans-Saharan trade and confiscated camels for their own military actions. Gradually, European trains and trucks made camel caravans obsolete. Tuareg economies declined; added to the consequences of frequent droughts, this led to years of rebellion. Today, the Tuareg live mostly in Niger, Mali, and Algeria, where their free-roaming lifestyle contradicts efforts at nation building and at creating a workable modern economy. Their fierce independence and demands for autonomy have provoked a series of rebellions and repressions that have cost many lives, and severe droughts have forced them to migrate to urban areas. They are increasingly marginalized and threatened with extinction.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Algeria; French Empire

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Tuareg

The name *Tuareg* designates pastoralist African Islamic clans of Berber origin who share a common history, language (Tamashek), and alphabet (Tifnagh). Beginning in the seventh century, these people fled from Arab invasions and roamed over a large Saharan area in accordance with the foraging needs of their herds, maintaining their traditional lifestyle and caste hierarchy.

As desiccation of the Sahara pushed them farther into the Sahel and the savanna, they came into conflict with local inhabitants, and they raided neighboring sedentary tribes, exacting payments and grains and taking slaves to do the manual labor that they traditionally considered below their dignity. To safeguard their independence, they formed confederations. These confederations became powerful, controlled much of the copper supply, organized caravans along ancient trade routes, and developed major trade centers such as

Tunisia

Following the Arab conquest in the seventh century, Islam spread rapidly among Tunisia’s Berbers, although many of them clung to their own language. The Spanish and Ottoman Turks battled for control of Tunisia in the sixteenth century, and the Ottomans ended Spanish rule in 1574. After a brief period of direct rule, the Ottomans recognized the de facto independence of Tunisia.

Tunisia was ruled as a monarchy by beys and deys, who were officers of the Turkish occupation forces. After France occupied Algeria in the 1830s, it came under French, British, and Italian influence. Tunisia became a French protectorate in 1883, and the bey was retained as a figurehead. The best agricultural land was turned over to European settlers. The Tunisian independence movement began in 1920, when the Destour (or Constitution) Party

called for a self-governing constitutional regime with an elected legislature. In 1934, the Neo-Destour (or New Constitution) Party, led by lawyer Habib Bourguiba, revived the nationalist movement. Under nationalist pressure, France granted Tunisia internal autonomy in 1950. Agitation continued, and independence was granted on March 20, 1956, with Bourguiba becoming prime minister. His party was renamed the Destourian Socialist Party. After the National Assembly abolished the monarchy on July 25, 1957, Bourguiba was named head of state. Following a clash with Tunisian forces, the French military left Tunisia in June 1962. In May 1964, Tunisia expropriated French-owned agricultural land.

Thomas Turner

See also Bourguiba, Habib; French Empire

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Turkey

The Seljuk Turks, seminomadic tribes from Central Asia, arrived in Asia Minor, which was then a part of the powerful Byzantine Empire, in the thirteenth century. They settled south of the Black Sea and gradually began their expansion toward the Mediterranean, capturing territories and small cities in Anatolia (present-day Turkey). In the late thirteenth century, Osman (or Uthman) (1258–1326), a talented and bright military and state leader, succeeded in uniting several Turkic tribes. He became a founding head, or sultan, of the great Ottoman state (*Osmanly Davlet*, as modern Turks prefer to call it). Under his rule, the soldiers of the Ottoman state defeated the troops of the Byzantium Empire in the decisive Battle of Baphaeon in 1301.

In the early fourteenth century, Osman and his descendants became strong enough to challenge the declining power of the Byzantium Empire and to begin the first wave of their large territorial expansions. In 1444, they defeated a crusaders' army led by Ladislaus III of Poland. In 1453, they conquered Constantinople, thus putting an end to the thousand-years-old Byzantium Empire. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire reached the zenith of its power.

In the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire was in decline, weakened by constant wars, and by the late nineteenth century, Turkey was dubbed as the "sick man of Europe." Several attempts to modernize the country (*Tanzimat*), including an effort to introduce a constitution in 1876, failed due to the resistance of the conservative Muslim clergy and state bureaucracy. Gradually, the reformist Young Turks Movement emerged, recruiting support among young military officers, intellectuals, and administrators. In 1908, the reformists forced the restoration of the 1876 constitution and some other reforms. However, Turkey experienced a devastating defeat in the two Balkan wars (1912–1913) and further losses during World War I, in which it sided with Germany against the Allies led by Great Britain and France. The caliphate was abolished in 1922, as anger and frustration became widespread, and the Turkish Republic was established in 1923.

Rafis F. Abazov

See also Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal; Byzantine Empire; Ottoman Empire; Young Turks

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Uganda

British interest in Uganda began with the explorer John Hanning Speke in 1862 and expanded with the arrival of British Protestant missionaries in 1877 and the imperial British East Africa Company in 1890. In the wake of these contacts and in the context of Europe's "scramble for Africa," Britain established a protectorate over the Kingdom of Buganda in 1894.

The core of the emerging protectorate of Uganda was Buganda, from which the country takes its name. A group of Christian Ganda chiefs collaborated with the British in the conquest and rule of surrounding states. As a reward, Britain signed a treaty with Buganda in 1900, which granted the chiefs positions of authority and large estates; it also gave the kingdom relative autonomy within the protectorate and a slice of the territory of its neighbor Bunyoro, all of which the other peoples of Uganda would resent for decades.

The completion of a railroad to the Indian Ocean in 1902 and private land ownership by Africans led to an economy built on the export of African-produced agricultural products. Cotton and coffee were the major exports, supplemented by sugar, tea, and some copper. Agricultural production and the wealth it produced were concen-

trated in Buganda and the eastern part of the protectorate, which were also the main locations for schools, roads, hospitals, and light industry, resulting in a pattern of uneven development that is still experienced today.

The 1950s saw the emergence of several political parties in Uganda, based on narrow ethnic or religious constituencies. Eventually, a coalition of convenience was formed by the Uganda People's Congress, headed by Milton Obote, and the Ganda Kabaka Yekka (The King Alone) Party. Under this arrangement, independence was granted to Uganda on October 9, 1962, with Obote as prime minister and Kabaka Mutesa II as president. Although Ugandans looked forward to a peaceful and prosperous future, it would not be long before the economic and political divisions of the colonial period would emerge to tear the country apart.

Michael W. Tuck

See also British East Africa Company

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Ukraine

No ruling power except Nazi Germany considered its Ukrainian territories to be colonies. Colonialism in the sense of illegitimate foreign domination

appears infrequently in modern Ukrainian thought, and world opinion did not consider the 1960 UN declaration entitled the “Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples” applicable to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Whether Ukraine’s development was promoted due to interaction with Russia or inhibited because of its political dependency has yet to be studied comparatively and in detail.

Ukrainian intellectuals began to think about a Ukrainian economy as an exploited national unit in the early 1900s, but only two of the thirty Ukrainian political parties that existed between 1895 and 1919 referred to a “Russian colonialism” in their programs. In the 1920s, academics disagreed over whether the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was a colony but agreed that under czarist rule, Ukrainian provinces were “colonies” whose economic development was retarded by Russian colonialism. Prewar Soviet historians depicted the Ukrainian peasantry and bourgeoisie as revolutionary agents of “democratic capitalism,” separatist nationalism as “progressive,” and the implicitly “anticolonial” Ukrainian revolution of 1917 as national and socialist. Postwar Soviet historians claimed czarist Ukraine was a “semi-colony” because, despite political and cultural oppression, it developed economically, thanks to czarist modernization policies. From this perspective, separatist nationalism was “reactionary” because it threatened the large-scale unity thought necessary for revolutionary struggle and economic development, and a “bourgeois anticapitalist national liberation war” could not be part of the socialist revolution in Ukraine.

On the eve of independence, eight of Ukraine’s thirteen parties referred to the country as an exploited “colony” in their programs. After 1991, most Ukrainian historians considered Ukrainians as victims of colonialism, whereas literary scholars drew attention to the nation’s “postcolonial” condition. Most Russian historians stressed that Ukrainians had also been agents of empire, and they characterized Ukraine’s historical status as “semicolonial.” Academics disagreed about whether central policies were “Russian,” czarist, or Soviet and intentionally “anti-Ukrainian” or whether the development that did occur was worth the cost. Most Russians and a sizable minority of the population in Ukraine, however, regard the

country’s historical association with Russia favorably and deny that Ukraine was a colonial victim of Russian imperial power.

Stephen Velychenko

See also Nazism; Russian Empire; Soviet Union

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United Fruit Company

Lorenzo Dow Baker, Minor C. Keith, and Andrew W. Preston were the founders of the United Fruit Company. Although the company was not officially created until March 30, 1899, the circumstances in each of these men’s lives describe its early conception. It began as a dream in 1871. An extremely industrious Minor Keith began construction of a railroad in Costa Rica. As the construction progressed, he planted bananas on the easements of both sides of the tracks. Bananas were the chosen crop because when the first bananas were imported to the United States, they quickly became popular as street vendors hawked them to passersby. The railroad was nearing completion, the bananas were nearing fruition, and Keith used his ingenuity to transport his crop economically to the eager markets in the United States and Europe. His sagacity paid well when, ten years later, Keith owned three banana companies.

Keith then joined with a Cape Cod sailor, Capt. Lorenzo Baker, and a Boston businessman, Andrew Preston. The trio was able to raise enough money for the creation of the Boston Fruit Company. In 1899, the Boston Fruit Company and the

United Fruit Company merged, forming the largest banana company in the world, with plantations located in Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, and Santa Domingo. In addition to railroad ownership—112 miles that linked plantations with ports—they also owned eleven steamships (known as the Great White Fleet) and rented or leased thirty other ships.

In 1901, the Guatemalan dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera gave United Fruit Company the exclusive right for transportation of postal mail between Guatemala and the United States. Keith viewed this entry into the country as providing the ideal investment climate, which the company quickly seized. He formed the Guatemalan Railroad Company, set up as a subsidiary of United Fruit, and his intuition proved true as he later capitalized it at \$40 million. Keith further negotiated to build a railroad between Guatemala City and Puerto Barrios, obtained permission to purchase—at a nominal price—lots in Puerto Barrios, and received a grant of land 1 mile long by 500 yards wide on either side of the city pier. His negotiations continued as a contract was awarded to construct telegraph lines from the capital to Puerto Barrios.

Other countries in Central and South America fell under the pernicious power of United Fruit. Guatemala was the most controlled country, as it generated about 25 percent of the company's total production. The capital of the United Fruit Company's empire was in Guatemala, in the town of Bananera, where it established its headquarters. Troubles began as later years saw a change in dictatorships, some of which were more threatening to the company's financial security. The early 1950s witnessed the election of Jacobo Arbenz, who continued reform programs that endangered United Fruit's power in the country. Since United Fruit held most of the unused land in Guatemala, it turned to the United States for assistance when Arbenz proposed redistribution of the unused land for the indigenous people to farm and reap the benefits. The political climate of the 1950s enabled United Fruit to convince President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that Guatemala had turned to communism. Capitalizing on U.S. fears of the Soviet Union and communism, the American people and government were easily convinced that

Guatemala was a Soviet satellite country. This ultimately persuaded the United States to employ its Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to orchestrate a coup in 1954. This coup, code-named Operation PBSUCCESS, succeeded in replacing the freely elected government of Guatemala with another right-wing dictatorship that was conducive to United Fruit's ambitions.

Although United Fruit did bring tangible benefits to the countries where it operated, such as housing, schools, hospitals, and research laboratories, it also brought new problems or exacerbated existing ones. When an area was abandoned, the company would destroy the housing and hospitals and more often than not left the area destitute. Its practice of institutionalized racism led to the concept of a "banana republic," which epitomized Guatemala from 1920 through 1944. The plentiful supply of cheap labor under the fiefdom-like social structure in the country and the government's closeness to United Fruit benefited the company.

The focus and enthusiasm of its founders waned with new faces appearing at the company's helm. Eli Black appeared in the company's last years, and with a series of disconcerting—possibly illegal—stock transactions, he gained control of United Fruit Company. The company later changed its name to United Brands, and the 1970s proved to be financially disastrous for the company. Even though this U.S. company was a powerful economic and political force in Central America, it appeared that the company's longevity and economic stability was of paramount importance to the United States as well—so much so that the State Department and CIA secretly cooperated with the company to overthrow legitimate governments.

In the late 1980s, the Del Monte Company bought United Fruit Company's lands. At this time, the Del Monte Corporation operates the former holdings of United Fruit/United Brands but without employing the political and social manipulations of the past.

Penny M. Sonnenburg

See also Central America; Cuba; Nicaragua; Panama; United States

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United Nations

The United Nations is a world intergovernmental organization dedicated to maintaining international peace and security, self-determination, and global social and economic cooperation. Building on the lessons learned from the ineffective League of Nations, the UN was established in the dying stages of World War II in 1945 by the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), Britain, China, and forty-six other allied nations. The UN Charter declares the organization's commitment to the self-determination and equal rights of its member states and aims to maintain international peace and security through collective security and international efforts to solve global economic, social, and humanitarian problems.

The UN commitment to self-determination was made easier to fulfill because of the collapse of the majority of European empires in the wake of World War II. The UN's General Assembly provided independence movements around the world with an international forum to assert their rights to self-determination. Particularly in cases of armed conflict, such as Algeria, UN member states asserted pressure on colonial powers to concede independence to freedom fighters in an attempt to maintain international peace and security. The two superpowers of the post-World War II era, the United States and the USSR, were also active in supporting independence movements around the world through their involvement in the UN and through more direct action. Their motives for doing so, however, were more related to building larger support blocs for themselves in their Cold War rather than any idealistic commitment to self-determination. Once former colonies became independent, membership in the UN provided them with access to international diplomacy and aid. By the mid-1960s, so many newly independent countries took their seats in the UN General Assembly that they were able to form a powerful Non-Aligned Movement that ended U.S. dominance of this forum and ensured the passing of more General Assembly resolutions supporting decolonization. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a real belief



With its headquarters in midtown Manhattan, the United Nations has enjoyed one of its greatest successes helping to preside over the dismantling of European colonial empires in the late twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

among developing countries that the UN could challenge the existing world order. By the time the Cold War ended, however, a viable role for the Non-Aligned Movement also disappeared. Because of the developed countries' disinterest in the UN's commitment to development, very little has been done to overcome structural global inequity that first developed as part of the colonial economic system.

The UN also had a Trusteeship Council, which was initially responsible for the running of eleven territories put under world trust at the end of World War II. Gradually, all of these territories have either gained independence or some form of self-government within other nations, except the Palau Islands, which remain under U.S. trusteeship.

When the UN was formed, it devised a collective security policy to deal with threats to international peace and security. Collective security was based on the idea that the permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the USSR, Britain, France, and China—would act together to restrain aggressive states through eco-

conomic and diplomatic sanctions and, if necessary, military action. However, the Cold War between the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, made such a system obsolete. Instead, the UN developed the notion of peacekeeping, which was originally designed to localize, contain, and hopefully defuse conflict between states by deploying an impartial, multinational force drawn from small and medium-sized countries. These UN peacekeeping forces were only allowed to use force in self-defense and instead had to rely on tactics such as riot and movement control, military patrols, and mediation.

Many of the threats to international peace and security from the 1950s to the 1970s were caused by the harmful legacies of colonial policy, such as importing different ethnic communities into countries to perform different types of labor, and were exacerbated by Cold War tensions. This was certainly the case in the Congo (now known as Zaire) in the 1960s, when Belgian troops were ordered into the country to restore law and order without the agreement of the Congolese government. At the same time, the Congolese province of Katanga declared its independence from the rest of the Congo, with covert Belgian, British, and French involvement. The Congolese government responded by requesting UN military assistance. The UN Security Council called on the Belgian government to withdraw its troops and agreed to send a UN peacekeeping force to the Congo. This complicated peacekeeping mission was hampered by U.S. and Soviet support for opposing factions in the Congolese government. Since 1960, many UN peacekeeping forces have been deployed around the world to deal with the political and military legacies of colonialism, including the Congo and West New Guinea (West Irian) in the 1960s, Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s, and, most recently, in East Timor.

The UN's Economic and Social Council has also been involved in the process of decolonization. This council organizes the UN's economic and social activities and its specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the UN Development Program (UNDP).

Despite the hard work of some UN officials and the good intentions of many countries, the aid and other programs they have implemented in many newly independent nations have only entrenched poverty and dependency on international assistance. Probably the most successful of these agencies is UNICEF, which, through its comprehensive immunization and education programs, has ensured healthier, more productive lives for many children in developing countries. The WHO was also able to eradicate smallpox globally. UNCTAD was established in the 1960s with the support of the Non-Aligned Movement in the General Assembly and the Group of 77, which involved more than 100 developing countries that joined together to promote a fairer world economic system. UNCTAD argued for fairer terms of trade and more liberal terms for financing the development of newly independent countries that found it difficult to break into the international economic system because it was originally set up for the benefit of the colonial powers. The developed countries insisted that any changes should take place through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which are controlled by powerful Western nations. This strategy ensured that such changes were never made. The UN has, therefore, been unable to alter the global economic system, which continues to benefit the wealthy former colonial and other developed countries (often referred to as "the North") at the expense of former colonies or developing nations, which are referred to as "the South."

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See also Cold War; League of Nations; World War II

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United States

The United States emerged as a major colonial power as the result of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the later purchase of some territories, and the defeat of Japan in 1945, when it acquired the Pacific Trust Territories. The precedents of American colonialism and mode of territorial incorporation were established in relation to the original thirteen colonies and the Northwest Ordinance (1787), as well as southwest territories from 1783 to the mid-1860s.

The acquisition of American territories fell into three well-defined periods. The first period began with the confirmation, by the Treaty of Paris with Great Britain, of the claims of the thirteen original states to the territory stretching as far as the Mississippi River. This period can be said to have ended in 1853, with the addition of territory (the Gadsden Purchase) growing out of the admission of the Republic of Texas and the war with Mexico. The second period of territorial expansion in the northwest and southwest covered the next forty-five years, to 1898. This was the period of industrial transformation of the U.S. economy, of the conquest of vast areas of low population density, and of the suppression of the Native Americans who lived in these areas.

The third period began with the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 and continued with the acquisition of the former Spanish colonies after the Spanish-American War and, later, the acquisition of a 10-mile-wide strip across the isthmus of Panama (1904), the purchase of the Danish Antilles (1917), and the mandate for the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) in 1947. It is the third period and the acquisition of “flag territories” resulting from the Spanish-American War of 1898 that is the focus of this discussion.

Flag Territories

The U.S. colonial territories gained from the Spanish-American War of 1898 included Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam. The U.S. Virgin Islands were acquired by purchase from Denmark in 1917 for \$25 million. Cuba became an independent republic shortly after the war, although it was under U.S. military occupation from 1899 to 1902 and 1906 to 1909. The Philippines became a self-governing commonwealth in 1935 and an independent republic in 1946. Other territories of the

United States not discussed here include American Samoa, the Republic of Palau, the largely uninhabited islands of Baker and Howland, Jarvis, Johnston Atoll, Kingman Reef, Midway Atoll, Navassa Island, Palmyra Atoll, and Wake Island.

Although coming under the jurisdiction of the United States, the flag territories did not automatically enjoy U.S. constitutional guarantees. The U.S. Constitution did not ipso facto follow the flag, as revealed in a February 1899 joint resolution introduced in the U.S. Senate that established the basic sentiment of American colonial policy in the flag territories:

The acquisition by the United States through conquest, treaty, or otherwise, of territory not adjacent to and geographically part of the Continent of North America carries with it no constitutional or moral obligation to admit said territory, or any portion thereof, into the Federal Union as a State or States; . . .

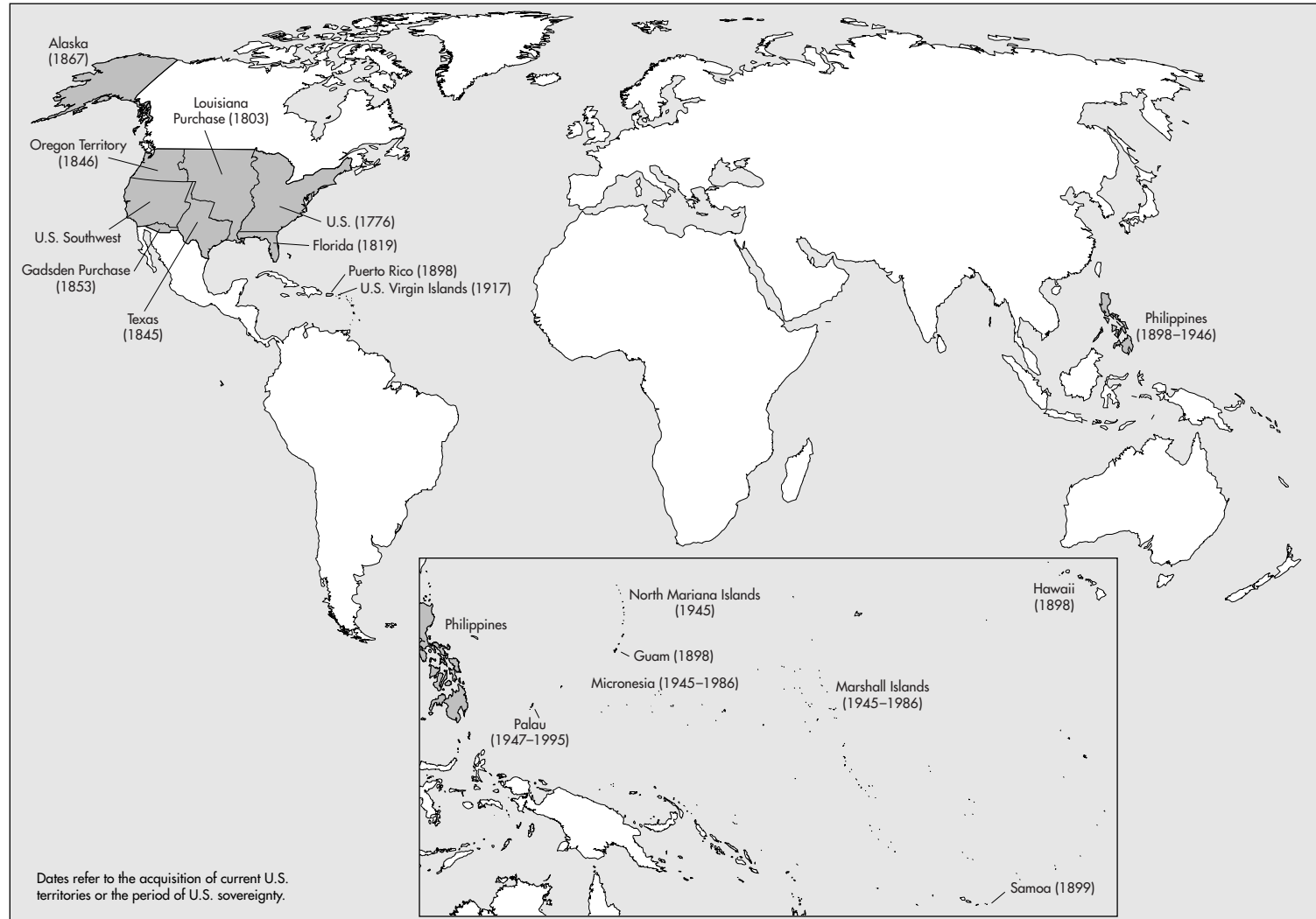
It is against the policy, traditions and interests of the American people to admit states erected out of such non-American territories, or portions thereof into our Union . . . at any time or under any conditions.

Basis for the Status of U.S. Possessions

American colonial policy and administration as reflected in the political status of the overseas territories evolved in an ad hoc manner. The legal basis and political status of the various dependencies vary. In the main, the status of the flag territories was established early on by congressional laws and U.S. Supreme Court rulings. Because the U.S. Constitution did not specify the policies for incorporating the new flag territories, the Supreme Court set the relevant precedents through a series of rulings between 1901 and 1922, known collectively as the Insular Cases. The Court interpreted the territorial clause of the Constitution (article 4, section 3) to permit broad congressional discretion in deciding questions of status for the overseas territories. The Insular Cases affirmed the “complete authority” of Congress over the territories, thus giving this body much greater power than it had concerning the contiguous incorporated territories, which later became states. Among the Insular Cases are the following:

Downes v. Bidwell, 182 U.S. 244; 21 S. Ct. 770; 45 L.Ed. 1088 (1901), confirmed by *Dorr v. United*

U.S. EMPIRE



States, 195 U.S. 138 (1904). Neither the Philippines nor Puerto Rico were incorporated territories in the Union or part of the United States, as distinguished from merely belonging to it. Nor did acts giving temporary governments to the Philippines and to Puerto Rico have the effect of incorporation.

Dorr v. United States, 195 U.S. 138 (1904). This case concluded that “the power to govern territory, implied in the right to acquire it, and given to Congress in the Constitution in article 4, section 3, to whatever other limitations it may be subject, the extent of which must be decided as questions arise, does not require that body to enact for ceded territory, not made part of the United States by congressional action, a system of laws that shall include the right of trial by jury, and that the Constitution does not, without legislation and of its own force, carry such right to territory so situated.”

In 1900, the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act, establishing a civilian government in Puerto Rico under U.S. control. The act provided for an elected house of representatives on the islands but not for a vote in Washington.

Incorporated versus Unincorporated Territories

The so-called Insular Cases explicitly established the all-important distinction of territorial “incorporation” and “unincorporation.” *Balzac v. People of Porto Rico*, 258 U.S. 298; 42 S. Ct. 343; 66 L.Ed. 627 (1922), ruled that Puerto Rico is not a state for revenue purposes. This ruling would apply to Puerto Rico only when Congress formerly made provisions for this. In the incorporated territories, the Constitution in its entirety automatically followed the American flag. In an unincorporated territory, only the fundamental provisions of the Constitution applied: “the general prohibitions in favor of the liberty and property of the citizen . . . which are an absolute denial of authority . . . to do particular acts” (Report of the United States, 1966). All other provisions and protections of the Constitution had to be extended individually by congressional decision. For example, when the Nineteenth Amendment granting American women the vote was passed in 1927, the right to vote was not automatically extended to women in the unincorporated territories, even when—as in Puerto Rico—they were U.S. citizens.

In addition, incorporated territories were presumed to have an inherent right to be considered for statehood, but unincorporated territories did not. The distinction between incorporated and unincorporated should not be confused with the distinction between “organized” and “unorganized” territories—that is, those with an explicit system of participatory governance and those ruled as administrative entities, respectively.

Unincorporated territories normally progressed to organized status through congressional passage of an “organic act” specifying the system of governance. Thus, the United States was confronted with the situation that, for an indefinite time to come, territories under its sovereignty would be divided into two classes, each having a different political status. One, constituting the United States proper, would enjoy full political rights and privileges, and the other, a dependent territory, would be subordinate to the former and would have its status determined by the U.S. Congress. In 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones Act, which gave Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship and a bill of rights and also established a locally elected senate and house of representatives. However, the Foraker Act still determined economic and fiscal aspects of government.

Alaska and Hawaii

Annexed in 1867 and 1898, respectively, these territories acquired statehood only in 1959, much later than the other territories occupied at around the same time. Both territories are noncontiguous with the U.S. mainland; and, in each, a white minority played a crucial role in political leadership and as the guiding force seeking statehood.

The American Racial Tradition and U.S. Colonial Policy

A little-examined aspect of American colonial policy in the territories acquired after 1898 is the predominantly nonwhite racial composition of the inhabitants. Race and the American racial tradition have greatly influenced the political status evolution of the flag territories. A landmark case that had implications for both domestic and overseas American colonial racial policies was *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which established segregation as the official law of the United States. Segregationist policies were also transported to U.S. overseas ter-

ritories and influenced the political status evolution of the flag territories. The American racial tradition largely determined policies toward the territories, the nature of social and racial conflict, and the direction and pace of political evolution.

From the very beginning, the nonwhite inhabitants of the flag territories were viewed as “alien” and “dissimilar,” as much the result of their race as of the distant locations and different national conditions: people of “foreign blood” speaking foreign languages. Race was a major reason why none of these territories became states. Indeed, they settled into one or another of three political options: (1) independence (for example, the Philippines); (2) “commonwealth” or “free association” status, in one or another of its possible variants (for example, Puerto Rico, the Northern Marianas, and the Marshalls); or (3) “unincorporated territory” status (for example, the U.S. Virgin Islands and Guam).

The Denial of Empire and Pragmatic Materialism in American Colonial Policy

The legacy of the American Revolution has imparted an anticolonial facade to U.S. colonialism, entailed in the notion that in a nation born of anti-colonialism, holding people of other lands in a state of permanent subjection is incompatible with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. As summarized by D. K. Fieldhouse, a student of comparative colonialism, in 1965:

The American Empire never acquired a formal constitution; but its legal structure, as defined by the U.S. courts, fell into three parts. Caribbean states held by treaties were foreign. Alaska and Hawaii were incorporated into the Union by Congress and came within the constitution. In 1959, they became full states. All others were unincorporated territories—colonies in all but name. Citizenship followed the same distinctions. Inhabitants of incorporated states were citizens of the United States as well as of their states; others were either “foreign” . . . or “nationals of the United States” and citizens of their own territories. Congress extended full citizenship to all Puerto Ricans in 1917, Virgin Islanders living in the territory in 1927 and Guamanians in 1950.

Filipinos were never granted U.S. citizenship, but those traveling outside of their country were “na-

tionals” traveling under the protection of the United States. Thus, the self-image of the United States was that of an unwilling participant assuming a colonial burden. The psychological denial of empire is manifested in the euphemisms referring to U.S. overseas territorial possessions—“dependency,” “protectorate,” insular areas,” “outlying territories”—and by the absence of a single coordinated colonial administrative office. U.S. territories have been administered by the War Department (the Philippines), the U.S. Navy (U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa, Puerto Rico), the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA), the Division of Territories and Island Possessions (1933), the Office of Territories (1950), the Office of Territorial Affairs (1973), and most recently, the Department of the Interior (DOI).

The cornerstone of American colonial policy is “pragmatic materialism” or a trade-off between rapid political advancement in return for a package of material benefits. This package consists of:

The Basic Bargain: providing basic public, social, educational services, and infrastructure—streets and highways, public parks, electricity, sewage, water, public education, schools and libraries, sanitation and hospitals, and so forth.

The Benefit Theory: rejected exploitation of the colonies in favor of their “uplift” in the manner advocated by the turn-of-the century black leader Booker T. Washington, a confidant of colonial administrators and policymakers. The American policy of material uplift was rooted, in part, in the progressive reform movement in the United States, which espoused the belief that progress would result from increased technical efficiency and education for citizenship. A nineteenth-century American colonial official summarized this: “The one essential justification that has ever been offered for the acquisition of new territory and the holding of it even temporarily in dependence has been that such action has been for the benefit of the territory itself. As the most important consequence of this principle, the United States has in no case sought to make of dependent territory a source of revenue to the federal government” (McFerson 1997, 109).

The benefits supposedly offered to the inhabitants of territories acquired by the United States included the following:

Education for citizenship: training in public administration and local administration was

encouraged to facilitate a gradual transition from appointed to local elected administrators.

Colonial administration: the creation of an efficient administration was haphazard. Following an initial period of military administration, a governor (initially military, followed by a civil governor) was appointed by the president of the United States and confirmed by the Senate, and an organic act was promulgated. Executive departments were created—usually including at least a treasurer and auditor, a local legislature composed of an executive council appointed by the president of the United States, and a nonvoting representative in Washington. The extension of the judiciary included the territory coming within the jurisdiction of a U.S. district court. Political evolution under the direction of the U.S. Congress granted universal suffrage and congressionally mandated nonbonding referenda on status options. The extent of American domestic constraints on the political status of U.S. overseas territories is summarized in a recent congressional hearing:

Today, the United States, through article IV, section 3, paragraph 2 of the Constitution, asserts that Guam, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa have no sovereign powers of their own, but are governed solely by Congress and have only such powers as Congress decides to delegate to them. Congress determines the tax policy of these territories. These policies may adversely affect some or all of the territories; Congress may be unaware of these effects, or it may knowingly be putting U.S. interests above those of the nonvoting territories.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also Alaska; Americans, Native; Cuba; Hawaii; Indians Wars; Manifest Destiny; Panama Canal; Philippines; Puerto Rico; Racism; United Nations

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Utrecht, Peace of (1713)

The Peace of Utrecht was a series of treaties by which the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713) came to an end. After a decade of fighting, not only were the countries involved exhausted and politically anxious to make peace, as seen in the 1711 Tory election in Britain, but the candidate proposed by the allies, the Archduke Charles, also had become the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI. Faced with the prospect of Spain joined to the empire in a union as threatening as the feared Franco-Spanish bloc, if the French candidate became king of Spain, all of the participants agreed to make peace. In these agreements, the United Provinces agreed to protect the Protestant succession of Britain in exchange for barrier fortresses in the southern Netherlands, and France agreed to discontinue support for the Stuart Catholic claimants to the British throne. The French gained the Spanish throne for Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV of France, on the condition that he renounce all claims to the French throne and that the French fortification of Dunkirk be demolished. The Spanish Netherlands changed hands, as did Lombardy and Naples, coming under the control of the Austrians.

More important for the colonial empires, France ceded the Hudson Bay territory, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia), and the island of St. Kitts to Britain. Spain, meanwhile, gave Britain possession of Gibraltar, Minorca, and the important trade privilege of the *asiento*, a thirty-year contract that allowed the British to sell 4,500 African slaves every year in Spanish America through the South Sea Company. The treaty confirmed British mastery at sea, as well as in North America, and allowed the colonists a generation of peace in which to develop internally.

Margaret Sankey

See also British Empire; Dutch Empire; French Empire; Spanish Empire; War and Warfare

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V

Venezuela

Although Christopher Columbus was the first European to anchor off the coast of the Orinoco Delta in 1498, it was the Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci who, one year later, christened the land Venezuela (literally meaning “Little Venice”) after observing a large village of Carib Indians built ingeniously into the water on wooden piles. At first contact, probably as many as 60,000 Indians inhabited Venezuela’s tropical shoreline and coastal valleys, most living in dispersed and semisedentary villages. In the Venezuelan interior, many more varied Indian societies abounded, ranging from the sophisticated Timoto-Cuica chiefdoms of the Andean region, who lived in cities supported by irrigated and terraced mountainside farms, to the nomadic hunter-gatherer peoples of the *llanos* (plains) with whom the Andeans traded. The patterns of regional diversity and cultural autonomy that characterized pre-Columbian Venezuela persisted well into the late colonial period.

It was the pearl fisheries that initially attracted Spaniards to the Venezuelan coast, but when the oyster beds between Cumaná and the Isla de Margarita were exhausted in the 1520s, the settlers began enslaving Indians to turn a profit. In 1528, the Spanish Crown granted the House of Welser banking firm of Germany a concession to exploit western Venezuela. The Welsers, however, squandered men and money on futile *entradas* (ex-

ploratory expeditions) trying to locate the fabled golden kingdom of El Dorado and failed to establish any enduring settlements before their contract was terminated twenty-eight years later. Spanish slavers, by contrast, established bases at El Tocuyo and Coro, founded the city of Valencia in 1555, and, after a decade of savage fighting, established Caracas in 1567.

In the late sixteenth century, colonists in the fertile central valleys began raising wheat, cattle, tobacco, and cocoa and shipping these commodities to Cartagena to provision the silver fleet. Ignoring the so-called New Laws of 1542 prohibiting the imposition of the *encomienda* (a system of forced personal labor service), the settlers required subjugated Indians, male and female, to work their fields every third month. Cocoa production boomed in the 1620s and remained a profitable export for the next 200 years, and Caracas emerged as the dominant city in the province. When the Crown unambiguously abolished the *encomienda* in 1687, the colonists used their profits to import African slaves to work on the cocoa plantations. To force English and Dutch smugglers out of the lucrative trade, the Spanish Crown in 1728 granted exclusive trading rights in Venezuela to a Basque firm known as the Caracas Company. An insurrection against the monopoly by small-scale producers in 1749 was crushed by Spanish troops, and thereafter, the Crown took a closer interest in Venezuelan affairs.

Caracas received a military governor in 1751, upgraded first to a captaincy-general in 1777 and then to an *audiencia* (royal court) in 1786, but most of the other Venezuelan provinces (Mérida, Cumaná, Barinas, and Guyana) remained sufficiently isolated from each other and from the colonial audiencias to which they were subject to retain their independent character. But if Venezuela remained on the periphery of the empire through most of the colonial period, in the independence era the region would produce some of the leading revolutionary actors (including Francisco de Miranda and Simón Bolívar Palacios) and would find itself in the center of the struggle.

Francis X. Luca

See also Bolívar, Simón; Cocoa; Columbus, Christopher; Spanish Empire; Vespucci, Amerigo

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Verne, Jules (1828–1905)

Jules Verne was born in Nantes, France. He went to Lycée Royal in Nantes, where he excelled at and won a prize in geography. He then studied law in Paris. Even in his youth, however, his real calling was writing, and he produced many poems, short stories, plays, and songs. Verne was thirty-five years old when his first novel, *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (1863), was published, launching a remarkable career.

In his writings, Verne's views betrayed a certain naive racial prejudice and Euro-bourgeoisie ethnocentricity, which served to justify colonial expansion and exploitation. For Verne, there were good natives and evil natives; black Africans were of the latter category, and to them he attached the themes and images of cannibalism and bestiality. Nonetheless, Verne was not blindly imperialistic, as were some of his contemporaries; but then, neither was he consistently aware of the evils of colonialism. He did not explicitly support colonialism except to the extent it promoted progress, but he frequently employed imperial inventions, vaunting the superiority of the white man while pitying the "backwardness" of the colonized peoples. His peculiar ambivalence was manifest in his views of French colonialism as more compassionate than

British colonialism, which he saw as genocide. This attitude was recorded in such works as *Mistress Branican* (1891), *L'Île a Helice* (1895), *P'tit bonhomme* (1893), and *Famille sans nom* (1889).

The critical views of Jules Verne's work often reflect the writer's own ambivalence: he is either seen as a revolutionary liberal ideologist whose main idea was that man should subjugate nature through scientific progress, or he is seen as a defender of the cruel colonial subjugation of peoples in the name of progress.

Verne predicted the invention of many machines that have become an ordinary part of our lives today. These predictions may explain his lasting appeal. His *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* (1870) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873) have been made into movies and television series.

Naceur Amakhmakh

See also French Empire; Literature

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Verrazano, Giovanni da (1485–1528)

An Italian explorer born and raised in Tuscany, the son of a silk manufacturer in Lyon, Giovanni da Verrazano began his seafaring life as a navigator on French merchant ships in the Mediterranean. He was aware of Francis I's concern with the expansion of Portuguese trade routes and his desire to find new, shorter routes to China and India to obtain silk and spices. With his brother Gerolamo, a mapmaker, Giovanni suggested to the French king that there was a more direct route to the Orient to be found north of Florida. Thus, in 1524, the Verrazano brothers sailed to America on the *Dauphine* on behalf of France. They reached Cape Fear and traveled north to Maine, through what are now New York Bay and Long Island Sound, exploring theretofore unknown territory without finding the passage they sought.

In a second voyage (in 1527), Verrazano explored the coast of South America, also without result. In 1528, he undertook a third voyage to look for the passage in the area of the Caribbean Is-

lands. He went ashore on one of them, probably Guadeloupe, with a small party. He took few precautions, as he was an explorer, not a conqueror, and the Indians he had previously met had been friendly and hospitable. However, hostile Caribs captured him and his men and killed them. Verrazano's legacy included not only new maps but also detailed descriptions of the climate and the inhabitants, including their physical appearance, customs, boats, weapons, clothing, foods, animals, and plants.

Natalie Sandomirsky

See also Exploration; French Empire; New York

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Versailles, Treaty of

Signed by the Allied leaders on June 28, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, this treaty officially ended World War I and established the terms of peace that influenced European and world events for the next two decades. The principal negotiators included George Clemenceau of France, who pushed for French possession of the Rhineland and Alsace-Lorraine and heavy reparations from Germany; David Lloyd George of Great Britain, who advocated a demilitarized Rhineland and cautioned against the imposition of heavy reparations; Vittorio Orlando of Italy, who pushed for Italian control of the Adriatic coast; and Woodrow Wilson of the United States, who hoped to promote his Fourteen Points, including the right of the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe to decide their own future through self-determination. Germany relinquished Alsace-Lorraine to France and three smaller areas of land to Belgium, and after elections, Schleswig rejoined Denmark. Germany lost western Prussia and Posen, areas that provided a corridor to the sea for a resurrected Poland. After a plebiscite in Upper Silesia, the borders of Poland were expanded again. The leaders also created the new countries of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland from former Russian land. The Austro-Hungarian Empire lost territory along the Adriatic coast with the formation of Yugoslavia and in Eastern Europe with the creation of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Wilson also insisted on the end of European empires, and through the treaty, the signatories systematically dismantled the German Empire. The United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy negotiated the terms of the treaty; other Allied countries—such as Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene state, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay—participated to a lesser extent. The terms agreed on forced a defeated Germany to accept total blame for the war, pay heavy reparations, and renounce all rights and privileges in territory outside of Europe. Articles 118 through 158 terminated all existing treaties and ownership of property in the German colonies, the Cameroons, Equatorial Africa, China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, the Sherifian empire, Egypt, Turkey, Bulgaria, the Province of Shantung, and the territory of Shanghai. All assets owned by the German government reverted back to the appropriate country, with the exception of diplomatic or consular residences and offices. German nationals, according to part 10 of the treaty (the economic clause), sought protection for their goods.

Under article 22 of the treaty, all territories formerly governed by Germany or any other defeated power remained under the tutelage of an advanced Allied nation capable of governing the political and economic development of the region, with the understanding that religious freedom, public order, and external defense systems would be guaranteed and that the slave trade, arms traffic, and the sale of liquor would be restricted. The authority granted by each mandate varied, depending on the circumstances within the particular country. The outcome produced a policy of colonization by substitution, with the Allied powers assuming what amounted to colonial administration over areas formerly under German control.

Taking effect on January 10, 1920, the Treaty of Versailles demanded that Germany pay damages estimated at \$33 billion. Warnings from economists concerning the disastrous effect that the payment of this large amount would produce on the world economy went unheeded. With Germany's industrial capabilities reduced and restricted, its economy groaned under the financial



President Woodrow Wilson and his wife arrive at the chateau at Versailles to sign the peace treaty ending World War I. Among the treaty's punitive measures against Germany were articles 118 through 158, forcing Berlin to surrender its overseas colonies to other imperialist powers. (Library of Congress)

burden, creating internal turmoil. Attempts at creating a democratic structure resulted in the development of political factions, including a number of extremist movements such as the German Workers' Party led by Adolf Hitler in 1921 and a Communist party. Within twenty years, German animosity for the Treaty of Versailles fostered the growth of the Nazi Party and led to the outbreak of World War II.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Alsace-Lorraine; Colonial Administration; German Empire; Hitler, Adolf; Ottoman Empire; Turkey; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I; World War II

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Vespucci, Amerigo (1451–1512)

A Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci went to Seville, Spain, in 1491 as an agent of the Medici Bank. If his own accounts are trustworthy, Vespucci reached the American mainland on June 16, 1497; this historical statement is to be found in his letter of March and April 1503 to Lorenzo di Medici, whose bank had financed most of Vespucci's career. He also claimed to have visited the mouth of the Amazon in 1499 and explored the Brazilian coast in 1501. He described these two voyages in other letters, clearly stating that the American continent was not Asia but a new world. Martin Waldseemüller, a humanist and geographer who worked at St. Die University in Lor-

rairie, is credited with naming the New World *America* after Amerigo Vespucci. In February 1505, Vespucci visited Christopher Columbus in Spain. The following month, he became a Spanish citizen. In 1508, he was made *piloto mayor*, or chief pilot, of Spain, an office he held until his death at Seville on February 22, 1512.

John J. N. McGurk

See also Columbus, Christopher; Exploration; Spanish Empire

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Victoria (1819–1901)

The British Empire approached its greatest territorial extent and the peak of its global influence during the long reign of Queen Victoria, from 1837 to 1901. Over these decades, Victoria herself became the unifying symbol of a vast, disparate imperial community.

As a young queen, Victoria was preoccupied by political duties and diverted by her marriage to Prince Albert and the demands of their rapidly growing family. Her first serious interest in the colonies was sparked by the displays representing Britain's global connections at the great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, which owed much of its success to the leadership of her beloved husband. Albert's tragic death in 1861 plunged Victoria into a deep and lengthy mourning, during which she secluded herself from her subjects at home and abroad. Gradually, as she was persuaded to resume her official obligations, Victoria became engrossed by the imperial commitments that were contributing to British power and prestige.

Victoria's growing imperial enthusiasm was encouraged by Benjamin Disraeli, her favorite prime minister. In his great ministry from 1874 to 1880, Disraeli presided over significant additions to British territory in Africa, the Pacific, and the Middle East, announcing these changes in romantic and eloquent language that appealed to the queen. Disraeli further earned her gratitude by securing passage of the Royal Titles Act of 1876, which made her empress of India. Mindful of this dis-

tingtion, Victoria frequently emphasized her idea that Britain's imperial mission was to "protect the poor natives and to advance civilization." To her, this meant the extension to the colonies of the technologies, ideas, and values on which Britain's prosperity and progress rested. Intrigued by the diversity of her imperial family, Victoria demonstrated her tolerance and open-mindedness by the addition of two Indian servants to her household staff in the 1890s.

The special bonds between the queen and her empire were celebrated in the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of 1887 and 1897. On both occasions, Victoria's subjects paid grateful homage to their queen, a pattern culminating in June 1897 as huge crowds congregated in London to participate in spectacular scenes of imperial pageantry. Commemorative souvenirs in every form, decorated with Victoria's stern yet familiar visage, marked the zenith of Britain's imperial might. The frail, aging queen was moved by the expressions of loyalty from her far-flung colonies. The next year, however, would bring the outbreak of war in South Africa, a serious conflict that Britain was not able to resolve before Victoria's death at the turn of the century. The South African War, along with other signs of colonial unrest in a changing world order, meant that the golden age of empire over which Victoria presided so majestically would not long outlast her lifetime.

Susan H. Farnsworth

See also Boer War; British Empire; Disraeli, Benjamin; Exhibitions, Colonial

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Vienna, Congress of

The Congress of Vienna was an international conference attended by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and other European countries that settled the new European and world order in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. The conference was held in Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815, and the decisions made there influenced the colonial affairs and the development of the European empires for more than forty years.

The British naval superiority and the lack of overseas ambitions on the part of other victorious great powers (Austria, Prussia, and Russia) marked the colonial settlement in Vienna more than the basic political principle of the congress: the restoration of the pre-1792 international order, as well as the legitimacy and solidarity of the monarchial regimes. England managed to retain almost all of the colonies it had captured during the war from France and the French satellites. The congress confirmed the British acquisition of Malta, Mauritius, St. Lucia, Tobago, and the Ionian Islands from France; Trinidad from Spain; Ceylon and the Cape Colony (South Africa) from Holland; and Heligoland from Denmark. These new possessions provided Britain with raw materials, markets, and the naval bases to patrol the sea-lanes.

Britain also used its moral influence, economic wealth, and maritime power to obtain the condemnation of the slave trade. Britain's devotion to abolishing the slave trade in European colonies reflected the antislavery humanitarian feelings of its people as well as its hopes to economically outmaneuver other colonial powers in the European markets. Great Britain also used economic leverage and political influence to downplay the respective Swedish and Spanish colonial claims on Guadeloupe and Louisiana.

The congress had finally confirmed the liquidation of the French Empire in Europe; however, the French recovered Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Pierre and Miquelon, the French Guyana, Réunion, and several points on the West African shore and in India.

In Europe, Austria gave up the Hapsburg Netherlands (Belgium) but received the Lombardy, Venetia, and Illyrian Provinces along the Adriatic. In addition to the influence in Germany, Vienna succeeded in establishing de facto control over much of central Italy through the dynastic links of the Hapsburgs and the Austrian military presence. Russia, in turn, obtained the major part of Poland. This acquisition marked the high point of the Russian westward territorial expansion. The virtual division of Eastern and Central Europe between the conservative monarchies contributed, in the long-term prospective, to the growth of nationalist aspirations in the region.

Peter Rainow

See also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Bonaparte, Napoleon; British Empire; French Revolution; Hapsburg, House of; Metternich, Prince; Russian Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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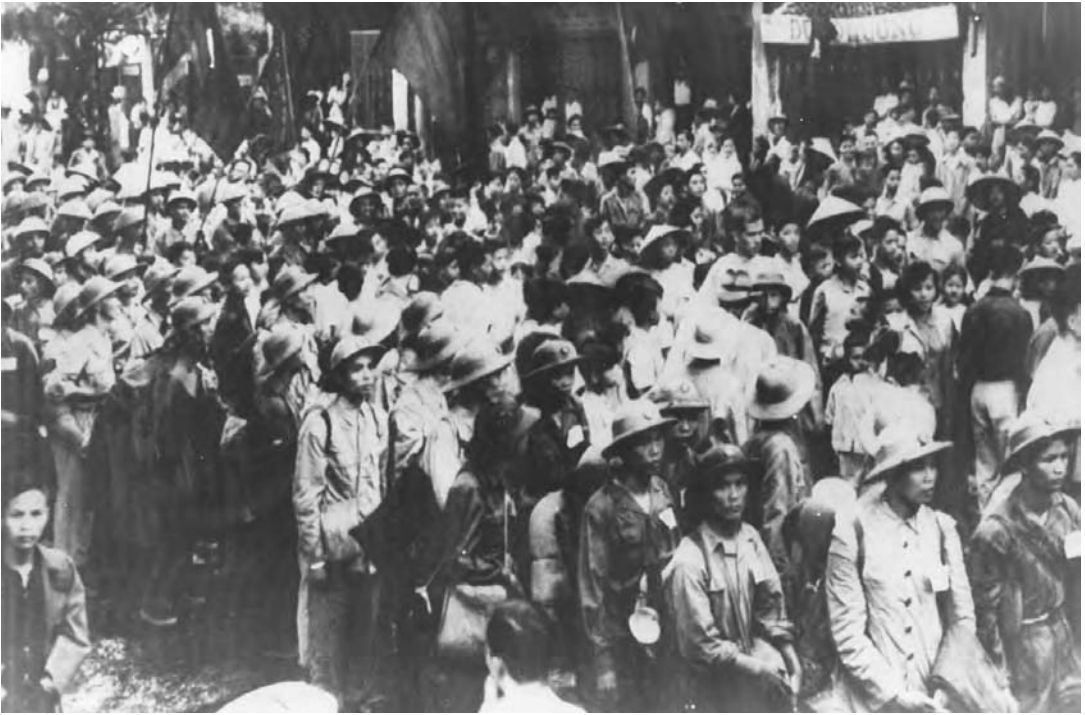
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Viet Minh

The Viet Nam Dop Lap Dong Minh (Vietnam Independence League), or Viet Minh for short, was at first a Communist-led liberation army. It was officially founded in September 1941 by Ho Chi Minh and his allies to fight the Japanese occupier and, it was hoped, to convince the French colonialists to leave Vietnam. Resistance to French rule in Vietnam, however, had actually begun many years earlier. In fact, the inflexible and occasionally brutal nature of French rule in the region, combined with growing intellectual ferment in the 1920s and 1930s, created a powerful undercurrent of anger among Indochina's indigenous elite, particularly in Vietnam. This discontent led to the creation of several nationalist parties but also caused the imprisonment of perhaps as many as 10,000 political prisoners in the 1930s. This repression effectively crushed the region's nationalist movements, with the exception of the Communists, who were thus the only group that could realistically lead the fight to rid Vietnam of its colonial overlords.

After the Japanese surrender to the Allies in August, the Viet Minh called for a general insurrection and proclaimed Vietnam's independence on September 2, 1945. Although relations between the French and the Viet Minh were understandably tense in the following months, France was forced to deal with them if they hoped to reestablish themselves at all in their colony. The uneasy truce ended when the Viet Minh launched an insurrection in Hanoi on December 19, 1946. After the initial surprise, the French managed to regain control of large parts of Vietnam by the end of 1947 and forced the Viet Minh underground. In fact, apart from a few successful military campaigns in 1950, most notably at the French fort of Cao Bang in October, the Viet Minh adopted relatively low-keyed guerrilla tactics to harass, rather than defeat, the



Victorious Viet Minh forces march into Hanoi after defeating the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, ending nearly a century of colonial rule in the Southeast Asian nation. (Library of Congress)

French forces and their allies. In February 1951, the Viet Minh, at the suggestion of their Chinese advisers, decided to rename their movement Dang Lao Dong Viet Nam (Vietnam Workers' Party), or Lao Dong for short.

It was under this more openly Communist guise that the Viet Minh finally achieved their goal of ridding Vietnam of its French colonizers. After defeating the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954, the former Viet Minh (Lao Dong) were finally officially admitted to the negotiations during the Geneva Conference. This conference led to a cease-fire agreement in July 1954 that divided Vietnam into two roughly equal halves and gave the northern portion to the Lao Dong. They could now focus on establishing a socialist system in the territories under their control while at the same time preparing for their next major battle: the reunification of Vietnam.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also French Empire; Vietnam; War and Warfare

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Vietnam

Humans probably arrived in the region now known as Vietnam as early as the eleventh millennium B.C.E. The first Vietnamese kingdom may have been founded as early as 2000 B.C.E., and copper was first used in the region in the first millennium B.C.E. In historical times, the Kingdom of Au Lac was founded in 257 B.C.E. in the Red River delta and lasted until 207 B.C.E., when a renegade Chinese military leader took it over. The Han annexed the region to the Chinese empire in 111 B.C.E.; around this time, Buddhism made its first appearance in Vietnam and gradually became the dominant religion. The Vietnamese remained more or less under Chinese rule until 939 C.E., when Ngo Quyen founded a new dynasty. Over the next three centuries, Vietnam became an empire in its own right, most notably by annexing several regions in the southern peninsula of Indochina.

During the thirteenth century C.E., the Vietnamese successfully repulsed several attacks by Mongolian forces. In 1406, the Chinese once again briefly controlled the area but were defeated in 1428 by Le Loi, who then founded a dynasty that lasted until the last decades of the eighteenth century.

The English, Dutch, and French began to trade with the Vietnamese in the sixteenth century. They were soon followed by Jesuit missionaries, who attempted to evangelize the region's population and even created a Latin-based Vietnamese alphabet. The Europeans had relatively little influence in Vietnam, however, until the end of the eighteenth century, when internal tensions finally erupted in the empire and plunged it into a civil war that lasted for almost three decades. In 1802, the French intervened for the first time in Vietnam's political affairs by helping Nguyen Anh, head of a ruling family in southern Vietnam, to reunify his empire; the new emperor took the name Gia Long.

The French then left Vietnam alone for almost six decades. In 1859, however, France's emperor, Napoleon III, used Vietnamese exactions against European missionaries and Vietnamese Christians as a pretext to assume direct control over Vietnam's affairs. French forces began by conquering Cochin China, the southern province of the Vietnamese empire, a task that they accomplished by 1867. The French then turned their attention to the city of Hanoi, which fell in 1882, and established protectorates in Vietnam's northern provinces, Tonkin and Annam, in 1883 and 1884. China, which remained the dominant power in Southeast Asia, reluctantly recognized France's stewardship over Vietnam in 1885. For the next seven decades, the French pursued a classic policy of divide and rule in Vietnam by dividing the country into three relatively autonomous provinces run by separate administrations.

France's rule remained mostly unchallenged in the region until the Germans defeated the French in 1940; the Vichy regime was then forced to allow the Japanese into Indochina as a military staging ground for their Pacific campaign. Before the Japanese pulled out of Vietnam in August 1945, they successfully "encouraged" the Vietnamese to declare their complete independence from France. For a short while, it seemed possible that the French and the Vietnamese, represented by the Communist leader Ho Chi Minh, might negotiate

some sort of power-sharing agreement. By the end of 1946, however, open hostilities broke out between the two parties and led to the French Indochina War.

As the war dragged on, the French government altered its policies in Vietnam to some extent but did not grant it full autonomy until June 1954, one month after the fall of the French fort of Dien Bien Phu. Five weeks later, the French signed a cease-fire agreement with the Viet Minh in Geneva. This agreement temporarily divided Vietnam in two: in the south, Ngo Dinh Diem led a pro-Western government in Saigon; in the north, the Communist-led government headed by Ho Chi Minh established its capital in Hanoi. Although the Geneva accord stipulated that a general election would reunify Vietnam no later than 1956, the election never took place because neither government was keen on holding it.

Throughout the 1950s, U.S. involvement in the region increased but began in earnest under the Kennedy administration in 1961. U.S. military actions reached their peak in 1968 but were gradually scaled down until a theoretical cease-fire was reached in 1973. North Vietnam then completed its invasion of the south and reunified Vietnam by April 1975. Two years later, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and managed to put an end to Pol Pot's brutal regime there; in spite of their relatively rapid success, the Vietnamese stationed troops in that country until 1989. The last major foreign incursion into Vietnam was China's attempt to invade it in 1979; the operation ended in a humiliating failure for the Chinese and virtually guaranteed that Vietnam could develop for many years without too much interference from the outside world.

Pierre Cenerelli

See also Bao Dai, Emperor; Cold War; Communism; French Indochina; Ho Chi Minh; Jesuits; Ngo Dinh Diem; United States; Viet Minh; War and Warfare; World War II

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Virgin Islands (United States)

The U.S. Virgin Islands, located at the eastern end of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea, have

the political status of an unincorporated organized territory of the United States. The territory consists of three main islands, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, and about fifty smaller and mostly uninhabited islands. The islands were purchased from Denmark in 1917 for \$25 million for their strategic proximity to the Panama Canal. Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas is the capital. The indigenous people, the Carib and Arawak Indians, are extinct. The mainly Christian inhabitants are predominantly of African descent and include Puerto Ricans, whites, over 100 Jewish families (from the U.S. mainland), and “down islanders” from neighboring Caribbean islands. English is the official language, although Spanish and Creole are also spoken. Congress granted U.S. citizenship to inhabitants living in the territory in 1927. Today, all people born in the islands are U.S. citizens at birth, but they do not vote in U.S. elections. From 1917 to 1931, the islands were administered by the U.S. Navy, after which administration was transferred to the Department of the Interior. Universal suffrage in terms of voting for local government was granted in 1936 to those literate in English. In 1970, the appointment of the governor by the U.S. president ended, and since then, the executive has been elected by popular vote.

The “constitution” of the islands is the Organic Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1936 and re-

vised in 1954. Since 1973, a popularly elected delegate, who votes only in committee, has represented the islands in the U.S. House of Representatives. Executive power is vested in a governor and a lieutenant governor, both of whom are elected for four years by universal adult suffrage. The governor appoints, with the advice and consent of the legislature, the heads of the executive departments, and the governor may also appoint administrative assistants as her or his representatives on St. John and St. Croix. Legislative power is vested in the legislature of the Virgin Islands, a unicameral body consisting of fifteen senators, elected for two-year terms by popular vote. Legislation is subject to the approval of the governor, whose veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. In 1976, the Virgin Islands were granted the right to draft their own constitution, subject to the approval of the U.S. president and Congress. Five attempts to redraft the constitution to give the islands greater autonomy have been rejected in referenda.

Hazel M. McFerson

See also Denmark; United States

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W

Wafd Party (Egypt)

Egypt's premier nationalist party began as an abortive mission to London and the Versailles Peace Conference. Led by Sad Zaghlul, former vice-president of the suspended National Assembly, it was a delegation (in Arabic, *wafd*) enjoined to discuss the case for complete Egyptian independence. British opposition enhanced the popularity of the wafd, allowing it to grow into a political party that won almost every genuine election between 1919 and 1952.

Distracted by the end of World War I, the British Foreign Office rejected any meeting with the Wafd Party. One result was a series of Egypt-wide protests, which soon turned to riots, bombings, and assassinations during 1919. Another was the elevation of Zaghlul to the status of national hero and the transformation of the Wafd into a political party. British efforts aimed at limiting the authority of King Fuad and isolating the Wafd, despite the party having gained a clear majority in the 1924 elections. Continual struggle only increased Wafdist appeal to Egyptians, and by the mid-1930s, both Britain and Fuad had to recognize their rival. Wafd members formed a government in 1936, which negotiated important concessions from London, only to fall a year later, ousted by the new king, Faruq. The latter, a tenacious enemy of the Wafd, kept the party from power until 1942, when British pressure forced the king to accept a Wafd government. This action harmed

the Wafd Party's nationalist position and, combined with revelations of corruption, allowed Faruq to again toss the party out of office in 1944. Although Wafdists created another government from 1950 to 1952, the withdrawal of British forces eliminated the party's major platform, leaving the Wafd somewhat of a relic, to be swept away by the Nasser revolution in the 1950s.

John P. Dunn

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; Decolonization; Egypt; Farouk I; Versailles, Treaty of

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Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796–1862)

Born in London on March 20, 1796, Edward Gibbon Wakefield was one of the most influential theorists of colonization in the nineteenth century and also played a key role in the “systematic colonization” of Australia and New Zealand. Wakefield's chief ambition was to enter Parliament, and after the death of his first wife (in 1820), he dedicated himself to achieving this goal. In 1826, he abducted Ellen Turner, the fifteen-year-old daughter of an influential Macclesfield industrialist, in a

desperate bid to gain a political patron. After his capture in Calais, Wakefield was sentenced to three years in Newgate Prison, where he dedicated himself to studying the works of classical economists and utilitarian reformers.

In 1829, Wakefield elaborated a new theory of colonization in the anonymous “Letters from Sydney,” published initially in the *Morning Chronicle*, a new model that he developed in his *England and America* (1833) and *A View of the Art of Colonization* (1849). Wakefield believed that the development of colonial “waste land” was central to the full realization of an empire’s potential. Central to Wakefield’s theory was the notion of “sufficient price”: this was the optimal price at which the Crown could sell its colonial land to allow the accumulation of enough capital to subsidize the migration of as many wage earners as possible, while simultaneously limiting the ability of colonial wage laborers to become proprietors. The popularity of this theory secured Wakefield an influential position in public life on his release from prison in 1830. Wakefield and his circle of colonial reformers molded colonial policymaking, with Wakefield serving as Lord Durham’s unofficial adviser in Canada.

He also was the prime mover behind the foundation of the New Zealand Association in 1837, and his theories were crucial blueprints for the development of organized colonial settlements in New Zealand and South Australia. From 1850, Wakefield led efforts to gain self-government for New Zealand, and in 1852, he left Britain to live out the rest of his life in the colony. Although he was initially prominent in both political developments in Wellington and in the fledgling House of Representatives, illness limited his involvement in colonial affairs from 1855 until his death in May 1862.

Tony Ballentyne

See also Australia; British Empire; Canada; New Zealand; Theories of Imperialism

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Walcott, Derek (1930–)

Derek Walcott is generally acknowledged to be among the greatest poets and playwrights living. He was born in St. Lucia in the West Indies and resides in Trinidad and Boston. Walcott’s premier achievement may be his consistently muscular attempt to reintegrate influences that have torn apart whole cultures but find themselves flowing within the psychological bloodstream of those of us who live in the hybrid world of the twenty-first century. For Walcott, the healing of societal wounds begins with the healing of the same wounds within the self. Within the poet himself are to be found the forces of Europe (with its so-called classical artistic strains, rendered desirable and superior by virtue of conquest) and those of Africa (with its so-called darkness and primitivism, rendered undesirable and inferior for having been colonized). Walcott’s poetry and drama break through the stereotypes of inferiority and superiority in the twilight of consciousness. He reintegrates the many strands of cultures within his West Indian society and within a self that is essentially West Indian. This necessitates a multiple focus on Africa as much as on Europe; English as much as Swahili and West Indian Creole; the past as much as the present; the self as much as society; morning as well as evening; day as well as night. The result is newness, and the new challenge is to name the newness and so possess it.

Walcott’s *Another Life* was proclaimed one of the great epics of the postcolonial era, and his *Omeros*—a reinventing of Homer—was similarly hailed. His play *Dream on Monkey Mountain* stands as one of the finest of our time. “What the Twilight Says: An Overture,” the essay that stands as the prologue to the play, contains many themes developed in the poetry and drama and is a truly exquisite piece of prose. Derek Walcott was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1992.

Daizal R. Samad

See also British West Indies; Literature

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War and Warfare

In many ways, war has been almost synonymous with colonialism, whether colonies were an indi-

rect result of successful wartime victories or the primary objective of military conquest. In either case, Asian, African, and the American colonies followed from military victories. This pattern frequently led to resentments on the part of the colonized peoples who had been defeated or at least conquered. The result was often further warfare as those animosities, coupled with anger over colonial rule, led to wars of rebellion or continuing resistance waged against colonial powers.

Most familiar may be the military adventures of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro and their conquistadores against the Aztecs and Incas in the Americas and the subsequent Spanish colonization of much of the Western Hemisphere. Both American peoples did mount initial military resistance and also some following rebellions against Spanish rule, but none were successful in preventing the colonial conquest. The Opium Wars in China were similar, although their avowed purpose was solely economic rather than political control. Nonetheless, the result of the European presence in China directly led to the Boxer Rebellion against the Chinese government and the European (and U.S.) presence in the country. Many other wars of conquest, large and small, were fought well into the twentieth century, when the example of the Japanese Empire in Asia can be seen as the use of warfare in seeking colonial territories. The Japanese were resisted by the peoples they subjected but also by the European colonial powers during World War II.

In North America, the Indian wars, such as King Philip's War, were classical examples of organized military resistance to colonial occupation, as were the Ashanti wars in West Africa. These were more typical of what are usually known as "colonial wars" than was the 1915 Nyasaland rebellion of John Chilembwe, which was much less an example of organized warfare against colonial rule. Similarly, the Maji Maji and later Mau Mau Rebellions in eastern Africa also offer examples of the attempts by indigenous groups to use military means to resist colonialism, though neither were any more successful than had been Chilembwe.

There were numerous other efforts, and almost of all of them were unsuccessful. Occasionally, the indigenous armies won spectacular victories in individual battles, as did the Sioux in the 1876 Battle of the Little Big Horn and the Zulus in the opening battle of a British invasion of their terri-

tory in 1879 at Isandhlwana. Neither victory, however, prevented the complete implementation of alien rule of the territory. For the Ethiopians, however, the results of their 1896 victory at the Battle of Adwa during one of the Italo-Ethiopian wars were successful in preventing the expansion of the Italian Empire into their territory. The revenge victory of Italian fascism in the final conflict between the two nations during World War II was short-lived.

Still other colonial wars had a much different character, being the result of rebellions by settlers (and other immigrants) rather than the indigenous peoples. Certainly, the American Revolution falls into this category of colonial warfare, even though the American military commander, George Washington, did not have a clear-cut record of victories against the British forces arrayed against his armies. Efforts to establish independent nations in the Americas were similarly successful, led by leaders such as Simón Bolívar and Bernardo O'Higgins in South America and the slave Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti. Nearly a century after those successful revolutions, the Afrikaans-speaking European settlers engaged the British in the South African War, an immediately unsuccessful effort to assert their independence from the British Empire.

One of the characteristics of the South African War was the use of other settler military forces—in this case, especially from Australia—in the defense of colonial control. Similar military participation from independent nations that maintained connections with their former colonial powers was also a feature of World War I and World War II. But more important to understanding the process of colonialism was the widespread colonial practice of recruiting indigenous peoples to defend the empires that ruled them. This was a common practice from at least the eighteenth century, during the Seven Years' War, and it continued into the twentieth century. Most common was the creation of separate military units from the metropolitan armies by recruiting indigenous soldiers; such units were usually maintained by a European officer corps.

The best-known examples were the British Indian army and the French *tirailleurs sénégalais* (Senegalese riflemen), a group that was not limited to Senegalese recruits but included French subjects from all of West and Equatorial Africa.



Troops from the Gold Coast (now Ghana) rest during a march in World War II. In their many wars against each other and against colonized peoples over the centuries, European imperialist powers have recruited troops from their colonies to fight for them. (Library of Congress)

The British also had several African military units for its colonial subjects, especially the King's African Rifles and the West African Frontier Force. None of these troops, however, played only defense roles in their colonies. All were used to put down rebellions in other parts of the empires as well. And when necessary—as during both world wars—these units saw active combat service, some of them in the European theaters of war. There can be little doubt that those increasingly intense experiences, especially those during World War II, had a considerable impact of the process of decolonization, frequently led by former colonial soldiers such as Léopold Sédar Seng-

hor, who survived two years as German prisoner of war only to lead Senegal to independence from France. Thus, war and warfare had important consequences not only for the creation but also for the end of colonialism.

Melvin E. Page

See also American Revolution; Ashanti Wars; Aztecs; Boer War; Bolívar, Simón; Boxer Rebellion; British Empire; Chilembwe, John; China; Conquistadores; Cortés, Hernán; Decolonization; Ethiopia; Fascism, Italian; Haiti; Incas; Indian Wars; Italian Empire; Italo-Ethiopian Wars; Japanese Empire; King Philip's War; L'Ouverture, François Dominique Toussaint; Maji Maji; Mau Mau; O'Higgins, Bernardo; Opium Wars; Pizarro, Francisco; Senghor, Léopold Sédar;

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Warsaw Pact

The Warsaw Pact was a political-military alliance forged between the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania; it was set up in May 1955 by the Treaty of Warsaw, which developed into a prominent agency of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. In addition to the considerations of the Communist Cold War strategy, the pact had to legitimize, institutionalize, and enhance Soviet control over the region, making it less obvious at the same time.

Although the Soviet military domination had originally been an ultimate guarantor of the Soviet East European empire, Moscow's complete control over the Warsaw Pact's structures (the Political Consultative Committee, Joint Command, and so on) made the pact a primary mechanism to ensure Soviet dominance in the region. In addition, through the pact's programs and activities—including standardization of weaponry, military training and exercises, political education of personnel, and devel-

opment of coalition military doctrine—the Soviets effectively controlled the East European armies and enhanced their own intervention capabilities in the region.

Despite the overwhelming Soviet control and support, the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe continuously suffered from numerous internal problems; in addition, the pact's evolution reflected the changing pattern of Moscow's relations with its satellites. All major upheavals within the pact (Hungary in 1956, Poland in 1956, 1970, and 1980–1981, Czechoslovakia in 1968–1969) put the integrity of the Soviet Empire at risk. In 1956, Hungary even tried officially to withdraw from the pact. The Soviets responded with military interventions (unilateral in Hungary in 1956 and multilateral in Czechoslovakia in 1968), coercion, and pressure (Poland in 1956, 1970, and 1980–1981) as well as with institutional reform within the pact toward a greater representation of the allies in its structures. At the same time, Moscow pressed for multifaceted integration within the Warsaw Pact according to the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine of the common strategic responsibility and interdependence of the Communist countries. Nevertheless, the demands for greater political autonomy of the East European countries and complaints about their subordinate status ensured the perpetual crisis of the Soviet alliance system. Albania sided with Peking in the Soviet-Chinese conflict and severed its ties with the pact in 1962 (it left the pact officially in 1968 in protest against the invasion of Czechoslovakia). Though Romania increasingly distanced itself from the Warsaw Pact's activities beginning in the early 1960s, open disagreements emerged between Moscow and its allies over defense spending, regional conflicts, European security, and, later, Soviet perestroika.

Ever since Czechoslovakia trained Egyptian air force personnel in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Warsaw Pact developed into an important building tool of the Soviet informal empire in the Third World. By the mid-1980s, the pact's aid commitments to the developing countries reached nearly \$55 billion, including some \$17 billion from the non-Soviet pact's members. From the 1970s, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria specialized in providing arms supplies and military training for Algeria, Angola, Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Mozambique,

South and North Yemen, Syria, Nicaragua, Tanzania, and North Vietnam. Poland and Hungary concentrated mainly on economic assistance to the satellites and partners of the Soviet bloc. Despite an impressive global expansion of the Warsaw Pact's activities (by 1988, its economic and training programs extended to 112 countries), the pact preserved its ideological homogeneity and European character. In the mid-1980s, the Soviets strongly discouraged Libya from applying to join the alliance.

Moscow's imperial system very much rested on military power, but it was highly vulnerable to economic and political change. From 1985, the Soviets' mounting internal difficulties prompted the government, under Mikhail Gorbachev, to try to decentralize the empire and normalize relations within the pact. This opened the way for the 1989 revolutions, which toppled the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and made the Warsaw Pact irrelevant. Between March and July 1991, the pact was dissolved.

Peter Rainow

See also Brezhnev, Leonid; Cold War; Communism; Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeevich; Khrushchev, Nikita; North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Washington, George (1732–1799)

Best known for his tenure as the first president of the United States, George Washington was also an explorer, soldier, husband, and father. Born in 1732 to a prominent colonial Virginia family, young George grew to manhood in the English colonies on the edge of unexplored colonial wilderness, growing colonial tobacco plantations, and the beginnings of the Enlightenment. By age seventeen, he had explored much of Virginia's wilderness and had secured his professional place in colonial society as the surveyor of Culpepper County. However, when called, Washington left Virginia to join En-

gland's fight against the French during the French and Indian War (1754–1763).

Washington's military experiences against the French built his reputation among his peers but also gave him a new appreciation for colonial life. Although he was promoted to the rank of colonel for displaying courage under fire, military life as a colonial soldier left a bad taste in his mouth. Labeled provincial by English soldiers, Washington and his American brethren were seen as being inferior to British troops, although they both fought under the Union Jack. Like many others in his situation, Washington was relegated to minor military service that was more busy work than actual combat. British marginalization left him angry and dissatisfied with England and the colonial system, motivating his decision to end his military career after the war and retire to agricultural life at Mount Vernon, his Virginia estate.

Farming was not an escape from the colonial system, and Washington soon found himself caught in the midst of growing discontent with England. Taxation, marginalization, inflated duties and tariffs, and the like continued to widen the gap between England and its American colonies. Washington was not exempt from these experiences, and like other veterans, he even lost a sizable land grant given to him by the British government for his service during the French and Indian War. As a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1759 to 1774, Washington participated in the fight for against "taxation without representation," but that effort was not enough. He resumed his military career as commander and military chief of the Continental Army in 1775, as the Americans entered into war with England. The colonies gained their independence in 1781, and Washington found himself back in the political arena. The years after the war were marked by civil discord and economic instability, and America turned to Washington for leadership. In 1789, he was unanimously elected as the first president of the United States.

In that post, Washington worked to establish the United States as an independent nation. Aside from creating the basic foundation for the government, he helped to create a new currency, lessen American dependence on European goods, and pay the debt that accrued from the Revolution and its aftermath. At the same time, Washington tried

to expand U.S. territory by seeking concessions from England and Spain for settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. Washington retired from his second term as president in 1797 but continued to participate in American politics. He served as a military adviser to President John Adams and openly opposed the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. He died of a cold the next year on his plantation. In his will, he decreed that all Mount Vernon slaves be freed on the death of his wife, Martha Washington.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

See also British Empire; United States; War and Warfare

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Washington and London Conferences

Both of these conferences are associated mainly with naval armaments limitation, but the Washington Conference (November 1921 to February 1922) produced treaties and agreements on a range of colonial matters in Asia and the Pacific. Nine nations participated—the United States, Japan, China, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium, and Italy. Except for the latter, which was invited because of Great Britain's Two Power Standard Rule—that its fleet equal that of any two European nations—all the rest had a direct interest in Asia and Pacific affairs.

The Five Power Treaty, which dealt with naval armament, basically involved Britain, the United States, and Japan and was designed to head off a naval race between the two latter powers. The 5:5:3 tonnage ratio for capital ships (battleships and carriers) provided for parity between the United States and Britain and an inferior status for Japan (an equal ratio of 1.75:1.75 was set for France and Italy). To make the ratio more acceptable to Japan, the United States agreed not to fortify bases west of Hawaii and the British agreed not to fortify

north and east of Singapore. The Four Power Treaty—the United States, Britain, France, and Japan—abrogated the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which Canada had demanded at the 1921 Imperial Conference, and provided that the signatories settle any problems that should arise by negotiation. The Nine Power Treaty, signed by all participants, was an agreement accepting the U.S. principle known as the Open Door policy. Japan, given its ambitions in the area, was the big loser, and the armaments treaty, since it omitted cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, failed to halt a naval race in these categories.

It was to rectify these problems that the London Conference convened in 1930. Britain, always concerned with cruisers because of the needs of imperial defense, agreed with the United States beforehand to a limitation in this category, and then at the conference, the two forced Japan to acquiesce in the 5:5:3 ratio for auxiliary shipping. Once again, the Japanese were humiliated—at the next conference called at the end of 1935, the Japanese demanded parity with Britain and the United States, were refused, and walked out. By that time, however, due to developments within Japan, Germany, and Italy, armament limitations had ceased to be a realistic goal.

Ronnie Day

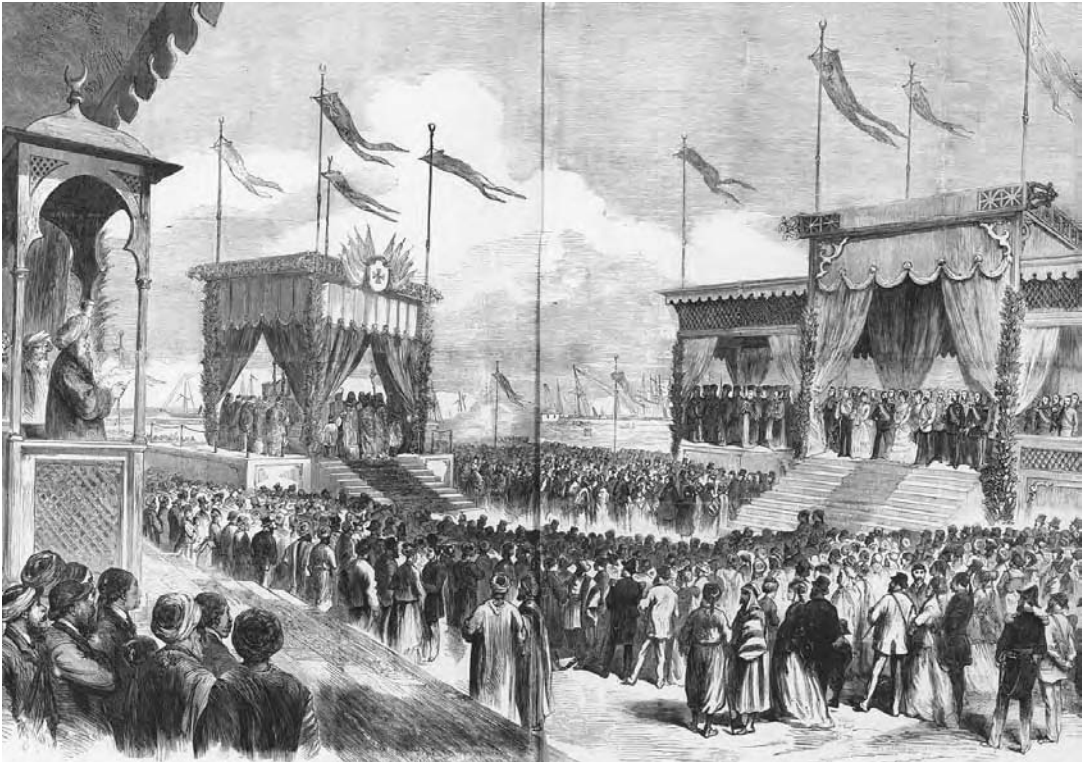
See also War and Warfare

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Water

Water played a crucial role in the expansion of European domination across the globe. The establishment of ports such as New Amsterdam (now New York, 1624, Dutch), Babia (now Salvador in Brazil, 1549, Portuguese), and Dakar (1857, French) facilitated European economic and political control, first over the immediate environment and seas and later over an extended territory. Navigable rivers



A grand ceremony in Port Said marked the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Among the grandest achievements of the imperial age has been the construction of massive manmade waterways. (Library of Congress)

such as the Hudson (North America), the Amazon (Brazil), and the Senegal and the Niger (West Africa) enabled Europeans to explore, penetrate, and eventually take control of the interior. European control over the Far East and northeastern Africa was further entrenched by the completion of the Suez Canal (built and financed by the French) in Egypt in 1869. This canal greatly reduced the distance between Europe and the Far East and undermined the importance of the southern sea route around the Cape Colony in southern Africa.

The establishment of European dominance also resulted in control of the natural environment in order to exploit the natural resources in the colonies more effectively. Bridges were built over rivers to improve the transportation system, and navigable sections of rivers were linked up to coastal ports through railway networks. The Welsh explorer Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), for example, established Stanleyville in the Congo Free State in 1882 as a port for ships operating in

the navigable Upper Congo River, from where the colony was explored and exploited. Railways were constructed to link the various sections of the navigable Congo with each other as well as with the outside world.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created a demand for raw materials. Colonial development programs were therefore undertaken in the colonies with the aim of redirecting agricultural production toward crops such as cotton, which were in high demand on the European continent. In French Sudan, for instance, the French established a small irrigation scheme at Soluba in 1925 to promote cotton cultivation. The cotton industry in this colony was expanded in the 1930s via the Niger Project, which aimed at converting the interior Niger Delta in French Sudan into irrigated farmland for cotton production. Other examples of colonial irrigation schemes include the Upper and Lower Ganges Canals in India (built in 1856

and 1880, respectively, Britain), the Richard-Toll project on the Senegal River in Senegal (1948, France), and the Kariba Scheme on the Zambezi River in Zambia and Zimbabwe (1959, Britain). Colonial governments also undertook agricultural development with the aim of attracting white farmers into marginal and frontier areas, such as the Van Wyks Scheme in the arid central Karoo in the Cape Colony (Britain) and the Limpopo Barrage on the Limpopo in Mozambique (Portugal), which had an irrigation capacity of 31,000 hectares.

Dams formed an important component of colonial irrigation schemes and were built initially to provide a reliable and constant source of water supply as well as a measure of flood control. After the introduction of electric power in the nineteenth century, the production of hydroelectricity was added to the purposes of dams in general. Dams built during the colonial period in Africa with the explicit purpose of irrigation include the Aswan Dam on the Nile River in Egypt (1902) and, in Sudan, the Jebel Aulyia Dam (1937) on the White Nile and the Sennar Dam (building started in 1902) on the Blue Nile. The Owen Falls Dam (1954) on the Victoria Nile in Uganda and the Kariba Dam (1959) on the Zambezi River in Zimbabwe (Zambia) served the dual purpose of providing water for irrigation as well as hydroelectricity.

Phia Steyn

See also Energy; Environment; Industrial Revolution; Technology

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Wilhelm II of Germany (1859–1941)

Wilhelm II, the hated and caricatured kaiser of World War I, assumed the throne of Germany in 1889 following the deaths of his grandfather, Wilhelm I, and his father, Frederick, that same

year. Wilhelm was a favorite grandson of Queen Victoria, who made him a British colonel and admiral, but his childhood, already difficult due to a withered arm, was spent torn between the militaristic aims of Wilhelm I and the liberal plans of his parents, Frederick and Victoria. Wilhelm II forced Otto von Bismarck into retirement in 1890, replacing him with a series of weak chancellors unequal to the German constitution, a situation that allowed the kaiser enormous political power. Fascinated by the British navy and the theories of Alfred Thayer Mahan, he pushed for the construction of the German High Seas Fleet and encouraged the German Navy League and Colonial Society, as well as the construction of the Kiel Canal and the seizure of coaling stations in Samoa and the Caroline Islands.

Bismarck's fall from power ended Europe's system of collective security and provoked the polarization of Europe into volatile treaty leagues, including the agreement between France and Russia. In this atmosphere, Wilhelm's often tactless support of the Boers against Britain in 1895 and during the South African War, his travels in the Ottoman Empire and German investment in the region, and his urging for Germany to take colonies and find its "place in the sun" were increasingly dangerous. Two incidents in Morocco in 1905 and 1911, personally planned by the kaiser to challenge French authority in Africa, brought Europe close to war. Convinced by advocates of preventive war to offer Austria-Hungary a blank check to punish Serbia and then to engage the Schlieffen Plan against France, Wilhelm II was not a particularly effective leader during World War I; he suffered from mood swings and was increasingly marginalized by his generals. Forced to abdicate in 1918, the kaiser fled to Doorn, in the Netherlands, where, after congratulating the German government on the fall of France, he died in June 1941.

Margaret Sankey

See also Bismarck, Otto von; Boer War; German Empire; Morocco; Ottoman Empire; Victoria, Queen; World War I

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British officer Winston Churchill (right) and Kaiser Wilhelm II pose together during pre-World War I army maneuvers. Wilhelm's expansionist policies for Germany helped spark World War I. (Library of Congress)

Williams, Eric (1911–1981)

Eric Eustace Williams was born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. Williams distinguished himself both as a politician and as a scholar. He was the first chief minister, premier, and eventually prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago and was committed to the fight against British colonialism. As the leader of the political party known as the People's National Movement (PNM), he led this former British colony to its political independence in 1962. Williams retained his office as prime minister, winning five consecutive general elections, until his death in 1981. Outside the Caribbean, he is better known for his scholarly works and has attained world-class status as a historian.

Williams left Trinidad in the early 1930s. He completed his B.A. and Ph.D. at Oxford University in 1935 and 1938, respectively. His dissertation became the basis for his most significant work, *Capitalism & Slavery*. This book, first published in 1944, has forever marked the historiography of slavery and is still being debated today. In it, Williams argued that the rise and fall of slavery had little to do with human iniquity or philanthropy but, in fact, was determined by economic forces. His argument was grounded in four assumptions. First, he stated that slavery was an economic phenomenon. Racism was a consequence of slavery, not the cause of it. Second, he argued that Britain's mercantilist policies acted as a catalyst for the Industrial Revolution; it was thus the Caribbean that made Europe's development possible. Third, he contended that the slave economies declined in profitability after the American Revolution. Fourth, he maintained that it was this declining profitability that was responsible for the abolition of the slavery.

Williams produced several other important works throughout his lifetime. During his tenure as a professor at Howard University (1939–1955), he wrote *The Negro in the Caribbean* (1942) and *Education in the British West Indies* (1950). However, throughout his years as the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Williams continued to write. One of his most important works produced in this period, despite its less scholarly and more popular genre, was *The History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. He wrote this book on the eve of his nation's independence "to provide the people of Trinidad and Tobago on their independence Day

with a National history." To this day, Eric Williams is still referred to as the father of his nation.

Audra Diptee

See also Anticolonialism and Anti-Imperialism; British Empire; British West Indies; Decolonization; Economics; Education; Slavery and the Slave Trade

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Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924)

Woodrow Wilson was the U.S. president during World War I who challenged colonialism by advocating the right of self-determination for peoples around the world. Born in Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856, Wilson experienced firsthand the terror of conflict during the Civil War. As a youth, he attended Davidson College in North Carolina and the College of New Jersey (later known as Princeton University) and studied law at the University of Virginia. He opened his own law office in Atlanta before deciding to pursue a career as a statesman.

After writing *Constitutional Government*, he accepted a position as an assistant professor at Bryn Mawr College in 1888. The next year, he taught at Wesleyan University in Connecticut before accepting a professorship at Princeton in 1890. Twelve years later, Wilson received an appointment to the presidency of the university, where he initiated a series of reforms. Clashes with several trustees over his policy of reorganization led Wilson to accept the support of James Smith, the "boss" of New Jersey, who arranged for his nomination and victory in the 1910 gubernatorial race. Once in office, Wilson demonstrated his independence by aligning with Progressives to enact legislation such as

direct primaries, worker's compensation, municipal reform, and the public regulation of utility companies. His policies gained him national recognition, and in 1912, the Democrats nominated him as their presidential candidate.

As president, Wilson restructured the national banking system, reduced the tariff, initiated a personal income tax, and strengthened measures against businesses that employed unfair practices. When World War I erupted, he maintained a policy of neutrality until after his reelection. Determined to end the war and prevent future conflicts, Wilson outlined his Fourteen Points, which included the right of people to have a voice in their future government. The organization outlined by Wilson as the mechanism through which international disputes could be prevented won support abroad, but Congress failed to ratify the League of Nations treaty. Wilson, exhausted from public campaigning for this noble cause, suffered a stroke. He left office a bitter and broken man, living his remaining years quietly with his wife until he died on February 3, 1924, in Washington, D.C.

Cynthia Northrup

See also Fourteen Points; League of Nations; United States; World War I

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Women

In the masculinized process of colonization, women were both agents and victims, participants and recipients. Colonization was a primarily patriarchal venture invented and implemented by men for the benefit of their imperial societies in which women were perceived as only occupying the invisible space of the private, domestic sphere. Colonization was also a military ideology, which involved the occupation, domination, and control of indigenous peoples' land and resources. Understanding the gendered nature of colonialism is fundamental to exploring the multitude of roles women played both in colonial contexts and in the European centers of colonial power. In this imperial ideology, women and non-Europeans were perceived as being part of nature, not knowledge.

As a result, they were expected to accede to the wise, rational, paternalistic domination of elite European men. Colonialism and the racist notions that supported it were a form of oppression in which gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and class were intertwined.

Depending on their relationship to the colonial center of power, women experienced colonialism differently. Even within particular groups of women, each woman was both powerful and powerless in her colonial context. Some generalizations are necessary, but it is important to constantly remember that there is no common female experience of colonialism.

Indigenous or Colonized Women

Indigenous or colonized women have been depicted as the passive victims of colonialism. In fact, although they suffered terribly under colonialism, they also exercised power in dealing with their colonial contexts. In terms of sexuality, indigenous women from around the globe were the object of colonial male fantasy as willing sexual beings to be exploited at whim. This male fantasy depended on perceiving non-European women as having very high libidos. The veiled Asian or North African woman was a persistent colonial male erotic symbol. The rape of indigenous women was also used as an act of war or conquest; a gruesome metaphor for the colonial rape of the land and its resources. At the same time, there were some genuine, positive relationships between European men and indigenous women, although these couples and their children often occupied precarious positions within colonial society.

Indigenous women also served as a cheap source of economic labor. In some cases, such as Kenya, women from different indigenous ethnic groups were categorized as either domestic laborers or erotic beings and used accordingly. The colonial changes to traditional commerce, patterns of land usage and ownership, and the intensification of a cash economy and cash-crop agriculture had both drastic and positive effects on different indigenous women. Imposing a Western system of land tenure or removing indigenous people to reserves dramatically altered colonized peoples' lives, their traditional economic interdependence, and their patterns of gender relations.

Where land tenure was obtained by indigenous people, many women lost their customary land rights and became laborers for their male relatives. As a result of Western patriarchal thinking, indigenous women were perceived by colonial systems as the dependents of men, although, because indigenous men's wages (if any) were kept so low, women often provided either paid or unpaid labor (producing food) to support their families. The practice of moving indigenous men away from their families to work in colonial industries increased the amount of women's and children's work on the farms, although this situation also allowed some women to become quasi farm managers. In addition, it allowed some women greater mobility and access to more informal marriages (such as the marriages to miners in Africa, based on rural marriage customs), which were easier for women to enter and leave. Many colonized women used the changes in traditional patterns of commerce under colonialism to generate additional sources of income for themselves and their families. This often involved selling a variety of goods and services, for instance, producing food, brewing beer, making craft items and utensils, and providing domestic or sexual labor.

All of these changes ensured that traditional gender patterns were dramatically altered. On the one hand, many women lost customary rights and privileges and their traditional economic interdependence with men. On the other hand, some women used the changes brought about by colonialism to seize greater (though often limited) economic and social freedom. Indigenous women also tried to use the colonial courts to gain access to divorce and to seek justice in the case of crimes committed against them. In some cases, colonial officials and African male elders joined forces to try to curb women's increased mobility and economic and social independence. Some theorists have argued that some indigenous men became more controlling and violent at home as a result of the humiliation and discrimination they suffered at the hands of their colonial masters and mistresses.

European Women in the Colonies

European women in the colonies experienced a contradictory relationship to colonialism. They were simultaneously powerful because of their

ethnicity as white women and powerless because of their gender. They supported and benefited from Western colonialism but were also excluded from the masculinized ideology and practice of colonialism. They have been portrayed until recently as extremely racist and overly indulged. As Kumari Jayawardena has indicated, South Asian men have perceived European women as falling into one of two extreme categories—"female devils" or "white goddesses." European women (married and single) played many invisible but fundamental roles within the colonial establishment. As colonial wives, mothers, and housekeepers, European women were perceived as the repository of European home culture and were expected to recreate that culture within their families and homes. In this role, some European women enjoyed their power over their indigenous servants and subjected them to many forms of humiliation and punishment. Other European women formed bonds of friendship with indigenous people, although the realities of their unequal power relationships were always apparent. European women also acted in unpaid roles that supported their husbands' or male relatives' colonial careers.

European women in the colonies performed various public roles, including nursing, teaching, and administrative and missionary work. Some women sought to escape the patriarchal, class-bound confines of Western society by working in the colonies. Others, especially missionary women, were motivated by a desire to impose Western practices and values on indigenous peoples. European women writers and journalists, such as Flora Shaw (the colonial editor of the *Times* of London during the 1890s), promoted and legitimized colonial conquests. Single and married female missionaries and nuns were often allocated secondary roles in colonial missions, usually providing education, child care, and medical advice to indigenous peoples. Many European female missionaries and some self-proclaimed feminists also worked to change the traditional social roles of indigenous women. They campaigned against polygamy, female genital mutilation, issues affecting Hindu widows, low-age marriage, and other practices that they believed oppressed indigenous women. They also worked for more education and physical freedom for women but only so that indigenous women could more effectively fulfill

their roles as “Christian” wives and mothers. In many cases, they focused on the perceived needs of high-caste or high-class indigenous women, neglecting working-class and rural women.

Not all female missionaries were European. A number of African American single and married women were recruited as missionaries to Africa by various Protestant churches in the United States. Before they arrived in the colonies, many of these women shared the Western belief that African women needed to be “civilized” through Christianity. Their dedication to African economic, social, educational, and religious development, however, did not match the colonial goal of domination at all costs, and they were subjected to sexism and racism from white missionaries and members of colonial society. Colonial administrators and police often accused African American missionaries of stirring up political revolt.

European colonial women’s sexuality was fraught with contradiction and complexity. The arrival of middle-class European women in the colonies, some of whom subscribed to strict notions of Victorian morality, often curtailed the more blatant sexual exploitation of indigenous women and girls (and boys). Some European women regarded indigenous women as sexual competitors for European men, whereas others sought sexual relationships with indigenous men. Although there was some (albeit small) tolerance of European men and indigenous women forming couples, most sexual relationships between European women and indigenous men had to be kept secret. The insular nature of Western colonial societies also resulted in affairs between various European men and women.

European Women Who Remained in Europe

Colonization also impacted women in Europe. For example, European colonial women sent Indian artifacts and culinary culture back to their relatives in Britain, creating a popular taste for many aspects of Indian culture among upper-class Victorian Britons.

Women’s Roles in Overthrowing Colonialism

Indigenous women and some European women also played a fundamental role in the overthrow of many colonial regimes. In an interesting parallel with their European sisters, indigenous

women were perceived in nationalist struggles as the repository of indigenous cultures and traditions. They also undertook an active, often vital role in cultural and political nationalist movements, mobilizing women for the nationalist cause, engaging in nonviolent and violent activism, and trying to include feminist agendas in their revolutionary movements’ political platforms. Much of indigenous women’s activism in nationalist struggles around the globe has been written out of nationalist histories and is only recently being recovered.

Some European women took part in nationalist struggles. In Ireland, women played a vital role in overthrowing the British regime, particularly following the Easter Rising of 1916 when many male nationalists were either executed or imprisoned. Some European women joined nationalist struggles in their own country’s colonies. Two of the most well-known European women who took part in the Indian nationalist revolution, for example, were Margaret Noble, who observed orthodox Hindu customs and became Sister Nivedita (“she who has been dedicated”), and Annie Besant, who became a leader in the movement. The story of women’s experiences of colonialism continues to develop as more histories rewrite women back into colonial contexts so that richer, more accurate understandings can emerge.

Catherine E. Manathunga

See also Children; Education; Labor; Medicine; Racism
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World War I (1914–1918)

The first all-encompassing war of the twentieth century, World War I seemed to most European observers to have its origins in a complex alliance system. But from an early time, some other analysts believed colonial issues—and the national rivalries they engendered—were at the heart of the conflicts that led to war. This opinion was perhaps first set out by the U.S. historian and sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois in a May 1915 *Atlantic Monthly* article, “The African Roots of War.” Du Bois argued the war had begun as a competition for colonial and especially African resources, an inevitable war for empire that the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference had only managed to postpone.

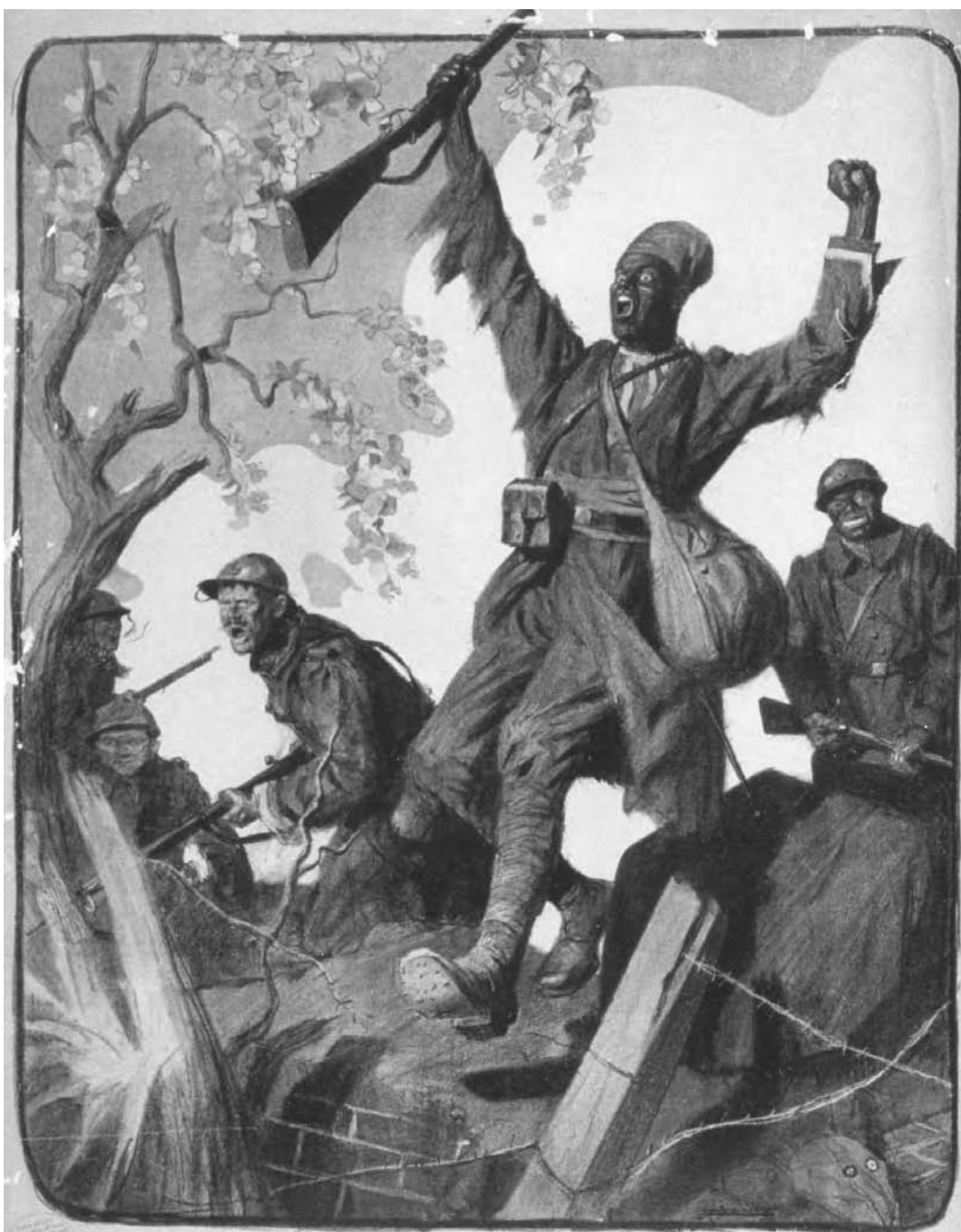
Only an end to the expansion of colonialism, Du Bois argued, might avoid a future, potentially catastrophic conflict. Extension of “the democratic ideal to the yellow, brown, and black peoples” of the world, especially those whom he saw as oppressed under colonialism, would be necessary to escape a “War of the Color Line” between colonial peoples and their European overlords. V. I. Lenin and fellow Bolshevik followers of Marxism such as Rosa Luxemburg later echoed these views. Precisely because of the Marxist advocacy of a colonial theory of the cause of war, this line of argument was long dismissed or discounted. Yet at the time, even such esteemed publications as the *New York Times* echoed the view of Du Bois, Lenin, and others concerning the crucial role of colonialism in the origins of the war as well as the likely outcomes of the conflict.

Certainly, the dominant contemporary view—and a prevailing impression since—was that the 1914–1918 conflict could best be understood as a quarrel within the European community of nations. Yet colonial peoples were, from the first days of hostilities, called on to defend the very institutions of their subjugation, the European empires. This was just one of the ironies of colonialism that predated the conflicts of 1914 by well over a century. Military practices in place throughout much of Asia and Africa by the time of the Seven Years’ War in the mid-eighteenth century had become, by 1918, the final defense not just of colonial empires but also of European nations themselves. And the technologically advanced weapons, which had given Europeans unquestioned capacities to subjugate colonial peoples, were by then being

used with devastating effect on Europeans as well. At the close of hostilities in November 1918, the French armies in Europe were largely made up of colonial troops drawn from Africa and Asia. The British had also drawn heavily on colonial troops, especially from India, and by late 1918, the Imperial War Cabinet was under heavy pressure to recruit additional troops from its African dependencies. Belgium even considered the prospect of bringing African *askari* (soldiers) from its Force Publique in the Belgian Congo to serve on the western front in Europe.

The colonial nations, even before recruiting colonial soldiers for military service in Europe, drew heavily on colonial manpower in other ways. Labor service battalions from indigenous populations in Indochina, India, South Africa, the island of Fiji, and even from European colonial enclaves in China were conscripted for work behind the lines in Europe, intended to relieve men from metropolitan military units for direct participation in the increasing hostilities. And the colonial dominions of Britain—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—supplied welcome additional battalions of European ancestry to the fighting fronts. Similar volunteers, though in considerably fewer numbers, joined the ranks of the French armies, to be followed by many more from among the indigenous peoples of French colonies. Britain soon followed with its recruitment of Indian soldiers from India for service both in Europe and in the colonial campaigns that also characterized World War I.

The most significant of these colonial campaigns were fought in Africa. A relatively short 1914 campaign resulted in the conquest of the German colony in Togoland by combined British and French forces. A similar coalition of forces successfully prosecuted the war in Cameroon, resulting in Germany’s surrender of its colony in 1916. In German South West Africa, a force led by former Boer Republic officers and consisting mostly of white colonial troops from the Union of South Africa subdued the German colony. But by far the most difficult military campaign on the continent resulted from the determined defense of German East Africa, led by the commander of the local *Schutztruppe* (protection force), Col. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck (who was later made a general).



JOURNÉE DE L'ARMÉE D'AFRIQUE ET DES TROUPES COLONIALES

A 1917 poster depicts French and African troops fighting together in World War I. The caption reads "A Day for the African Army and the Colonial Troops." Troops from the colonies helped supplement an increasingly depleted pool of French recruits during the later years of the war. (Library of Congress)

Beginning with forays against the British East Africa Protectorate and Nyasaland, von Lettow-Vorbeck determined that his mission would be to engage the maximum number of Allied troops and resources for as long as possible. His resulting defensive strategy led to fighting in some parts of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), the Belgian Congo, and Northern Rhodesia as well. In response, the British (who managed this campaign on behalf of the Allies) first sent Indian army troops to East Africa and then recruited new white units from South Africa. Ultimately, these units were withdrawn—on the incorrect assumption that they would have a susceptibility to tropical disease—in favor of a rapid expansion of the black askari of the Kings African Rifles and other black units who also served under white officers, recruited from among the indigenous peoples of most British Africa colonies. The campaign continued into November 1918 and ended three days after the armistice in Europe.

There were other points of conflict in the colonial arena during the war, though none compared to the campaigns in Africa. Minor confrontations occurred in areas of German colonial interest in Asia, notably in the Chinese port city of Hangchow, although there were more substantial conflicts in the Middle East involving the quasi-colonial territories of the Ottoman Empire. Small campaigns were undertaken along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and also in Egypt. The most widely chronicled of these was the Arab Revolt, primarily remembered in the somewhat romanticized writings of Col. T. E. Lawrence. In addition, colonial seamen were certainly drawn into the conflict through their occasional service in almost all of the navies involved. And the scourge that followed the end of the war—the great influenza pandemic of 1918 and 1919—engulfed people everywhere, including many in the colonial areas.

The aftermath of the Great War, as it soon was universally termed, was also profound. Economic dislocations, associated with national indebtedness occasioned by the costs of war making, were a major cause of global problems. Many colonial powers looked to their colonies for financial support, attempting to implement a variety of economic schemes in the decade following the peace treaty (such as those championed by the British

Empire Resources Development Board), as well as new forms of colonial taxation. More important, the very map of colonialism was changed with the defeat of Germany and the Ottoman Empire. All of the colonial territories held by those powers were, by 1919, ceded in trust to the new League of Nations. Under the sponsorship of the league, those territories were awarded as mandates to various of the victorious nations, to be administered in the interests of the indigenous inhabitants until the international community deemed them ready for self-government. This decision disappointed many colonial peoples and their advocates who believed the principles of self-determination for small nations—advocated by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson in his famous Fourteen Points declaration—should be applied to the colonial world.

At the same time, the involvement of colonial peoples in fighting the war and the seizure of the defeated powers' colonial territories served to exacerbate frustrations that were keenly felt, especially in Germany. Part of the program that attracted many followers to the new German Nazi Party in the 1930s was a promise to restore German colonial glories and the economic benefits they might bring. Adolf Hitler also was quick to condemn French use of African troops in the occupation of the German Rhineland following the armistice; he called it a "contamination of Negro blood" and stirred fears that German territory might become "*the hunting ground of African Negro hordes*" (his emphasis). In Russia, Leon Trotsky reflected the Bolshevik argument on the colonial origins of the war, claiming those same African troops were part of a deliberate attempt by France to use colonial forces for the suppression of "the revolutionary masses of Europe." And everywhere in Europe, as well as in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and even the West Indies, veterans of colonial participation in the war effort were politicized, waiting for appropriate opportunities to turn their disaffection and disillusionment into political action. However, apart from occasional acts of individual resistance and a few ineffective demonstrations of collective discontent, it would not be until the end of World War II that their resentments would be turned to effective anticolonial action.

Melvin E. Page

See also Belgium; Bolsheviks; British Empire; Cameroon; French Empire; German Empire; Lawrence, Thomas Edward; League of Nations; Lenin, Vladimir Ilich; Ottoman Empire; Ruanda-Urundi; Russian Empire; Tanganyika; Versailles, Treaty of; War and Warfare; Wilson, Woodrow; World War I

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World War II (1939–1945)

Much of the writing on World War II has concentrated on the European and Pacific theaters and the defeat of the Axis powers (primarily Germany and Japan) in their respective spheres. The so-called Nuremberg consensus on interpretations of the war has produced a historiography that emphasizes the common cause of the principal Allied powers (Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union), while tending to downplay their differences. However, the differences were obvious and very real. Those between the United States and the Soviet Union became clear in the Cold War. But these two wartime allies, having established vast continental empires during the nineteenth century and the United States having colonized the Philippines, also held anticolonial ideologies that impacted on European colonialism in the twentieth century.

World War II facilitated the rise of the two principal anticolonial powers and the demise of the Great Powers of Europe. Though in the long run the demise of European colonialism may have been inevitable given the outcomes of the war, during the actual war the mobilization of colonial armies and resources had a profound effect on the

Axis powers that were deprived of such resources and strategic advantages. Among several other reasons, a part of the war effort for both Germany and Japan was to conquer territory that they saw as a necessary component for Great Power mobility. Germany had lost its colonies in eastern and southwestern Africa following World War I; its policy of *Lebensraum* (living space) provided what Nazi Germany perceived as a necessary area to exercise its power. Japan, too, depended on the resources of East and Southeast Asia for its continued industrial development. The "colonial" ambitions of these two powers directly confronted the European colonial powers in Europe, and in Southeast Asia, Japan conquered most of their colonies. The principle influences on colonialism during World War II were thus: the defeat of most European colonial powers, with the exception of Britain; the Japanese bid for supremacy in Asia; the rise and influence of U.S. power and its ideologies; and the increased sense of nationalism in colonial areas that was facilitated by the process of integration between the colonial metropolitan city and the urban and rural areas in the colonies.

Nazi Germany swept across Holland and Belgium, and by May 1940, these two colonial powers capitulated, followed soon by France. Although the island status of Britain was immediately important and the British were able to resist in the Battle of Britain between June and September 1940, in the long run it was Britain's ability to mobilize and utilize the vast resources of its colonial empire that were simply beyond the reach of the Luftwaffe. As R. F. Holland has explained, the continental powers could easily mobilize their resources, both minerals and labor, because they lay within the reach of their contiguous power. With the defeat of the continental European powers, Britain alone underwent colonial mobilization.

When Japan conquered the British Malay territories and then Singapore fell in 1942 and threatened British India, the implications were extensive. First, they exposed the weakness of European colonialism in the region, demonstrating that European power was overstretched and could not withstand such military pressure. Second, Britain mobilized its forces in India, once again placing the Indian army in a position in which it had to defend the institutions of its suppression. But London also had to make significant concessions in

the face of growing pressure for independence, or *swaraj*, led by Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Third, Asian nationalists witnessed the rapid defeat of the Europeans and drew the appropriate lessons that European power was not necessarily a permanent feature. Finally, with the loss of Southeast Asian resources, the British placed more emphasis on colonial production of rubber and food in their West African colonies, thus integrating and arousing nationalist sentiment in the African colonies too.

The Japanese bid for supremacy in Asia, which began in 1931 in Manchuria but accelerated after Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, not only brought several European and U.S. colonies under its control, including Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Indochina, and the Philippines; the attack also brought the United States directly into the war. Holland has related that the Japanese had underestimated the U.S. connections in both diplomatic and commercial interests with Europe and Britain, when it expected the United States to join them in establishing spheres of influence in East Asia.

Prior to the direct U.S. entry into the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) waged an internal struggle to overcome the isolationist tendencies within the United States. Pearl Harbor provided the direct opportunity to enter the war. Within the United States, however, public opinion and FDR's sentiment would not tolerate vast amounts of U.S. aid, munitions, and men to restore a world order that tolerated colonialism. Despite America's own colonial history, ideologies of anti-colonialism were strong and influential from the own Declaration of Independence (1776), the Monroe Doctrine (1823), and President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points (1918). Roosevelt took the opportunity presented by British dependence to pursue U.S. interests. Freedom and democracy were at the heart of FDR's Four Freedoms speech in January 1941. In March, article 7 of the Lend-Lease Act required some reciprocity on the part of the British in the form of opening up the Imperial Preference System to U.S. commerce. And in the Atlantic Charter, Washington insisted on others respecting "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government" and the right to "self government." In addition, the charter sought "access . . . to the trade and raw materials of the world." Notwithstanding Winston Churchill's famous re-

tort that he had "not become His Majesty's Chief Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire," his dependency on U.S. aid secured his signature and paved the way for increasing U.S. pressure. However, though the United States did not want to fight the war for European colonialism, it realized that the war could not be won without the British and their colonial mobilization. Similarly, during the subsequent Cold War, Washington eased its criticism of the colonial systems, lest the independent movements opt for a Communist or socialist variation on self-determination against the U.S. preference for a system of trusteeships.

The coupling of anti-Fascist nationalism in Europe and anti-imperial nationalism in colonial areas produced ironies. Victory in Europe was not separate from the expected social transformation. Eric Hobsbawm has suggested that Churchill's electoral defeat was testimony to the rise of social expectations after the war. Several anti-imperial struggles also shared the association of national liberation with social change, accounting for the number of socialist states in the Third World following independence. Significant numbers of nationalist leaders viewed the period of German and Japanese aggression as an opportunity to pursue their own independence. In India, for example, Subhas Bose formed the Indian National Army to assist the Japanese against the British and the Indian army. Gandhi's attempts at mass mobilization and strike action were also intended to take advantage of British weakness. Elsewhere, the period of Japanese occupation was viewed as a period of relative freedom. Japanese concentration on the war effort meant that, in rural areas especially, there was much more scope for nationalist movements to organize and build up their power bases. Thus, in Indochina, Ho Chi Minh formed the Viet Minh in 1941, which fought the Japanese until 1945, the French until 1954, and then the United States until the mid-1970s. The war demonstrated the importance of the colonial areas to the war effort and produced opportunities for nationalist movements to assert their power.

The subsequent process of postwar decolonization was graduated. The United States, despite its rhetoric on self-determination, proposed a trusteeship system under the United Nations. The colonies pushed for outright independence, with

varying success over the next few decades. The Americans and the Dutch relinquished control over the Philippines and Indonesia in 1946 and 1949, respectively. The French resisted in Indochina and North Africa in bloody wars until 1954 and 1958, respectively. The British had not been defeated and were intent on maintaining their empire; it was necessary for their prosperity and status as a Great Power. To counter the U.S. criticisms of empire, the British from 1942 indicated that it did support self-government, and in fact, the Cripps mission to India had made several necessary concessions in this regard. However, London indicated that independence required responsibility and that some states had not reached a sufficient level of political responsibility to govern their own affairs. India and Pakistan came into being in August 1947, Malaysia in 1957, and several African states from that period onward. The graduated process was not just about the hubris of the British sense of responsibility; in the Cold War, Washington also had come to realize that the European empires were an effective antidote to radical or socialist nationalism in the Third World. Moreover, European powers realized the importance of the colonial areas to their postwar economic recovery. Their resources provided opportunities to earn the essential U.S. dollar, and their

connections provided some latitude in which the Europeans could soften the effects of a growing U.S. hegemony.

David Ryan

See also Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer; Cold War; Gandhi, Mohandas; Hitler, Adolf; Ho Chi Minh; India; Japanese Empire; Mussolini, Benito; Nehru, Jawaharlal; Pearl Harbor; Philippines; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Singapore; Soviet Union; Stalin, Joseph; United Nations; United States; Viet Minh; World War I

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X

Xenophobia

Xenophobia is a term that is used to describe the dislike of outsiders (usually foreigners) and the fear of accepting these individuals within one's own group. This fear has been exhibited throughout history among many peoples, in different regions of the globe. For example, the ancient Greeks were xenophobic toward outsiders and portrayed these people as half humans. This xenophobia was an attempt to avoid foreign influence in Greek civilization, during a time when that civilization was expanding into foreign lands.

Yet xenophobia is more often found in societies hosting new migrant groups, rather than in expanding societies. For instance, throughout the history of the United States, different immigrant groups have engendered hostilities from the local population, among them the Irish in the eighteenth century, Asians in the nineteenth century, and Latin Americans in the twentieth century. In Europe, various immigrant groups, such as the Muslims, Arabs, and Africans, among others, have also been targets of right-wing nationalist groups. The most deplorable expression of xenophobia in Europe has been the persecution against the Jews and its worst example, the Holocaust in Nazi Germany. Today's Germany has also been the stage for other xenophobic manifestations. In the past few decades, immigrants in Germany have suffered persecution and street violence on many occasions, especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

In the context of colonization, xenophobia is also apparent in the nativist reactions that some countries have experienced in relation to their former colonizing nations. For instance, in the early nineteenth century, a hatred of the Spanish and the Portuguese was present in Latin America, and this sentiment was used in the unification process and in the promotion of nationalism in the new nations. In Mexico, for example, Spanish-born individuals were attacked in occasional riots, their properties were sacked, and in some instances, they were expelled from their former colonies. In Brazil, Portuguese-born individuals also suffered persecution from Brazilian-born citizens who disliked the ongoing Portuguese political influence in their country during the first decades after its independence in 1822. In addition, a constant and massive immigration flow from Portugal to Brazil during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries perpetuated the xenophobia toward the Portuguese to the point that it is still possible to find traces of it in today's Brazilian society.

Rosana Barbosa Nunes

See also Racism

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Xhosa

Xhosa-speakers currently comprise 17.9 percent of South Africa's population of approximately 40 million. The ancestors of the Xhosa settled along the southeast coast early in the first millennium. They were agriculturalists and herders. Larger political units with distinct ethnic identities, all speaking Xhosa—the Xhosa, the Thembu, the Mpondo, and the Mpondomise—coalesced sometime before 1675. By the nineteenth century, the Xhosa were divided into a number of segmentary chiefdoms, sometimes numbering in the thousands but never forming larger centralized states. Xhosa chiefs were descendants of the royal Tshawe clan and owed token allegiance to the head of the Gcaleka chiefdom.

During the nineteenth century, the chiefdoms, the first in South Africa to experience European colonization, put up protracted resistance to Dutch and British forces over a series of nine so-called Frontier Wars. They were finally defeated in 1879. However, access to mission education and Christianity prompted political mobilization, so that some of the first African nationalist activity of the late nineteenth century was initiated by mission-educated Xhosa. Xhosa-speakers dominated the

South African Native Convention, a precursor to the African National Congress. During the early twentieth century, segregation policies restricted the Xhosa to two overcrowded and economically unviable reserves in the Eastern Cape Colony. People attempted to sustain themselves through subsistence agriculture, participation in border industries, or labor migrancy to the Cape ports and Johannesburg. The impoverishment of the region and a previous tradition of resistance led to several successful rural and popular resistance campaigns during the 1920s. This activity continued during the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s and through to the 1980s. Successful protest was facilitated by the area's cultural and language homogeneity. In 1976 and 1981, the former reserves became "independent" homelands. The Transkei government attempted some protest against apartheid, unlike the collaborationist and corrupt Ciskei regime. After 1994, the homelands were reincorporated into the impoverished Eastern Cape Province.

Natasha Erlank

See also Apartheid; Cape Colony; Johannesburg; South Africa

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Y

Yalta Conference

In early February 1945, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin met at the Crimean resort of Yalta for the second of three conferences of the Grand Alliance of World War II. The main agenda of the conference included discussion of zones of occupation for a divided Germany, the structure of a postwar international assembly, and the future of the Polish state. The three leaders agreed in principle to shift Poland's borders to the west, with the Soviet Union retaining parts of Poland east of the Curzon line and Poland acquiring territories in eastern Prussia. As for Poland's government, the United States and Britain supported the establishment of a free and independent Polish state based on the leadership of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and the exiled Polish government in London. Stalin insisted that the Communist-led government created in Lublin during Soviet occupation was the true representative of the Polish people. Although Stalin agreed to hold free elections and to permit exiled leaders in London to join a new Polish government when he joined Churchill and Roosevelt in signing the Declaration of a Liberated Europe, he had no intention of allowing the emergence of any but a Soviet-dominated government.

Despite the optimism of the Western Allies that they had won Soviet concessions on Poland, East Europeans came to see in Yalta a betrayal of Poland

to Soviet imperialism. In a separate and secret agreement between Roosevelt and Stalin, the Soviet Union also agreed to enter the war against Japan in return for receiving the southern half of Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands, the Manchurian Railway, and other concessions in East Asia.

Thomas Clayton Black

See also Churchill, Sir Winston Spencer; Cold War; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Stalin, Joseph; World War II

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Young Turks

Disillusioned by the betrayal of the 1876 Ottoman constitution by the sultan, a number of young men, particularly those educated in the Ottoman university system and employed in the military and bureaucracy, began to organize themselves in order to promote a liberal constitutionalism similar to those they had seen and experienced in Western Europe. Subject to constant harassment by the secret police, many went into exile in France or internal relocation to the Ottoman provinces, where they consolidated the disparate Ottoman Union Society (1889) and the Committee for Union and Progress. The exiles in Paris published a newspaper and began to call themselves the Young Turks. A coup planned for 1896

was discovered and severely punished by the sultan's government.

The movement, however, was encouraged by the creation of a Persian constitution in 1906, and nationalism was revived during the Russo-Japanese War, when an Asian power defeated a European nation. By 1906, the Young Turks had attracted groups within the Ottoman Empire, ranging from cells of university students to army officers, to their cause, and they found special support in the provinces. In the midst of high inflation and strikes, rumors that Russia and Britain planned to partition Macedonia touched off a revolution encouraged by the Young Turks, whose army faction took to the hills to demand the return of the constitution, which the sultan acceded to in 1908. Unfortunately, the Young Turks chose to become an opposition party, rather than part of the new government, and as such, they destabilized the state to such an extent that they were driven out of the capital in a 1909 conservative and Islamic counterrevolution.

Using the so-called Action Army of assembled army volunteers, with Mustafa Kemal as chief of staff, the Young Turks reoccupied Istanbul and deposed the sultan in favor of his brother, Mehmet V, who became a puppet to a trio of Young Turks headed by Enver Pasha. On the positive side, this new administration encouraged secularization, the rights of women, and Ottoman modernization. However, miscalculations and a relationship with Germany dragged the Ottomans into World War I, and Enver Pasha's fierce nationalism led to a genocide of Armenians. Though the Young Turks ultimately failed as a government in the wake of defeat in World War I, their goals of constitution, Turkish nationalism, and secularization were carried through the Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal.

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See also Ottoman Empire; Russo-Japanese War; Turkey; World War I

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Yugoslavia

Much of the region that would become modern Yugoslavia—the land of the south Slavs—had been subject to imperial domination for two mil-

lennia, conquered by the Roman and, later, the Byzantine Empires. Throughout the Middle Ages, much of the northern part of the region gradually became part of Germanic and then Austrian or Hungarian empires, and the southern and eastern portions of the region fell under the imperial control of the expanding Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whereas Venice ruled much of coastal Dalmatia for nearly four centuries. During the nineteenth century, national resistance to imperial rule increased, and ultimately, Serbia and Montenegro, with the aid of the European powers, emerged as independent kingdoms in 1878. But the emergent states in the region were unstable and externally vulnerable.

A series of wars, known as the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), brought about the ouster of Ottoman imperial authority after almost five centuries, and the subsequent World War I (1914–1918), which was ignited in Sarajevo, resulted in the end of the Austro-Hungarian imperial presence in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia. The south Slavs were joined together to become the single Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on December 1, 1918, an artificial gathering of peoples with diverse religious and linguistic heritages and different colonial pasts, with no history as a cohesive entity. Externally, the kingdom, called Yugoslavia after October 1929, faced hostility from several of its neighbors and regional powers. It was invaded during World War II by Germany, Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria in April 1941 and partitioned once again, and violent conflict ensued among national groups allied with various external powers. The Communist partisans, led by Josip Broz (Marshal Tito), ultimately emerged to reshape a postwar Yugoslav state. Tito subsequently defied Soviet imperial aims and sought to repress internal nationalisms. But only a decade after his death in 1980, the eventual breakdown of his system led several republics toward secession, ethnic conflict, and the ultimate independence of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 and military interventions by the Western powers in Bosnia (1995) and Kosovo (1999).

Christopher D. O'Sullivan

See also Ottoman Empire; Tito, Josip Broz; World War I

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Z

Zaire

See Belgian Congo

Zambia

See Northern Rhodesia

Zanzibar

The history of Zanzibar, located in the Indian Ocean off the coast of present-day mainland Tanzania, reflects its complex position at the crossroads of several major trading networks and paths of cultural exchange. With their country situated in a prime location for the facilitation of African continental and maritime trade connections, Zanzibari rulers and traders established themselves as the masters of a successful mercantilist economy based largely on the exchange of cloves and other spices grown on the island, ivory and slaves brought from the mainland, and manufactured goods from Europe. Many of those enslaved in the East African system were sold to the Zanzibari plantations, where they were then forced to cultivate cloves, sugarcane, and coconuts. Although Omani Arab sultans such as Sayyid Said ruled Zanzibar and controlled the East African coastal nodes after forcing the Portuguese out in 1729, the trading community on the island included Swahili, Indian, and Arab merchant classes, along with various European and American itinerants.

Arab and Swahili traders such as the notorious Tippu Tip, who were based in Zanzibar, operated the mainland caravan trade that specialized in the collection of slaves and ivory from the interior of Tanganyika for trade in Zanzibar's markets. Zanzibar's rulers initially entered into an informal partnership with British trading concerns seeking to maintain and further promote British economic interests in East Africa and the Indian Ocean. After 1873, however, the British declared their intent to abolish the slave trade and convinced Sultan Barghash to sign a treaty prohibiting the trade. Thereafter, the Omani elite maintained their economic power, along with some associated political power over the rest of the Zanzibari population, but they were now effectively under British colonial control. In 1890, Britain declared Zanzibar a protectorate in order to prevent other European powers from developing influence over the island (especially Germany, which had declared Tanganyika its protectorate in 1886).

The abolition of slavery in 1897 caused considerable disruption to the Zanzibari economy, manifested most clearly in a labor shortage that was only resolved through resorting to forced wage labor. By 1948, a confluence of working-class disenchantment with colonial authority and the ripple effect of mainland Tanganyika's independence movement resulted in widespread protests and strikes. Simultaneously, tensions between the various ethnic groups of Zanzibar—Arab, Indian, and

African—led to the formation of their own interest-based political parties. Agitation and mobilization continued throughout the 1950s until the British, after a series of questionable elections for the Legislative Council, granted Zanzibar its independence in December 1963. One month later, a bloody revolution drove out the Arab sultan, who had been installed by the British. Despite Zanzibar's independence and the formation of a coalition government, the tiny state was weakened by years of political strife and economic depression. In April 1964, Zanzibari president Amani Abeid Karume and Tanganyikan president Julius Nyerere concluded an agreement whereby the two states united and became the United Republic of Tanzania, a union that has lasted to the present, despite being fraught with political difficulty.

Michelle Moyd

See also British Empire; Nyerere, Julius; Portuguese Empire; Said, Sayyid; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Tanganyika

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Zimbabwe

See Southern Rhodesia

Zionism

Zionism is a nationalist movement claiming ancient roots, as Jewish messianism has long anticipated the return to an ancient homeland in Palestine. Scholars have increasingly noted parallels between Zionism and other nineteenth-century national movements. Although Judaism has long idealized the goal of an ultimate return to Palestine, Zionism emerged in the late nineteenth century partly in response to increasing national consciousness in Europe, which also spawned new waves of anti-Semitism.

Named after one of the hills of Jerusalem, Zionism sought to establish a nationalist movement after Theodore Herzl's founding of the World Zionist Organization in 1897. After failing to obtain a colonial charter from the Ottoman Empire, which

at the time ruled Palestine, Zionists found a patron in London and thus consciously linked their cause with British imperial aims in the Middle East. The November 2, 1917, Balfour Declaration, anticipating the imminent arrival of British forces in Jerusalem, gave formal support for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine and was ultimately codified into the British mandate under the League of Nations for the region. Early Zionism in Palestine evolved an ideology similar to that of other colonizing ventures and followed many traditional colonial settlement state-building models, such as fostering the concept of a "land without people" and the resulting dispossession of an indigenous "other" population. Even after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Zionism has persisted as a potent ideology, strains of which have sought to legitimize claims to territories beyond Israel's present frontiers. Yet the realization of Zionist goals has come at a steep price, fomenting tensions that persist today, such as the lasting enmity of a displaced Arab population, now living partly under Israeli occupation, as well as the hostility of several neighboring states.

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See also Balfour Declaration; Herzl, Theodore; Israel; Judaism; League of Nations; Ottoman Empire; Palestine

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Zulus

The name *Zulu* refers to a particular clan that inhabited an area near the present-day city of Ulundi in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, in the late seventeenth century. As a subgroup of the larger Nguni family living throughout southeastern Africa, the Zulu share cultural and linguistic similarities with other peoples in the area, such as the Xhosa to the south and the Tonga to the north. Over the last 200 years, however, largely due to their reputation as superb warriors, the Zulus have sparked the imagination and interest of people, both in and outside Africa, in ways most other groups have not.

By the eighteenth century, the clan developed into a small chiefdom that was part of the larger Mthethwa kingdom under Chief Dingiswayo. It re-

mained a relatively insignificant chiefdom until Shaka kaSenzangakona claimed power in 1816. Under Shaka's leadership from 1816 to 1828, the Zulu chieftaincy successfully conquered and incorporated neighboring chiefdoms and eventually established control over much of the population in present-day northern KwaZulu-Natal. The Zulus were recognized as great warriors, and with the reformulation of older military techniques such as use of the short stabbing spear (*assegai*) and the establishment of age-set regiments for men and women (*amabutho*), they developed into the most centralized authority system ever realized in southeastern Africa.

The establishment of the Zulu kingdom from 1816 to 1828 was, in part, a result of other extraordinary changes occurring throughout northern Nguni society in the late eighteenth century. Increasing population, changing climatic conditions, and the establishment of foreign trade through Delagoa Bay were important external factors contributing to the formation of a more centralized, militarized kingdom. One of the important results of Shaka's wars was the *mfecane* (time of troubles), as people emigrated to the north, south, and west to escape Shaka's rule. This extraordinary movement of peoples throughout southeastern Africa restructured social, political, and economic life across the region.

The Zulu kingdom existed as an independent and autonomous entity until it came under British control after the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Although a portion of the Zulu army did defeat the British at the Battle of Isandhlwana at the start of

the war, the British eventually overwhelmed the Zulus with both firepower and manpower, and in July 1879, the Zulus were defeated at the Battle of Ulundi. Over the next twenty years, the British employed the techniques of indirect rule developed in Natal to facilitate fundamental changes in the economic, political, and social structures of Zulu life. Ultimately, the area of the former Zulu kingdom was annexed by Natal and then incorporated into the Union of South Africa in 1910. As provided in the various apartheid laws passed in the mid-twentieth century, the Zulus were granted limited autonomy in the 1970s and exercised a form of self-governance from 1975 to 1994. Even though the Zulus lived under the combination of colonial rule and apartheid for more than 100 years, Zulu identity and, more specifically, the myths and symbols associated with its precolonial cultural heritage have continued to be an important aspect of Zulu society.

J. Michael Williams

See also Apartheid; Boers; British Empire; Shaka; South Africa; War and Warfare

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CHRONOLOGIES

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

JAMES CIMENT

1273

Rudolf of Hapsburg is elected king of Germany. Most historians date the origins of the Hapsburg monarchy and ultimately the Austro-Hungarian Empire it ruled until 1918 from this accession. Rudolf came from a minor principality in what is now upper Alsace in France and the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

1477

Maximilian I of the House of Hapsburg in Austria marries Mary of Burgundy. The alliance between the house of Hapsburg, the most influential ruling family within the Holy Roman Empire, and the powerful duchy of Burgundy lays the foundation for a Hapsburg-ruled Empire that would dominate late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe. The marriage and alliance presents a major challenge to King Louis XI of France, who considered Burgundy a part of his own realm. War between France and the Hapsburgs ensues.

1482

France and the Hapsburgs sign the Treaty of Arras ceding control of the Netherlands from the Hapsburgs to France, although the Hapsburgs never formally renounce their claims to the Netherlands and warfare between Louis XI and Maximilian continues intermittently.

1496

Joanna of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, unites of Spain under a single monarchy and sponsors of Columbus's voyages to the Americas, marries Philip the Fair of Burgundy, son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. The marriage

plants the seeds of the united Hapsburg Empire, based in Spain and Austria.

1500

Philip and Joanna have a son named Charles, the future Emperor Charles V of Spain.

1502

Philip and Joanna have a second son named Ferdinand, the future Ferdinand of Austria.

1519

Maximilian I dies and Charles V becomes Emperor of the Hapsburg domains, which include Spain, Austria, a significant portion of the Netherlands, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and—through Spain—a vast and growing empire in the Americas and the Philippines.

1522

The Treaty of Brussels divides the Hapsburg Empire into a western half centered in Spain, ruled by Charles V until his abdication in 1556, and an eastern half, centered in Austria and ruled by Charles's younger brother, Ferdinand I. This Hapsburg domain, the core of the future Austro-Hungarian Empire, includes Austria, Styria (modern-day Slovenia), and the Tyrol (western modern-day Austria).

1526

August The Hungarian army is defeated at the Battle of Mohács by Suleiman the Magnificent of the Ottoman Empire. Louis II tries to flee the battlefield but is captured and executed by Suleiman's Turks. Although they briefly occupy the Hungarian capital of Buda and

plunder the Hungarian plains, Suleiman and his forces retreat to their base in Belgrade.

October 23 With the death of Louis II, the future of Hungary and its excessive domain in Central Europe is open to dispute. Ferdinand takes command of the situation. Through careful politicking, he gets the nobles of Bohemia to declare him their king. Thus, an incipient Christian alliance against the Muslim power of Suleiman begins to form.

December 17 Overcoming a challenge from János Zapolya, a nobleman and military leader from the Hungarian province of Transylvania, Ferdinand I maneuvers to have himself chosen the king of Hungary. Zapolya, a nationalist leader, would retain the loyalty of the nobles of eastern Hungary and Transylvania, who resented the foreign rule of the Hapsburgs and would continue to struggle against Hapsburg rule for more than a decade.

1527

January 1 Rallying the Croatian nobility to his cause, Ferdinand I has himself elected king of Croatia-Slavonia. The nobility of Croatia had always resented Hungarian hegemony in the region. Their decision to stand with the Hapsburg emperor forged an internal anti-Hungarian alliance between Austria and Croatia that would last for centuries.

Ferdinand I issues new laws calling for a centralized administration for all of his domains in Central Europe. New offices and positions are created and filled with people loyal to the Hapsburg emperor. Zapolya flees to Poland. Ferdinand's domains contain roughly 7 million people.

1529

Suleiman once again moves northward from Belgrade and seizes control of the Hungarian plains and the Hungarian capital of Buda. Zapolya returns to Hungary and forms an alliance with Suleiman.

September–October Suleiman marches on Vienna and lays siege to the city for roughly one month. Ferdinand calls upon and receives the aid of the new Protestant princes of Germany to defend the city successfully. Faced with these augmented forces and the onset of early cold and wet weather, Suleiman retreats. For more than the next century, Vienna, increasingly displacing Prague as the capital of the Hapsburg domain in central Europe, would remain on the edge of

Christendom and under the threat of conquest by the Muslim Ottoman Turks. Huge fortifications would be built, then torn down in the nineteenth century to form the famed Ringstrasse of boulevards, palaces, and government buildings.

1531

Ferdinand I is chosen by the Catholic forces of Germany as king of the Romans, or the nominal emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This move prompts the Protestant princes of Germany to form an alliance with each other and with Francis I of France.

1532

Suleiman launches another attack on the Hapsburg domain. Ferdinand rallies the support of his brother Charles V of Spain. But, for reasons not completely clear to historians, Suleiman opts instead to linger on the frontier between the Hapsburg and Ottoman realms. The attack on Vienna is then called off.

1538

War breaks out between Suleiman and Ferdinand over the contested principality of Moldavia.

Zapolya and Ferdinand reach an agreement to settle the fate of Hungary in anticipation of compensating Zapolya's heir, János Zsigmond Zapolya. Meanwhile the elder Zapolya maintains his alliance with Suleiman, who promises to protect his interests in Hungary.

1540

Zapolya dies, freeing Suleiman from protecting him. Suleiman makes clear his intention of turning Hungary into an Ottoman protectorate, rather than a province.

1541

In accordance with the terms of his 1538 agreement with Zapolya, Ferdinand sends his troops toward the Hungarian capital of Buda. Suleiman marches his forces and annexes Buda first. Suleiman then moves to divide Hungary into three parts: Royal Hungary (modern Slovakia, Croatia, and western Hungary); Turkish Hungary, a frontier province of the Ottomans (modern central Hungary); and Transylvania (eastern Hungary). The seizure of Buda by Suleiman inaugurates years of fighting between the Hapsburgs and Ottomans in Central and Eastern Europe.

1547

Nobles of Bohemia rise up in revolt against Ferdinand's reign and his efforts to control the administration of

the province. The revolt is crushed by the Hapsburg forces. In the wake of this victory, Ferdinand can fully realize his plans for a government of Bohemia controlled fully by Vienna. He seizes the property of nobles who have rebelled and, for the first time, declares his hereditary right to the throne of Bohemia. The courts and institutions of Bohemia are modeled after and controlled fully by Hapsburg appointees.

After four years of fighting in Hungary, Ferdinand is forced to sign a treaty with Suleiman, agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 florins to the Ottoman sultan.

1552–1556

Intermittent warfare continues between the Hapsburgs and Ottomans under Suleiman. In 1552, the Turks seize Temesvár (modern Timisoara, Romania) but are stopped at Eger by Hungarian forces led by István Dobo. In 1556, the Ottomans are once again defeated at Siget, in Slavonia, inaugurating ten years of peace between the Turks and the Austrians. A peace treaty is signed two years later.

1564

Ferdinand I dies after a reign of forty-two years; he is succeeded by his son Maximilian II.

1566

Suleiman launches his last Hungarian campaign. He dies during the siege of Siget and is succeeded by Sultan Selim II.

1567

Although remaining a Catholic himself, Maximilian II was always seen as sympathetic to Protestant beliefs. Three years after taking over the throne of Austria, he grants confessional privileges to the nobles of Austria, allowing them to worship in private as they pleased.

1568

Maximilian II and Sultan Selim II of the Ottoman Empire sign the Treaty of Adrianople, ending the immediate threat to Vienna and the heart of the Hapsburg Empire but ceding control over most of Hungary to the Ottomans.

1576

Maximilian II dies and is succeeded by his son Rudolf II. The new emperor is equally liberal in his religious governance. Although a Catholic, he remains open to the private confessional freedom of his subjects.

1582

Rudolf II makes Prague the capital of the Hapsburg Empire, making the city a center of the arts and culture. But the move angers many Bohemian nobles who feel that he is trying to Germanize the city.

1593

The pasha, or governor, of the Ottoman province of Bosnia is killed by Croat nationalists during a raid on their territory. The Ottoman Sultan Murad III considers this an act of war by the Hapsburgs, who supported the Croats. The sultan sends his Grand Vizier, with 30,000 soldiers, on a campaign against the Austrians, beginning the Austro-Turkish war that would last until 1606.

1604

Under the leadership of István Bocskai, a wealthy lord from the eastern province of Transylvania, Hungarian nobles rise up against Hapsburg rule, a rebellion that would last until 1606.

1605

Bocskai is chosen prince of Transylvania. The Ottomans recognize him as king of Hungary and declare him a vassal of the sultan. The rebels form a military alliance with the Ottoman Empire and conquer parts of central and western Hungary from advancing Austrian troops. But divisions within the Hungarian ranks, between the Turkish-aligned Transylvanians and those in the west and north of the country, under nominal Hapsburg rule, cause the rebels to seek a treaty with Rudolf II.

1606

September 23 The Hungarian rebels and the Hapsburg monarchy sign a far-reaching agreement, the Peace of Vienna, ending the fighting and establishing political and religious liberties within the Hapsburg realm in Hungary. Bocskai is formally made prince of Transylvania by the Hapsburgs.

December 9 Rudolf II reluctantly signs the peace treaty of Zsitva-Torok with the sultan of the Ottomans, ceding much of Hungary once again to the Turks. In addition, the Hapsburg monarch agrees to pay a 200,000-florin tribute to the sultan. Much of the Hungarian plain remains under the rule of Constantinople.

1608

Rudolf II's brother, the Archduke Matthias, governor of Lower Austria, tries to seize the imperial throne.

650 Chronologies

Although unsuccessful, he gets himself chosen king of the Austrian portions of Hungary by the nobles of that province. He forces Rudolf II to remain within his palace in Prague until the latter's death in 1612.

The Evangelical Union, an organization of Protestant nobles and leaders, is formed. Although it is against the Catholic monarchy of Rudolf II, its leaders mistrust Matthias more, fearing he would be a much stronger monarch. The Evangelical Union thus sides with Rudolf II during the uprising led by Matthias, helping Rudolf maintain his weak grip on the Hapsburg Empire.

1609

July 9 A weak monarch whose hold on power is further undermined by the uprising of his brother Matthias, Rudolf II is forced to issue the Letter of Majesty, granting broad liberties and power to the nobles of Bohemia.

1612

Rudolf II dies, succeeded by his brother Matthias. Though he furiously pursued power, Matthias's seven-year reign is marked by inactivity. He does move the capital back to Vienna.

1617

Ferdinand of Styria, grandson of Ferdinand I, becomes king of Bohemia.

1618

May 23 Provoked by the intolerant Catholicism of Ferdinand I, and armed with the Letter of Majesty issued to them by Rudolf I, the nobles of Bohemia seize the royal castle in Prague and throw two Catholic lords, along with one of their young secretaries, out of a palace window. The incident is known as the "Defenestration of Prague." The rebellion prompts a religious crisis within the empire, becoming one of the sparks that sets off the Thirty Years' War between Catholic and Protestant forces in Germany.

1619

Matthias dies and is succeeded by his nephew Ferdinand of Styria, now Ferdinand II. The accession of Ferdinand ends nearly a century of religious tolerance by the monarchs of the Hapsburg realm.

August The Diet of Bohemia chooses Frederick V, the elector of the Palatinate, as king of Bohemia, making a play for formal Bohemian independence under a fiercely Protestant monarch.

1620

November 5–8 As a German, Frederick V finds it difficult to raise an army of Bohemian resistance and is brutally crushed by the Catholic Hapsburg forces of Ferdinand II, allied with those of the Catholic duke of Bavaria, at the Battle of White Mountain outside Prague. Frederick V flees the country, thus undermining any hope of armed resistance to Ferdinand II and his Catholic forces.

1621

A brutal repression of all Protestant resistance begins in Bohemia; the crushing of resistance to the Catholic faith and the Hapsburg monarchy continues into the next year.

June 21 Karl Liechtenstein, appointed governor of Bohemia by Ferdinand II, carries out the execution of twenty-seven German and Bohemian Protestants in front of Prague's town hall, creating deep bitterness toward the Hapsburg monarchy in Bohemia.

1625–1628

Angered by Catholic repression and occupation by Bavarian troops, peasants in Upper Austria launch a three-year rebellion against the Hapsburg monarchy, which ends only with brutal repression and the withdrawal of the hated Bavarians.

1627

Ferdinand II, having crushed the threat of an independent Bohemia, decides to grant some liberties to the nobles of the province in the so-called Renewed Constitution.

1635

Along with his fellow Catholic Hapsburg monarch, Philip IV of Spain, Ferdinand II agrees to the Treaty of Prague, making concessions to the Protestant nobles of Bohemia and freeing up imperial troops to continue their battle against Protestant forces, led by the invading Swedes, in the Holy Roman Empire in Germany.

1637

Ferdinand II dies and is succeeded on the imperial Hapsburg throne of Austria by his son Ferdinand III. The new monarch proves to be more liberal and flexible than his father, although remaining a stalwart defender of Catholicism and a firm ally of the Spanish monarch in the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

1645

The forces of Ferdinand III are routed in western Austria by the forces of France, allied with the Swedes against the twin Hapsburg monarchs of Spain and Austria in the Thirty Years' War. Still, the Austrian monarch refuses to sign a peace treaty.

1648

At Münster, the various antagonists of the Thirty Years' War, including representatives of Ferdinand III, negotiate the Treaty of Westphalia, ending the bloody conflict. One of the major outcomes of the treaty was a concession by the Hapsburg emperors of Austria to grant confessional liberties to the princes of Germany and Bohemia.

1653

Ferdinand III convenes the Diet of Ratisbon to put into force with the Hapsburg realm the religious liberalization guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia. Although religious freedom is ceded, the emperor retains tight control of secular governance.

1657

Ferdinand III dies and is succeeded by his son Leopold I. The new emperor dispatches troops into Poland to repel an invading Swedish army.

1661

Leopold I, encouraged by the Hungarian Diet, attempts to secure a pro-Hapsburg prince in the Ottoman-controlled Hungarian province of Transylvania, sparking a three-year war between the Turks and Austrians.

1662

Austrian forces suffer a series of military setbacks.

1663

Leopold I convenes the imperial Diet of Ratisbon to rally support among the German princes on behalf of the empire. They grant him funds and troops.

1664

August 1 With the support of the German princes, and a contingent of French forces, Leopold I's imperial army defeats the Turks at Szentgotthárd in Transdanubia. Although this is a major military success, representing the first European defeat of Turkish forces on an open battlefield, the Austrians fail to take advantage of the situation, allowing the Turks to retreat in good order.

August 10 The treaty of Vasvár, negotiated by the Austrian resident in Constantinople and the Grand Vizier of the Ottomans, fails to recognize the Hapsburg victory, allowing virtually no parts of Hungary to revert to Christian Austrian rule. This diplomatic failure to take advantage of military victory angers many Hungarian leaders. The treaty is, however, an economic success for Vienna, allowing Austrian merchants to freely trade within the Ottoman domains.

1666

August Hungarian nobles—including leaders Ferenc Wesselényi, Ferenc Nádasdy, and, most importantly, Peter Zrinyi—assemble. Although under Austrian rule, they decide to seek the support of Hungarian leaders in Ottoman-controlled Transylvania and the Turkish government itself to help support the nobles' independence from the Hapsburg. In addition, they want to wrest the decision over who becomes king of Hungary from the Hapsburg monarch to a council of Hungarian nobles. Thus, the “conspiracy of the magnates” of Hungary begins.

1670

The magnates, or nobles, involved in the Hungarian conspiracy against the Hapsburg monarch call for an armed uprising against Vienna. They then march on the Croatian capital of Zagreb but are quickly defeated by Austrian arms.

April 18 Following the collapse of their revolt, Zrinyi, Wesselényi, and Nádasdy travel to Vienna and beg Leopold I to spare their lives. Hungarian rebels throughout the province also surrender in coming weeks.

1671

April 30 Zrinyi and other Hungarian “magnates” who participated in the revolt of the preceding year are executed, following their trial and conviction on charges of rebellion and high treason against empire.

1679

A major outbreak of the plague kills thousands in Vienna.

1681

Peasants' rebellion breaks out in Bohemia.

A rebellion under nationalist leader Imre Thököly breaks out in Hungary in resistance to Hapsburg rule.

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October 8 Thököly calls an assembly at Odenburg to rally the support of the remaining rebellious magnates to support his resistance movement to the Hapsburg. In reaction to this assembly and to prevent further territorial gains by the forces under Thököly, Leopold I agrees to cede to Hungary the political and religious rights guaranteed under the Peace of Vienna, signed seventy-five years earlier in 1606.

1682

The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV recognizes Imre Thököly as king of Hungary and sends an armed force to support his rebellion against the Hapsburgs. The allied force is successful in capturing a number of strongholds formerly held by Hapsburg forces in Hungary. Leopold I attempts to renew the 1664 Treaty of Vasvár in order to get the Ottoman forces out of Hungary. But the sultan rejects this overture as tensions between the two empires grow.

1683

March 31 Leopold I and King John III Sobieski of Poland sign an alliance, calling for Polish support of the Austrians in the latter's impending war with the Ottoman sultan.

July Ottoman forces cross into Austria and begin their last siege of Vienna.

September King John III Sobieski lives up to his word and sends troops to help break the siege of Vienna. Along with forces from various German principalities, Leopold I and his Austrian forces are successful in lifting the siege of Vienna. At the Battle of Kahlenberg, the Christian forces under Leopold rout the Turks and force them into a headlong retreat from Austrian territory.

1686

September 2 Along with allies from Germany and elsewhere in Christian Europe, Austrian forces conquer Buda, capital of Ottoman-controlled Hungary, after a seventy-eight-day siege. This signals the end of organized Ottoman resistance to Hapsburg power in Hungary.

1687

September 12 One hundred sixty-one years after the great defeat of the Hungarian forces by Suleiman the Magnificent's Ottoman army at the Battle of Mohács, imperial Hapsburg forces and their allies upset the Turkish army at the Battle of Nagyharsány, near

Mohács. This victory frees all of Hungary, except Transylvania, from Ottoman influence.

December 9 As a result of the victory at Nagyharsány, Archduke Joseph, son of Leopold I, is crowned king of Hungary. The coronation ends negotiations between nobles of Hungary and the Hapsburg monarchy about who should choose the Hungarian monarch. The nobility of Hungary renounces all rights to resistance against the Hapsburgs and accepts that the king of Hungary will always be a male heir of the Hapsburgs.

1688

May 9 Leopold I and the Ottoman sultan sign a treaty removing all Turkish power in Transylvania, making the region a province under the rule of the king of Hungary.

1689

September 6 Following a three week-long siege, Ottoman forces abandon Belgrade and turn over the city to the Austrian Hapsburgs. In the weeks and months that follow this victory, the Ottomans abandon and the Austrians occupy much of the Balkans, including Bosnia, Serbia, and Wallachia (modern western Romania) all the way to the city of Bucharest.

1690

October 8 Ottoman forces regroup and recapture Belgrade from Hapsburg forces, following the retaking by the sultan of Serbia and Bosnia.

1691

August 19 Imperial Hapsburg forces defeat the Ottoman Turks, led by Hungarian rebel Imre Thököly at the Battle of Zálánkemén, thereby reconquering Transylvania.

December 4 The Nobles and Estates, or parliament, of Transylvania sign an agreement with Leopold I recognizing the Hapsburg emperor as the sovereign of their province. The region is not incorporated into Hungary but is administered directly from Vienna. In addition, Leopold agrees to the Diploma Leopoldinum, guaranteeing religious and political liberties to the people of Transylvania.

1697

September 11 Imperial Hapsburg forces, along with their allies, inflict a crushing defeat on the Ottoman army

at the Battle of Zenta, ending the Turkish reconquest of Hungary and costing the sultan 30,000 troops.

1699

January 26 The Peace of Karlowitz is signed by the leaders of Austria, Russia, Poland, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire. Under the terms of the agreement, all of the Hapsburgs' gains in Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania are conceded by the Turks and recognized by the other powers.

1701

War of the Spanish Succession breaks out; Austrians will seize lands in northern Italy during the war, which lasts until 1714.

1702

February 2 Prince Eugène of Savoy, fighting for the Austrian emperor, seizes Cremona in northern Italy from the French.

August Citing a host of grievances—including new taxes, lack of religious liberties, and a requirement that landholders pay a fee to the Austrian government to repossess domains following liberation from the Ottomans—nobles launch the Hungarian war of independence, which will continue until 1711; Hungarians are supported by France in their efforts.

1703

Francis II Rákóczy, claimant to the Hungarian throne, becomes leader of the Hungarian rebels in the war of independence from the Austrian emperor.

1705

May 5 Austrian emperor Leopold I dies, succeeded by his son Joseph I.

1706

Prince Eugène of Savoy, fighting for the Austrian emperor, defeats the French at Turin; French flee the Piedmont region, some of which is occupied by Austrian troops.

1708

July 5 Following the death of the Duke of Mantua, Austrian emperor Joseph I claims the duchy.

1711

April 17 Emperor Joseph I dies at age 33, succeeded by his brother Spanish Emperor Charles III; as heir to

the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburg thrones, Charles III takes on the title Emperor Charles VI; he moves to Vienna in September.

May 1 The Austrian government and the Hungarian rebels sign the Peace of Szathmár; under the terms of the treaty, Charles VI secures hereditary right to the Hungarian throne in exchange for Hungarian religious liberties and landowner privileges, as well as promises to respect the Hungarian constitution; Francis II Rákóczy, claimant to the Hungarian throne, refuses to accept the treaty and flees to Ottoman Empire.

1714

March 7 In the Peace of Rastatt between Louis XIV of France and Charles VI of Austria, France accepts Hapsburg dominion over northern Italy; along with the Peace of Utrecht, the Peace of Rastatt brings the War of Spanish Succession to an end.

1716

April 13 Fearing Ottoman threats to Croatia, Dalmatia, and Styria in the Balkans, Austrian Emperor Charles VI signs defensive alliance with Venice and declares war on the Turks; the Austro-Turkish War continues for two years.

August–October Austrian advances under Prince Eugène of Savoy drive the Ottomans from Temesvár (now Timisoara, Romania), the last Ottoman fortress in traditional Hungarian lands.

1717

August 16–22 Austrian troops under Prince Eugène of Savoy defeat an Ottoman army of 200,000 and take Belgrade.

1718

July Philip V of Spain and Charles VI of Austria, rival claimants to the Hapsburg domains in Europe, renounce claims on each other's territories.

July 21 The Ottomans and Austrians sign the Peace of Passarowitz ending the Austro-Turkish War; under the agreement, Austria gains possession of remaining parts of Hungary, and parts of Bosnia and Serbia, including Belgrade.

1720

Pragmatic Succession agreement reached under which Austria accepts Maria Theresa's claims to Hapsburg

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lands of her father, Charles VI; over the next eighteen years, most of the major thrones in Europe will accept the succession of the daughter to the Hapsburg throne of Austria.

1722

June 30 Hungarian Diet accepts Pragmatic Succession agreement.

1731

January 10 With the death of the last Farnese duke, Austrian Emperor Charles VI lays claim to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza in Italy.

1733

War of Polish Succession begins as Russia and Austria recognize one claimant to the throne while France recognizes another; the war lasts until 1735.

1735

October 3 France and Austria negotiate end of War of Polish Succession; Austrian claimant takes the throne of Poland in exchange for duchy of Lorraine.

1736

February 12 Maria Theresa, heir to the Austrian throne, marries Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine.

1738

Austria and the Turks go to war once again.

1739

In a series of defeats, the Austrians are driven out of Belgrade and Serbia.

September 18 Austrians and Ottomans sign the Peace of Belgrade, under which the victorious Turks win back all the lands they lost in the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz.

1740

October 20 Charles VI, last of the Hapsburg emperors, dies, succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa; despite the Pragmatic Succession agreement of 1720, several other descendants of earlier Hapsburg rulers lay claim to the throne. Thus begins the War of Austrian Succession, which lasts through 1748; the war engulfs much of Europe and even includes fighting in North America as Prussia, the Netherlands, Britain, and France become involved.

1748

October 18 The Peace of Aachen ends the War of Austrian Succession; under the terms of the agreement,

Maria Theresa is recognized as the legitimate monarch of Austria; Prussia gains the province of Silesia from the Austrians.

1749

May 14 Following death of Count Philip Kinsky, Empress Maria Theresa places Bohemia under the direct administration of Vienna.

1756

Seven Years' War (known in the United States as the French and Indian War) breaks out in Europe, North America, and India between France and its allies and Britain and its allies; in the course of the war, Austria and Prussia struggle over Silesia, with Prussia ultimately retaining control of the province.

1763

February 15 Five days after the Treaty of Paris is signed ending war between France and Britain, Prussia and Austria sign the Treaty of Hubertusburg ending their conflict, leaving Silesia in Prussian hands.

1769

February Austria occupies the city of Lemberg (modern Lvov) and province of Galicia in southern Poland.

1772

August 5 Frederick II of Prussia negotiates the first partition of Poland with Russia and Austria; the latter takes much of the territory south of the Vistula River.

1774

September 14 Austria occupies the former Moldavian province of Bukovina in the Carpathian mountain region of modern-day Poland and Ukraine.

1778

Following a dispute over succession to the Bavarian throne, Austrian troops occupy much of Bavaria over Frederick II of Prussia's protests; the War of Bavarian Succession begins and lasts through 1779.

1779

May 13 The Treaty of Teschen ends the War of Bavarian Succession, with Austria retaining the Inn province of southeastern Bavaria.

1780

November 29 Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, dies, succeeded by her son, the Emperor Joseph II.

1781

October 13 Joseph II grants freedom of religion and the press and ends serfdom in the Austrian Empire.

1784

July 4 Joseph II repeals the constitution of Hungary, solidifying the Austro-Hungarian Empire under one administration and breaking the power of the Hungarian nobles.

1787

January Hapsburg Emperor Joseph II issues radical political reform in Austrian Netherlands (now Belgium), provoking rioting in several cities.

1788

February 9 Joseph II of Austria declares war on the Ottoman Empire; the war lasts through 1791.

1789

July–October Austrian and Russian troops inflict several major defeats on the Ottoman army in Romania and other parts of the Balkans.

July 14 The French Revolution breaks out, unleashing forces that will affect Austria in major ways over the next quarter century.

December 13 Austrian Netherlands declares its independence from Austria as the United States of Belgium.

1790

February 20 Emperor Joseph II dies, succeeded by his brother Leopold II.

July 27 Under the Treaty of Reichenbach, Prussia, Great Britain, and Netherlands agree to allow Austria to seize control of Belgium; Austrian forces seize province of Belgium in December.

1791

War between Austria and the Ottoman Empire ends.

1792

February 7 Austria and Prussia sign an alliance in opposition to the revolutionary government of France.

March 1 Emperor Leopold II dies, succeeded by his son Francis II.

April 20 In response to the Austrian-Prussian alliance of February 7, France declares war on the Austrian Empire.

August Prussian and Austrian troops invade France; they are driven out by October.

November 6 French troops defeat Austrians at the Battle of Jemappes, driving the Austrians from the Netherlands.

1793

Austria forms the first coalition with Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia against revolutionary France.

1795

Austria, Russia, and Prussia sign treaties for another partition of Poland.

August–September Austria and France engage in fighting in the Rhineland.

October 1 France formally annexes Austrian Netherlands.

November 24 French army defeats Austrian troops in the Piedmont region of northern Italy.

1796

Napoleon Bonaparte takes command of French forces in Italy and wins several victories over Austrian forces in northern Italy; Napoleon creates the first French vassal republic in the region, the Cispadene Republic.

1797

October 17 France and Austria sign the Treaty of Campo Formio, recognizing the French republics established in northern Italy; Austria annexes Venice.

1798

Second coalition with Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia against the revolutionary French government.

December 15 French forces capture Rome from occupying Austrian troops.

1799

March 12 Austria declares war on France.

1800

June 14 French forces defeat the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo, consolidating French control over the Italian peninsula.

1801

February 9 Following a series of French victories, Austria and France sign the Treaty of Lunéville,

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virtually bringing the ancient Holy Roman Empire to an end and giving France all territory west of the Rhine.

1804

November Austrian Emperor Francis II makes treaties with Russia to resist further French aggression in Italy and to support a weak Ottoman Empire against French incursions in the Balkans and Middle East.

1805

August 9 Austria, Britain, Russia, and Sweden sign the Treaty of St. Petersburg forming a third coalition against France.

December 2 Napoleon achieves a crushing victory over the Austrian and Russian forces at Austerlitz, in Moravia, leading to a brief French occupation of Vienna.

December 26 Under the Treaty of Pressburg, Austria recognizes French gains in Tyrol, Italy, and southern Germany.

1806

August 6 The thousand-year-old Holy Roman Empire officially comes to an end as Francis II renounces title of Holy Roman Emperor and assumes that of Emperor of the Austrian Empire.

1808

February 28 Austria joins Napoleon's "Continental System" and backs the closure of European ports to British shipping; Austria forms militia for all men aged 19 to 25 who are not serving in the regular army.

1809

February 8 Fearing Napoleonic invasion and dismemberment of Austria, Francis I declares preemptive war against France.

April Austrian army marches into Tyrol and Bavaria but is defeated by the French army; Austrian forces also occupy Warsaw.

May 13 French forces occupy Vienna for a second time, but ten days later are forced to retreat.

October 8 Count Klemens von Metternich becomes foreign minister of Austria; he will be extremely influential in European diplomacy of the next four decades.

October 14 In Treaty of Schönbrunn, Austria cedes Illyrian provinces to France, losing its access to the Adriatic, and cedes Galicia to French ally Russia.

1810

Napoleon marries Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria.

1811

While facing bankruptcy, government of Austria declares a new Civil Code, based on the Napoleonic model, for all of the Austrian Empire except Hungary.

1812

June 24 Austrian contingent joins the Napoleonic invasion of Russia but, facing the Russian winter, is forced to retreat by October.

1813

February 28 With the Alliance of Kalisz, Austria trades sides and joins the fourth general European coalition against France.

August 12 Austria declares war on France; with Russia and Prussia, the alliance puts 500,000 troops into the field.

October 16–19 Napoleon's forces are defeated in the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig, Saxony.

October 26 Austrian army defeats the French at the Battle of Valsarno, regaining a foothold in Italy.

December 21 Austrian troops invade France via Switzerland.

1814

Austrian forces join Russians, Prussians, and others in the alliance against Napoleon in a military campaign in France.

March 31 Paris is occupied by troops from Austria and other anti-French alliance forces.

April 11 Under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon abdicates as emperor of France.

May 30 Treaty of Paris ends Napoleonic Wars; in a related secret treaty, Austria is given possession of Venetia, Sardinia, and Genoa.

November 1 Under leadership of Austrian Foreign Minister Count Metternich, the Congress of Vienna opens to decide the fate of post-Napoleonic Europe.

1815

April 25 In response to Napoleon's return to power, Austria joins Britain, Prussia, and Russia in a fifth coalition against France.

June 9 The Congress of Vienna adjourns after passing the Final Act, which, among other things, officially gives Venetia and Lombardy to Austria.

June 18 Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo; Austrian troops participate in the victory.

July 7 Austrian and Prussian troops reenter Paris and reseal Louis XVIII on the French throne.

September 26 In an alliance to undo most of the civil and political reforms put into place by revolutionary and Napoleonic France throughout Europe, Austria, Prussia, and Russia form the Holy Alliance to uphold the settlement of the Congress of Vienna.

1820

May 15 Under the tutelage of Austrian Foreign Minister Count Metternich, the German Confederation agrees to intervene if any member state becomes too liberal in its policies.

1821

Metternich becomes chancellor of state of Austria; he will serve in this capacity until 1848.

March 23 Austrian army marches into Naples to put down revolt and reinstate conservative monarch Ferdinand IV.

1831

March 3 Austrian troops occupy the Italian provinces of Parma and Modena, which are in the midst of revolution.

1832

January Austrian troops enter the Papal States to down revolt there.

1833

October 15 Austria, Prussia, and Russia agree to support the collapsing Ottoman Empire and to assist one another in the event of war.

1835

March 2 Emperor Francis I of Austria dies, succeeded by his son Ferdinand I.

1838

October 10 Austrian troops evacuate most of the territory of the Papal States, following the crushing of revolt there.

1840

July 15 Austria joins with Britain, Prussia, and Russia in the Quadruple Alliance to uphold the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

1846

March 12 Austrian and Russian troops enter the Polish city of Krakow to put down rebellion there against Austrian rule.

1848

March 3 Revolution breaks out in Budapest, and Hungarian national assembly passes reforms that make Hungary virtually independent of Austria.

March 12–15 Inspired by revolutionary activity in Budapest and Paris, liberal elements rise up against the imperial government in Vienna.

March 17 Rebellion breaks out against Austrian rule in Venetia.

April 8 An Austrian army is defeated as it tries to put down rebellion in Lombardy, Italy.

April 25 Responding to the Viennese uprising, Emperor Ferdinand I issues a constitution offering limited representative government.

May 15 A second uprising in Vienna against the constitution; the rebels see it as not liberal enough. Ferdinand I flees Vienna for Innsbruck two days later.

June Austrian troops march against rebels in Italy, Bohemia, and Croatia.

August 12 Emperor Ferdinand I returns to Vienna, as the defeat of the Italian rebels brings stability to the empire and peace in the streets of Vienna.

October 6 As Austrian troops prepare to crush the Hungarian rebellion, a third revolt breaks out in Vienna; it is crushed on October 31.

October 27 The Austrian prime minister issues the "Kremsier program," which proclaims the indivisibility of the Austrian Empire.

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October 30 Austrian forces defeat Hungarian rebellion.

December 2 Now mentally unstable, Emperor Ferdinand I abdicates in favor of his nephew Franz Joseph I.

1849

March 23 With its victory at Novara, Austria crushes revolutions in northern Italy and ends Italo-Austrian wars.

August 13 With the support of Russian troops, Austria puts down rebellion in Hungary.

1850

Customs union created between Austria and Hungary.

1851

December 31 The liberal constitution of 1849 is abolished, bringing the return of conservative rule to the Austrian Empire.

1854

April 20 Austria and Prussia form a defensive alliance against Russian intrusion in the Balkans.

1855

January 26 Austria joins Britain, France, and Prussia in the Crimean War against Russia.

August 18 Concordat with the pope gives the Catholic Church control over education, censorship, and marriages throughout the Austrian Empire.

1859

April 29 Austrian forces enter the Italian kingdom of Piedmont to stop its efforts to unify the Italian peninsula under its rule.

June In their effort to block Italian unity, Austrian troops are defeated in several decisive battles with Piedmontese forces, backed by France.

1860

March 5 Imperial control is further centralized under the “March Patent” against Hungarian demands for autonomy.

October 20 In an effort to quell unrest among subject peoples of the Austrian Empire, the “October Diploma” is issued granting autonomy to various nationalities.

1861

February 26 The “February Patent” is issued, countering the “March Patent” of 1860, further consolidating centralized imperial administration and bringing Hungary under closer control.

August 21 The Hungarian national assembly is dissolved after it expresses its disapproval of the “February Patent.”

1866

April 8 An offensive alliance between Italy and Prussia is signed, leading to the Austro-Prussian War, also known as the Seven Weeks War.

June 7–August 23 In several major battles, Prussia defeats Austria; in the Peace of Prague, signed by the two powers on August 23, Austria is excluded from Germany and several German states are incorporated into Prussia. Meanwhile, the Italian fleet is destroyed by the Austrian fleet on July 20.

October 3 The Austro-Italian conflict that grew out of the Austro-Prussian War is formally ended with the Treaty of Vienna, with Italy gaining Venice from Austria.

1867

February 17 Hungarian national assembly opens and constitution of 1848 restored; the *ausgleich*, or compromise, is declared, establishing a dual monarchy of Austria and Hungary to govern rest of empire.

December 21 New constitution formalizing dual monarchy is issued.

1873

October 22 Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia sign the *Dreikaiserbund* (Three Emperors’ League), upholding authoritarian government in Europe.

1876

Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia demand Ottoman reforms allowing for religious liberties for Christians in the Ottoman Empire, as Serbians rise up against Turkish rule.

1878

During the Russo-Ottoman War, Austria-Hungary occupies Bosnia-Herzegovina.

1879

October 7 Austria-Hungary and Germany sign an alliance that will be continuously renewed through the end of World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

1881

June The secret Emperor's Alliance among Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia is signed; it will be renewed through the beginning of World War I. Secret Austro-Serbian conventions place Serbia under the protection of Vienna.

1883

October 30 Austria-Hungary signs a secret alliance with Romania promising protection of the latter against Russian threats.

1897

The Socialist Party of the Austro-Hungarian Empire divides into six separate parties, corresponding with the different nationalities of the empire; pan-Germanists, with the support of Germany, protest new language laws in the empire that grant official status to other languages besides German. The monarchy barely survives the dispute.

1903

September 16 Emperor Franz Joseph tries to bring Hungarian regiments into the unified imperial army, setting off Hungarian opposition.

1908

October 6 The Austro-Hungarian Empire issues a decree annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Empire recognizes the annexation in February 1909 in exchange for monetary compensation.

December 2 Revolt breaks out among Czechs against Austro-Hungarian rule.

1910

Constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is issued, calling for presidency rotating among Croats, Muslims, and Serbs; Serbia and Austro-Hungarian Empire sign a commercial treaty to placate Serbian anger over the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

1914

June 28 Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, is assassinated in Sarajevo by a Bosnian Serb nationalist.

July 28–31 In response to the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand, Vienna declares war on Serbia. Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire mobilize troops against each other; Germany issues an ultimatum against Russia.

August 1–3 Armies mobilize across Europe as the alliance among Britain, France, and Russia lines up against the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany, and eventually the Ottoman Empire; World War I begins.

1915

June 3–September 18 As the Russian army begins to collapse, a joint Austro-Hungarian and German offensive takes control of large parts of formerly Russian-controlled Poland.

June 23–July 7 Italian army launches a major offensive against Austro-Hungarian troops in northern Italy; between the summer of 1915 and the summer of 1917, the Italians will launch ten offensives, with major casualties and little territorial gain.

October 6–January 17, 1916 Austro-Hungarian forces, aided by Bulgaria, launch a successful new invasion of Serbia, forcing the Serbs to retreat into Albanian mountains.

1916

September 6 Germany assumes greater control over the collapsing Austro-Hungarian army.

November 21 Emperor Franz Joseph dies and is succeeded by Emperor Charles I.

1917

October 24–December 26 Austro-Hungarian and German forces launch an offensive against the Italian army and gain 10 miles of territory in northern Italy before being stopped by British, French, and Italian forces; casualties are heavy.

1918

October 20 The Austro-Hungarian Empire, along with Germany, accepts peace terms offered by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, calling for imperial troops to return to their own territory.

October 24–November 4 The Austro-Hungarian army collapses in Italy; Vienna asks Italy for armistice.

November 2 Riots break out in Budapest and Vienna.

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November 3 The Allies sign armistice with the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

November 12 Emperor Charles I abdicates; Austria-Hungary declares itself a republic and agrees to the independence of all nationalities within the empire; the Austro-Hungarian Empire comes to an end.

November 16 Hungary declares its independence from Austria.

1919

September 10 Austria signs a treaty with the Allies recognizing the independence of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the future state of Yugoslavia.

1938

March 13 German Reich annexes Austria in a move known as the *Anschluss*.

1945

May 8 Germany surrenders, ending World War II in Europe; Austria will be occupied by victorious Allies and Vienna remains a divided city through 1955.

1945–1948

The occupying Russian army imposes pro-Soviet, Communist regimes in much of the territory of Eastern Europe formerly controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

1956

October Following the rise to power of a liberal anti-Soviet regime in Budapest, Soviet and other Warsaw Pact armies invade Hungary and crush the rebellion.

1989

In largely peaceful revolutions across Eastern Europe, Communist regimes in former Austro-Hungarian lands are overthrown.

1991–

Following declarations of independence by various Yugoslavian national states, war breaks out in the Balkans, first, briefly, in Slovenia, then, in turn, in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Kosovo province of Serbia, and, finally, Macedonia. Various U.S.- and NATO-brokered peace treaties, as well as a U.S.- and NATO-led war against Serbia, brings an uneasy peace to the region.

BELGIAN EMPIRE

JAMES CIMENT

1830

November Following several months of armed uprising against their Dutch masters, the Belgians declare their independence from the United Netherlands. The Belgian National Congress then votes for a monarchy but excludes the House of Orange, the Dutch royal family, from consideration as a source of the monarchy.

1831

June 4 The Belgian Congress declares Leopold of Saxe-Coburg King Leopold I of Belgium.

1835

April 9 Léopold-Louis-Philippe-Marie-Victor or, in Dutch, Leopold Lodewijk Filips Maria Victor, the future King Leopold II, is born to King Leopold I and Marie-Louise of Orléans.

1873

July 15 George Edmond Pierre Achille Morel-de-Ville, better known as E. D. Morel, is born in Paris. He will later lead the international outcry against brutality in

the Congo, forcing Leopold II to cede the territory to the Belgian government.

1876

Leopold II organizes the International African Association (IAA). Ostensibly, the group is created to encourage exploration of Africa but is in fact a front organization for Leopold's ambitions to establish a private realm of his own in central Africa. Leopold assumes the presidency of the IAA from 1876 to 1880.

1878

Leopold II forms the Comité d'Études pour le Haut Congo, or Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo, to bring together entrepreneurs to finance expeditions by explorers to the region. While appearing at the time to be a selfless scientific enterprise, the committee is, like the International African Association, an organization formed to serve as a cover for Leopold's efforts to conquer wide swathes of central Africa.

Henry Morton Stanley, an American journalist and explorer, who had earlier "discovered" explorer David

Livingstone at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, is hired by the committee and Leopold to explore the Congo River and open up the region for trade.

1879

Stanley leaves for the Congo in January and arrives at Vivi on the Lower Congo River in August. There he sets up his base for road building and the establishment of trading posts.

1881

Stanley reaches Stanley Pool (now Malebo Pool), several hundred miles upriver from the Atlantic Ocean. He negotiates a treaty with the king of Ngaliema on the southern bank of the river. The road from Vivi to Stanley Pool is completed. Stanley returns to Europe.

1882

The International African Association is dissolved and replaced by the International Association of the Congo.

1882–1884

Stanley returns to the Congo and sails up the Congo River as far as Stanleyville (now Kisangani, Congo). In the course of this journey, he signs some 450 treaties with local chieftains, granting trading and other rights to Leopold II and the International African Association/International Association of the Congo. Britain, Germany, and the United States recognize Leopold and the association's rights to economically exploit and open up for trade the Congo River basin.

1884

November 15 Thirteen European nations gather in Berlin to settle disputed claims to colonies in Africa and to “ensure the peaceful exploitation” of the continent. Most historians agree that the Berlin Conference has been triggered by Leopold II's efforts to establish a private colony of his own in the Congo River basin of central Africa. During the conference, the various powers in attendance agree to divide up the region among France, Portugal, and the Belgian monarch, who gets the lion's share of the territory. The signatories recognize Leopold and his International Association of the Congo as the sovereign power in much of the Congo River basin. This territory will eventually form the so-called Congo Free State, literally owned and controlled personally by Leopold II.

1885

Leopold II establishes the Force Publique (FP), a corps of Congolese troops led by European officers and given

the duty of maintaining order in the territory and making sure that all chieftains and villages obey tax and labor recruitment laws. The FP quickly gains a reputation for repression and brutality.

February 5 The Congo Free State is established as a possession of King Leopold II and the International Association of the Congo.

February 26 The General Act of Berlin is signed by the attendees of the Berlin Conference. Among other things, the act calls for an end to slavery in the region, free trade and navigation on the region's rivers, neutrality in all African territorial conflicts, and the improvement in the condition of the region's indigenous peoples.

April The Belgian parliament passes a resolution allowing Leopold II to be sovereign of two independent states, Belgium and the Congo Free State.

1887–1889

With revenues from ivory and palm oil falling below expectations, expenditures on developing the Congo Free State outpacing revenues by ten-to-one, Leopold II is forced to spend several hundred thousand dollars a year of his own royal income to cover the difference. In 1889, a general Belgian lottery is launched to cover the expenses of the Congo Free State.

1889–1898

Leopold II successfully raises international capital to begin construction on a railroad from Matadi, opposite Vivi on the Atlantic Coast, to Leopoldville on Stanley Pool (now Kinshasa on Malebo Pool). Over the next nine years, thousands of Africans will be put to work constructing the railroad; at times, as many as 150 per month will die in the effort.

1890

Bankruptcy of the Congo Free State is averted only after the Belgian government issues it a loan of roughly \$5 million dollars. The Congo Free State exports approximately 100 tons of rubber gathered from trees in the wild.

1890

May 24 Under the Mackinnon Treaty, signed by Leopold II and the British East Africa Company, the latter accepts Leopold's control of the territory to the west of the Upper Nile (modern northeastern Congo). In exchange, Leopold II agrees to give up his claims to

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the southern shore of Lake Tanganyika, in modern Zambia.

1891

April 15 Leopold II founds the Katanga Company to mine copper deposits in the southwestern portions of the Congo Free State.

1892

The Anglo-Belgian India-Rubber Company (ABIR) is chartered in Antwerp. Eventually, ABIR would be granted a concession to exploit all forest products, including rubber, in a territory equal to roughly four times the size of Belgium, or 5 percent of the Congo Free State.

November 22 A Belgian force in the Congo Free State crushes a rebellion by Arab slaveholders angry at European suppression of their trade.

1894

August 14 Bowing to pressure from the French government, Leopold II renounces claims to certain territories on the Upper Nile.

1896

Using ever more forced African labor, the Congo Free State exports 1,300 tons of rubber.

1898

With the completion of the railroad from Matadi to Stanleyville (now Kisangani), the export of rubber rises to 2,000 tons.

1899

Joseph Conrad, a Polish-born British writer, finishes his novella *Heart of Darkness*. Based loosely on the Congo and the brutalities of the rubber trade, it documents the corrupting effect of colonialism and the tropical environment on European officials sent to govern Africa.

1900

E. D. Morel, an African-based clerk for a Liverpool-based trading company and a freelance journalist for the British press, publishes a series of articles entitled "The Congo Scandal." In these articles, Morel exposes the brutal practices whereby Africans are forced, with virtually no compensation and under threat of violence, to collect rubber for various companies in the Congo Free State.

1901

Rubber exports from the Congo Free State reach 6,000 tons. The Fondation de la Couronne is put in charge of the territory's finances and is granted a concession to exploit the forest products in roughly one-tenth of the territory of the Congo Free State.

1903

The Anglo-Belgian India-Rubber Company (ABIR) exports more than 1,000 tons of natural rubber from its concession. This will be the peak year of exports from the concession. By 1906, it is estimated that virtually all natural rubber sources in the concession have been used up. As natural rubber sources diminish, villagers, conscripted forcibly to tap the rubber trees, cannot make their quotas. In response, the Force Publique commits countless atrocities against Africans who fail to meet the legally-established quotas, including torture, murder, and the cutting off of limbs.

Morel founds a newspaper, the *West African Mail*, to promote British commerce in Africa. He believes that the British are the only Europeans responsible enough to conduct trade in Africa without unduly exploiting the indigenous peoples.

Morel founds the Congo Reform Association to campaign against atrocities in the Congo by the Force Publique. The organization raises public concern, forcing the British Foreign Office to send Roger Casement, the British consul in the Congo, on a fact-finding expedition. The report that emerges from this expedition documents systematic violence against Africans in the rubber trade. In one province cited by Casement, the population had been reduced from 40,000 to 1,000 since the rubber trade began. In another province, Casement says 6,000 people had been killed or mutilated in the preceding six months. The accusations are firmly denied by Leopold II.

1905–1908

Reports by Morel and Casement, along with photographs taken in the region showing piles of corpses and mutilated victims, raise a public outcry in both Europe and the United States, with numerous international intellectual and political figures becoming involved. At Morel's request, Mark Twain writes on the subject, publishing his satirical essay, "King Leopold's Soliloquy," in the prestigious American literary magazine *North American Review*.

1908

August 20 Bowing to international outrage and pressure from governments in Europe and elsewhere, Leopold II agrees to surrender sovereignty over the Congo Free State and turn the territory over to the Belgian government.

September 9 A reluctant Belgian parliament agrees to take over administration of the territories making up the Congo Free State.

November 14 The name of the Congo Free State is officially changed to the Belgian Congo.

1909

December 17 Leopold II dies and is succeeded by his son, Albert I, as king of Belgium.

1910

A major building campaign commences in the Belgian Congo that will lay track for most of the colony's railroad over the next fifteen years.

1911

The Belgian government conducts a census of the colony and reports a population of 8.5 million inhabitants. It is estimated that this represents a fall from 20 million inhabitants estimated to have lived in the territory before the creation of the Congo Free State in 1885. Most of the deaths are attributed to starvation, disease, and atrocities caused by the rubber trade and other colonial exploitation policies.

1914

August World War I breaks out in Europe; neutral Belgium is overrun by German troops and will largely remain occupied by German forces until the end of the war in November 1918. In the Belgian Congo, African troops will be recruited to fight in various African campaigns against German-held colonies.

1916

June The Force Publique, the African-manned, European-officered military and police force of the Belgian Congo, marches into Burundi and Rwanda and seizes the territories, which had been occupied by Germany since 1898 and 1899 respectively.

1917

The Belgians and the Force Publique launch a brutal pacification campaign in Burundi against those inhabitants who refuse to recognize the Belgian-

backed, newly appointed chieftain Mwami Mwambutsa, who is just five years old upon taking the throne.

Belgian administrators institute the first head tax in Burundi and Rwanda.

Outbreaks of smallpox and meningitis kill thousands in Rwanda, the results of a famine that will persist through 1919.

1918

In Rwanda, Hutus, the majority ethnic group in Burundi and Rwanda, long ruled by the minority Tutsi, refuse to pay obeisance to the new Belgian rulers and set up roadblocks at Buhama and Bushiri to prevent the passage of Tutsi and Belgians. With Belgian support, King Musinga sends a punitive expedition to the area and brings it under control after several weeks of fighting.

A plebiscite is held in Burundi to give the people a choice of becoming Belgian or British subjects. Catholic missions in the territory successfully pressure their congregations to vote for the Belgians.

1919

May 30 The Orts-Milner Convention is signed, officially granting Belgium the right to run the former German colonies of Burundi and Rwanda.

June 28 The German delegation signs the Treaty of Versailles; one of the treaty's provisions is an official German renunciation of its claims on colonies in Africa, including Burundi and Rwanda.

August 21 The Allied Supreme Council in Europe grants Belgium a mandate over Burundi and Rwanda, under Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant.

1921

Rebels against the rule of the Mwami Mwambutsa in Burundi end their opposition to the Belgian-backed chieftain.

Thousands die in Rwanda from famine in Gisaka and Gatsibo territory.

March 15 The British and Belgians sign the Belbase concessions, granting free transit to Belgians in Burundi and Rwanda through British-controlled

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Tanganyika (modern Tanzania) to ports on the Indian Ocean.

1922

July 20 The League of Nations Council officially ratifies the decision of the Allied Supreme Council granting a Belgian mandate over Burundi and Rwanda.

August 21 Burundi and Rwanda are administratively tied to the Belgian Congo, though the territories retain separate judiciaries and budgets, as well as special lawmaking powers.

1922–1929

As the European and world economies begin to revive after World War I, exports of raw materials from the Congo expand, making fortunes for Belgian colonial merchants; few of the benefits of this trade filter down to the Congolese. The boom in exports will last until the collapse of the world economy during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

1923

May 23 Belgian authorities in Burundi and Rwanda officially abolish domestic slavery, freeing all slaves held by Tutsi nobles and others.

1924–1925

Drought and the colonial policy of growing commercial and food crops for export leads to a massive famine in much of Rwanda.

1927

Almost all state-run schools in the Belgian Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda are turned over to state-subsidized Catholic missionaries.

The Hutu labor *corvée*, or forced labor requirement, due to Tutsi notables is reduced by Belgian administrators from two days in five to one day in seven in Rwanda.

Belgians launch a coffee-growing campaign in Burundi and Rwanda.

March–April A rebellion against King Musinga is launched by Hutus from Uganda by supporters of Musinga's half-brother Dungutsi, who many believe to be the legitimate ruler of Rwanda. The Hutu rebels burn Tutsi farms and steal their cattle. Colonial forces put an end to the rebellion. Tutsis retaliate by burning Hutu granaries.

1929–1933

Belgium inaugurates a territorial reorganization of chiefdoms in Burundi and Rwanda, eliminating virtually all Hutu chiefs and subchiefs. The power to condemn or sentence Africans to detention is invested in African tribunals, except where violations involve Europeans.

1930

Commercial cotton growing begins in Rwanda.

1931

Compulsory coffee growing begins in Rwanda. Each chieftaincy is required to plant 1,000 trees, subchieftains 250 trees, and individual farmers 54 trees.

1934

A major rebellion by Hutus in northwest Burundi is crushed by a joint Tutsi-Belgian force.

1936

The League of Nations expresses concern that Africans are being taxed excessively in Belgian colonial possessions, while European *colons* have escaped higher tax impositions.

1939

Five years of food shortages commence in Burundi.

1940

May German forces conquer Belgium in a five-day campaign; small numbers of African forces in Belgium's colonies will see service on the side of the Allies in Europe in World War II. War shortages raise prices for crops and minerals produced in Belgium's African colonies, creating prosperity for European settlers and putting more money in the pockets of those Africans raising crops for export.

1943–1944

War-induced shortages trigger famine in many parts of Burundi and Rwanda; starvation also leads to the outbreak of smallpox in Rwanda.

1945–1955

The growth of an educated class of African *évolués* emerges in the Belgian Congo; most work in the white-collar sector as low-level clerks. While Belgium makes all political organizing by Africans illegal in the colony, the *évolués* form associations amongst themselves. At first, these associations demand equality in the colony

between Africans and Europeans and more economic opportunities for Africans; gradually, many begin to push for more political autonomy. The *évolués* and their organizations will form the kernel of the independence movement in the Congo by the end of the 1950s.

1946

December 13 The United Nations officially votes to end Belgium's League of Nations mandate over Burundi and Rwanda and establishes a Belgian trusteeship over the territories.

1948

July–August The first United Nations Trusteeship Visiting Mission tours Burundi and Rwanda.

1951

The first local elections that allow African voting are organized in Burundi by the Belgians.

June In deference to UN Trusteeship missions, Belgium outlaws all corporal punishment inflicted by indigenous tribunals in Rwanda.

1952

July 14 A reorganization of the administration of Burundi and Rwanda is announced by the Belgians, establishing a mixture of electoral and hereditary positions for local governance.

1953

Indirect elections for chieftdom and subchieftdom councils are held in Burundi and Rwanda; Hutus end up being greatly underrepresented, holding just 25 percent of elected positions in Rwanda while they constitute nearly 90 percent of the population.

1954

State schools are established in Belgium's African colonies, ending the monopoly on education held by the Catholic Church since 1927.

1955

March Traditional leaders from Burundi and Rwanda request legal status for the Progressive Democratic Movement, a political association. The request is denied by the Belgian authorities.

1957

Elections for local urban districts and colonial councils are permitted by the Belgian authorities, who also

announce that formal independence for the Congo colony is at least thirty years off.

Hutu leader Joseph Habyarymana Gitera organizes the Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse (Association for the Social Advancement of the Masses—APROSOMA), attacking Belgian rule and Tutsi privilege in Rwanda.

Nine Hutu intellectuals issue the Bahutu Manifesto criticizing the Tutsi monopoly over social, economic, and political institutions in Rwanda.

1958

Belgian administrators abolish the compulsory cultivation of food crops and set up various agricultural cooperatives in Burundi and Rwanda.

Burundi and Rwanda are separated from the administration in the Belgian Congo.

December Patrice Lumumba and other Congolese nationalist leaders attend the All-African People's Conference in Ghana, the first sub-Saharan African colony to achieve independence from European colonizers. Lumumba and his followers return to the Belgian Congo, demanding independence for the territory.

1959

January 3 At a rally in the Belgian Congo capital of Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), Lumumba demands independence. Police attacks on the rally lead to two weeks of rioting.

September Burundian nationalists form the Union Nationale Africaine du Ruanda-Urundi (National African Union of Rwanda-Burundi—UNARU), the twin colonies' first political party, though it is not officially registered as such until January 7, 1960.

November 3–10 A major Hutu revolt against Tutsi hegemony breaks out in Rwanda; border controls are strengthened to prevent the spread of the revolt to Burundi; all political meetings are banned in Burundi. On November 10, the Belgian government announces a declaration on political reforms for Burundi, which includes making the Tutsi Mwami, or supreme chieftain, of Burundi constitutional monarch.

December Belgians hold local elections in the Congo, but these are boycotted by nationalists. With unrest

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growing, Belgium agrees to hold a Round Table Conference on the Belgian Congo in Brussels.

December 25 Belgian authorities announce a program to grant progressively greater autonomy for Rwanda.

1960

January 20 Forty-five delegates from various Congolese parties attend the Round Table Conference in Brussels; Belgium reluctantly agrees to set June 30 as the date for independence.

January–April About 22,000 Tutsis are displaced by violence in Rwanda.

June–July Rwanda holds its first local elections amid widespread violence. The Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation des Bahutu (Party of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Hutu—Parmehutu) wins an overwhelming victory.

June 25 National elections are held in the Belgian Congo for the first postindependence government, but the results give no party a mandate for rule; a compromise coalition government is formed with Joseph Kasavubu as president and Lumumba as prime minister.

June 30 Congo is granted formal independence from Belgium.

July 4 The Force Publique mutinies for higher pay; Belgian paratroopers land in the country to restore order and evacuate foreigners. Fearing Belgian reoccupation, the new Congolese government asks for military and administrative assistance from the United Nations.

July 11 Congo's Katanga province secedes under the leadership of Moïse Tshombé, followed by the province of South Kasai.

September 5 Patrice Lumumba is dismissed as prime minister and is later captured by forces loyal to Kasavubu, who deliver him to Tshombé's forces.

November 15–December 8 Communal elections are held in Burundi, giving Hutus control of roughly 60 percent of the territory's communes.

December 20 The UN General Assembly issues a resolution calling for the eventual independence of Burundi and Rwanda.

1961

January 17 Nationalist Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba is murdered by followers of Katanga secession leader Moïse Tshombé, allegedly with the help of Belgian paratroopers. It is alleged later that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was also involved, as it feared that Lumumba was a pro-Soviet communist.

January 28 An official UN commission arrives in Burundi to investigate the situation there and in Rwanda; on the same day, local officials in Gitarama declare Rwanda a republic.

February 1 The Belgian parliament sanctions the autonomous powers of Gitarama republic in Rwanda.

September 18 UN-monitored national elections are held in Burundi; Hutu candidates capture 30 of 64 seats in the national assembly.

October 13 Newly elected Burundian Prime Minister Prince Rwagasore is assassinated by a Greek national; Ganwa André Muhirwa is appointed in his place.

1962

January 18 A Burundian delegation arrives at UN headquarters in New York to demand independence.

February–March Tutsi militia from Uganda kill a number of Hutu officials in Rwanda; Hutus respond by massacring 1,000 to 2,000 Tutsis.

July 1 Burundi and Rwanda win their official independence from Belgium; Hutu nationalist Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation des Bahutu (Party of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Hutu—Parmehutu) takes control of government in Rwanda with Grégoire Kayibanda as prime minister; the traditionalist Unité et Progrès National (National Unity and Progress Party—UPRONA) takes power in Burundi.

1965

November 24 Army Chief-of-Staff Joseph Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) leads troops in a successful coup against the government of President Joseph Kasavubu.

1971

October 27 As part of his *authenticité* campaign, Mobutu changes the official name of the Congo to Zaire.

1994

April–July Following the deaths of Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira and Rwandan Juvénal Habyarimana in a suspicious plane crash at the airport in the Rwandan capital of Kigali, Hutu militia—backed by tens of thousands of Hutu citizens—launch a genocidal attack on the Tutsi people of Rwanda, killing an estimated 750,000 Tutsi and their Hutu spouses and sympathizers; the toll represents over 80 percent of the country's Tutsi population. Dozens of Belgian troops sent in earlier to monitor the tensions in the country are also killed, scaring Brussels out of sending more troops to stop the bloodshed. In June, France intervenes, largely on the side of the Hutu; the massacre largely comes to an end with the successful invasion of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front army from Uganda.

1997

Anti-Mobutu leader Laurent Kabila launches a victorious cross-country sweep and captures the capital, Kinshasa; the ailing dictator Mobutu goes into

exile. Kabila renames the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

September 7 Mobutu Sese Seko dies of cancer in his exile in Rabat, Morocco.

1997

UN Security Council establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania, to try Hutu leaders for their role in the 1994 genocide.

1998–

Faced with threats from Hutu rebels based in eastern Congo, Rwanda launches an invasion of the Congo, setting off a multisided conflict in which several African nations send troops; the UN unsuccessfully attempts on several occasions to negotiate a truce.

2001

January 16 Laurent Kabila is assassinated by his own bodyguard at his personal residence in Kinshasa; his son Joseph Kabila is sworn in as president of the Congo three days later.

BRITISH EMPIRE

JOHN LALLA

1066

A Norman army under William (the Conqueror) defeats the English at the Battle of Hastings and secures southern and eastern England under the Norman yoke. A system of feudal contracts centralizes Norman authority, which is administered through “great” and “small” councils under appointed chancellors. The introduction of Norman law, administrative organization, and military prowess facilitates territorial expansion and the eventual subjugation of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

1072

Scottish king Malcolm Canmore swears homage to William the Conqueror (1072) and later to William Rufus (1091).

1171

English king Henry II invades Ireland, subjugating the indigenous population and asserting his authority over Norman colonies that had recently been established under Richard of Clare (earl of Pembroke). The resulting Synod of Cashel acknowledges Henry's sovereignty over Ireland.

1185

John Lackland, son of Henry II, installs William Marshal (earl of Pembroke) as the central Anglo-Norman authority in Ireland. Marshal's marriage to the daughter of Richard of Clare secures his title and associated credibility in Ireland.

1215

King John and the English barons seal the Magna Carta (great charter). Largely based on feudal convention, the charter codifies restrictions on English Crown authority and further defines the responsibilities of the “great council” (later, Parliament).

1216–1272

English king Henry III expands and consolidates Anglo-Norman possessions and authority in Ireland. Ireland's population is divided according to race: while colonists born of Anglo-Norman descent enjoy the liberties of English law, the Irish are subjugated without legal recourse. Bridges and fortifications are constructed as colonial townships begin to prosper.

1278–1305

Scottish king Alexander III continues homage to the English Crown but is left with no heir. Competition ensues between claimants Robert Bruce and John Baliol. Called upon to arbitrate, English king Edward awards the crown to Baliol (1292), who then betrays Edward and splits Scotland's loyalties by establishing an alliance with France (1295). Edward invades Scotland and reestablishes English supremacy (1304), but the incompetence of his son, Edward II, turns the tide in favor of the Scots (1311).

1283

The Statute of Wales establishes the full dominion of the English crown. After Llewelyn (prince of Wales) refuses homage (1276) and leads a rebellion against English domination (1282), Edward marches into Wales, defeats and executes Llewelyn, and completes the subjugation of the Welsh (1284). Edward's fourth son, Edward (later, Edward II), receives the title Prince of Wales, henceforth reserved for the heir to the English Crown.

1311–1356

Scottish king Robert Bruce invades England (1311), besieges Stirling (1314), and defeats the English at the Battle of Bannockburn (1314). Although the resulting Treaty of Northampton recognizes Bruce's sovereignty over Scotland (1323), his son's incompetent rule leads to an overthrow as English-supported Edward Baliol is crowned king but later forced to capitulate to Edward III, king of England (1356).

1366

The Statute of Kilkenny introduces measures in Ireland to ensure the racial purity and cultural supremacy of the English. The statute forbids Anglo-Irish marriages, requires the Irish to use the English language, and forbids the Irish from holding church offices.

1371

Robert II, grandson of Robert Bruce, accedes to the Scottish throne, establishing a Stuart dynasty that will reign nearly three centuries.

1449

Richard of York becomes English viceroy of Ireland. Although he remains in the country only a single year, Richard earns the respect of colonists and native Irish alike and grants Ireland independence on his return to England. Ireland's good fortune proves

short-lived, however, as Edward IV revokes independence and reinstates suppressive policies toward the island.

1494

Poyning's Law (Statute of Drogheda) subjects the Irish Parliament to the authority of the English king and council. Enacted as a measure to undermine the Fitzgerald earls of Kildare and prevent Yorkist pretenders from securing support in Ireland, the Irish Parliament at Drogheda is compelled to pass the legislation by newly installed English governor Sir Edward Poyning's. After Poyning's administration proves ineffective and expensive to maintain, Henry VII recalls Poyning's and restores Kildare as viceroy.

1542

Henry VIII becomes king of Ireland in order to reduce papal authority and prevent Catholic support in the country from undermining his rule.

1555

English merchants form the Muscovy Company to capitalize on contacts established by Richard Chancellor during his search for a northeast passage to Asia (1553–1554). The company concentrates its trade in cloth and munitions from England.

1585–1591

A settlement is founded on Roanoke Island, off the coast of present-day North Carolina. Financed by Sir Walter Raleigh and named after Queen Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen," Virginia is the first English settlement in North America. Troubled by a lack of supplies, Roanoke is evacuated by Sir Francis Drake in 1586. A second colonization is attempted under John White in 1587; however, White finds the settlement deserted upon his delayed return from a resupply voyage to England in 1591. The precise fate of the "lost colony" remains a mystery.

1592

British explorer Captain John Davis claims discovery of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), off the coast of present-day Argentina.

The Levant Company is formed from an amalgamation of the Turkey Company and the Venice Company. Chartered with a monopoly on trade in the Levant, or eastern Mediterranean coast, the company concentrates its efforts on cloth from England and

currants, oils, wine, silk, and cotton from the Levant. Although its monopoly is broken by the East India Company, the Levant Company continues to trade until 1821.

1600

The English East India Company (EIC) is established. A chartered joint stock venture of London merchants, the EIC will build a trading empire first centered on the Spice Islands and then on India. The company's strategic approach is highly territorial, seeking total domination through colonization and annexation. Fielding indigenous armies led by English officers, the EIC eventually serves as Britain's instrument of colonial government throughout South Asia.

1603

John Mildenhall, an officer of the English East India Company, arrives at Agra in India. Although Mildenhall's initial efforts are unsuccessful, he eventually obtains a trade concession for the company (1608).

1605

In search of suitable sites for settlement, English explorer George Weymouth reconnoiters Monhegan and the St. George River in present-day Maine. James Rosier's narrative of the expedition, *A True Relation of the Voyage of Captain George Weymouth* (1605), provides the first English description of the region.

1606

The Plymouth Company unsuccessfully attempts to found two colonies on the Kennebec River in present-day Massachusetts.

London merchants form the chartered London Company to administer the English colonization of North America between 34° and 41° north latitude. The company later receives additional charters, including the right to appoint its own governmental officers over Bermuda (1612).

1607

The Virginia Company founds Jamestown colony on the James River—the first permanent English colony in North America. While maintenance of the colony initially proves difficult due to malaria, typhoid, and clashes with the Native American population, English Captain John Smith's commanding efforts achieve eventual success.

1609

The Virginia Company settles Bermuda, which is administered by the first colonial parliament in the New World. The island's economy is based on tobacco production. As European diseases decimate the Amerindian population, causing labor shortages, plantations come to rely on African slaves as their primary labor force. Slavery will remain a hotly defended institution until 1834.

1612

Cultivation of tobacco begins in Virginia. Tobacco quickly becomes the colony's staple crop and economic cornerstone, supported by a strict class system and African slave labor.

1614

Captain John Smith, a leading member of the Virginia colony, charts the New England coast in an attempt to facilitate colonization by the Plymouth Company. In appreciation, the company names Smith Admiral of New England.

1615

British traders gain access to the pepper trade in Jambi (Sumatra). Britain withdraws from the region, however, when Dutch privateers massacre English representatives at Amboina.

1619

English governor Sir Thomas Yeardley arrives in Virginia, and the first colonial assembly in North America is formed. The later arrival of governor Sir Francis Wyatt (1621) prompts an expansion of the assembly and the formation of a council of state.

1620

Pilgrims arrive at Cape Cod in present-day Massachusetts. An English separatist group, the Pilgrims, migrates from England in search of religious freedom and self-government. Having obtained their patent from the London Company with John Carver as their governor, the Pilgrims set sail on the *Mayflower* and reach Cape Cod. Finding themselves outside of the company's jurisdiction, the Pilgrims draft the Mayflower Compact, forming an independent political body and colonial settlement at Plymouth.

1622

Chesapeake Indians attack the English settlements in Virginia; 347 settlers (one-third of the white

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population) are killed. The colonists destroy Indian food supplies in retaliation.

1623

English settlements are founded in the name of the Council for New England at Dover (New Hampshire), and at Casco Bay and Saco Bay (Maine).

1624

Seeking to placate Spanish concerns over growing English influence in the region, King James I (James VI of Scotland) revokes the Virginia Company's charter and Virginia becomes a Crown Colony. James also disapproves of the colony's popular government and the growing of tobacco.

1625–1649

During Charles I's eleven-year tyranny (1629–1640), his increasing reliance on French Catholics and blatant disregard for the constitution spark Parliament's intervention and the English Civil War (1642–1649). Parliamentary forces under Oliver Cromwell defeat Charles's army of loyalists and Charles is publicly executed in London (1649). The regicide inaugurates an era of strict puritan rule under Cromwell and the Commonwealth (1649–1960).

1625–1628

English colonists settle St. Kitts and Nevis. Discovered and named by Genoese explorer Christopher Columbus as St. Christopher, St. Kitts is the first successful English colony in the Caribbean. By 1660, St. Kitts and Nevis follow the example set by Barbados as sugar production becomes the islands' staple crop.

1627

Charles I grants a royal charter to the Barbados Company. Although the uninhabited island appears suitable for tobacco production, attempts at tobacco and cotton fail and the colony turns to the production of sugar, hoping to capitalize on Brazil's recent shortfall in sugar production (1643). As the cultivation of sugar requires a substantial effort, and as the limited numbers of colonists and indentured servants prove inadequate, planters turn to the importation of African slaves and the adoption of the Spanish colonial model: a strict class system supported by forced labor. Barbados becomes a British Crown Colony in 1652. By 1670, three-quarters of the island's population of 70,000 are African slaves.

1628–1629

John Endicott and over fifty colonists acting under a patent from the Council for New England found a settlement at Salem (Massachusetts). Endicott and his settlement receive a royal charter (1629) as the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. In June 1629, five ships arrive from England with 400 colonists, and John Winthrop is named governor.

1630–1642

As the Great Migration to Massachusetts Bay begins, over 1,000 colonists arrive to form the settlements of Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury, Mystic, and Lynn. By 1642, over 16,000 souls have settled in the colony.

1632

A holder of significant grants in Newfoundland—and a Roman Catholic—George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) founds Maryland as a proprietary colony. The grant is carved out of the Virginia colony, prompting colonial objections on legal and religious grounds. Maryland erupts in Puritan uprisings in the 1650s and revolution in 1689, leading British authorities to rescind its grant and place the colony under direct Crown governance.

Antigua, Barbuda, and Montserrat are settled. Following the success of Barbados, the colonies will thrive on sugar production facilitated by slave labor.

1633

Possessing no resistance to European diseases, hundreds of Native Americans die during a smallpox epidemic surrounding the Massachusetts Bay colony. Subsequent epidemics will kill tens of thousands.

1635

The Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton found the theocratic colony of New Haven (Connecticut).

1636

Roger Williams founds Providence (Rhode Island). A Salem minister who had emigrated to Massachusetts in 1631, Williams disagrees with John Cotton and Governor John Winthrop by questioning their right to seize Native American land. He founds Providence according to democratic guidelines, with a separation of church and state. Williams establishes good relations with the Native American population and founds the Baptist Church. A parliamentary charter is granted for Rhode Island (originally, the island of Aquidneck) in

1644, consolidating the island's varied settlements into a single colony.

1637

Massachusetts Puritans attack a Pequot village, massacring some 500 Native Americans—men, women, and children.

Puritans of Massachusetts found Harvard College at Cambridge as a Puritan seminary.

1638

Anne Hutchinson and her followers found Portsmouth (Rhode Island) after they are banished from Massachusetts. Concentrating on the importance of direct communication with God, Hutchinson's prayer meetings had caused fears among officials that her teachings could undermine ministerial authority.

1643

Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay colonies form the New England Confederation as a mutual defense agreement against French encroachments and Native American uprisings.

1647

Authorities begin a campaign of persecution against suspected witches throughout New England. The victims, totaling fourteen people over the next fifteen years, are primarily women.

1648–1649

Epidemics of dysentery, smallpox, and plague erupt in Ireland.

1649–1660

English Commonwealth initiates strict colonial policies and increased shipping levies. Characterized by strict parliamentary rule and the iron hand of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate (1653–1658), England witnesses a period of ruthless Puritan administration, imperial expansion in Ireland and Scotland (1649–1651), and a series of legislative acts designed to relieve national deficits resulting from the English Civil War (1642–1649).

1649

Cromwell invades Ireland to suppress Catholics and loyalists who had supported Charles I during the Civil War. After installing himself as governor-general in Dublin, Cromwell proceeds to Drogheda and Wexford,

where he massacres all Irish Catholic troops and townspeople he can find.

1651

Parliament passes the Navigation Act of 1651. Applying mercantilist principles to colonial trade policies, the act requires that products entering England be carried on English ships or ships of the country from which the products originate. While the act is partially designed to crush Dutch trade, its strict enforcement against smugglers and colonial manufacturers prompts resentment in North America and helps spark the Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652–1664, 1665–1667, 1672–1674).

1652–1655

Parliament issues Orders of Transportation in Ireland, requiring deportation to Barbados of vagabonds, paupers, those considered dangerous to the state, and Catholic priests who refuse domestic exile. The sentence is near-certain death by forced labor on large-scale sugar plantations.

1655

British expedition under William Penn and Robert Venables captures Jamaica and the Cayman Islands from the Spanish. Already populated by some 15,000 Maroons (escaped slaves), Jamaica soon supports the largest slave market in the Americas.

1652

Conflict between Protestants and Catholics prompts Parliament's direct control of Maryland and suspension of the colony's governor.

1653

March 2 Parliament eliminates the Irish Parliament, replacing the council with thirty representatives to the House of Commons.

April 27 Cromwell forces the capitulation of Philip O'Reilly at Cloghoughton, completing the English conquest of Ireland.

July 2 The Act of Settlement requires Irish forfeitures of land and resettlement in Clare and Connacht. The measure ensures the subjugation of Irish Catholics by creating a large number of Protestant landlords overseeing Catholic tenants. Parliament ends the practice of forfeitures in 1657 with passage of the Act for the Attainder of the Rebels.

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1659

Virginia proclaims loyalty to Charles II as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Sir William Berkeley is reinstated as governor of the colony.

1660–1685

Free elections in Britain restore Charles II. Although disliked by many for his Catholic leanings, Charles wins support by increasing Britain's overseas possessions. He will encourage proprietary colonial investment, further implement mercantilist policy, wage a series of commercially motivated wars against the Dutch, and support the arts and sciences through Britain's Royal Society.

1660

Virginia codifies the institutional legalities of slavery, supporting the colony's growing dependency on forced labor provided by the African slave trade. Declaring that baptism does not necessitate freedom, Virginia law will determine an individual's status as free or enslaved through matrilineal identification.

The Navigation Act of 1660 establishes economic union between England and Ireland, allowing goods to be shipped from Ireland directly to the colonies. Ireland's inexpensive labor force produced profitable commodities in which many wealthy Englishmen owned an interest.

1661

Edward D'Oyley becomes English captain-general and governor-in-chief of Jamaica. Under D'Oyley, the island begins its long tradition as a haven for buccaneers who prey on Spanish ships sailing in and out of Port Royal. The colonial authorities largely ignore the buccaneers because their activities distract the Spanish at a time when the English are in no position to protect the West Indies.

1662

The Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is adopted. The first constitution adopted in colonial America, the charter will serve Rhode Island until 1842.

The Act of Settlement declares land in Ireland confiscated by Cromwell to be Crown property.

1663

Parliament passes the Staple Act of 1663. Adding to the Navigation Act of 1651, the Staple Act requires that

European goods destined for the colonies must first pass through England. The measure is designed to guarantee colonial dependency on English goods and further crush Dutch trade by preventing direct sales to colonial buyers.

King Charles II grants Carolina to a group of eight investors as a chartered proprietary colony. As the northern and southern regions of the colony develop separately, tensions between the two result in formal division in 1713.

1664

Union of Connecticut and New Haven is adopted. The union results from New Haven's fear of annexation by New York.

Grant of New Netherlands is awarded to the king's brother, James, Duke of York (later James II). The grant includes eastern Maine and the islands south and west of Cape Cod. James grants the land between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.

August The Dutch cede New Amsterdam to the British, and the colony is renamed New York after James, Duke of York (later James II). The city enjoys a measure of autonomy, as the Iroquois Federation prevents French encroachment and New York's remote location on the island of Manhattan provides a natural obstacle to British authorities. Numerous English colonists soon join New York's population of Dutch settlers.

September British forces take possession of Fort Orange, which is renamed Albany.

1665

The Act of Explanation, presented as supplementary legislation to the Act of Settlement (1661), further solidifies Crown authority over confiscated land in Ireland. Protestants now possess two-thirds of Ireland's land.

1667

The Bahamas are granted to British proprietors of Carolina. The islands had been settled by British subjects from the Virginia Company's colony on Bermuda as early as 1648. The Bahamian economy is based on tobacco production, facilitated by slave labor.

1669

Adoption of the Fundamental Constitutions is drafted for Carolina by English philosopher John Locke.

Uncharacteristic of his later work in support of the Glorious Revolution, *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), the constitution advocates a bigoted feudal system that proves unrealistic for the complexities of Carolina's frontier society.

1670

The Hudson's Bay Company is incorporated with a monopoly on trade in the Hudson's Bay Basin.

The Virginia Slavery Act decrees that slaves baptized as Christians prior to importation are not liable to permanent enslavement. The act specifically addresses a growing debate concerning the morality and legality of enslaving fellow Christians.

1672

As the Royal Africa Company receives a monopoly of the English slave trade, Jamaica becomes one of the largest slave markets in the world; and with an enormous population of slave labor, the island will soon become the world's leading producer of sugar cane.

1673

Parliament passes the Navigation Act of 1673, imposing intercolonial duties on sugar, tobacco, textiles, and other goods. Seen by colonists as highly exploitive, the measure further increases tensions between England and the colonies and causes an increase in intercolonial smuggling.

1675–1676

King Philip's War erupts in New England. Seeking to avert further European encroachment, Metacomet (King Philip), chief of the Wampanoag of southern Massachusetts, leads a Native American uprising against colonial New England. In cooperation with Metacomet, Mohawks of the Iroquois Federation decimate English settlements throughout northern and western New England. Native American raids reach within 20 miles of Boston, claiming the lives of 10 percent of New England's male population by war's end. Metacomet and his forces are eventually cornered and killed by a militia force under Benjamin Church in the Great Swamp near Kingston, Rhode Island (1676).

1676

Bacon's Rebellion erupts in Virginia. Led by English immigrant Nathaniel Bacon, the uprising ensues as discontented county leaders and landless freemen, resentful toward the colony's landed gentry, oppose

Governor Sir William Berkeley's policies concerning the Native American population. Believing Berkeley too lenient with Native Americans, wishing to open more land for settlement, and calling for an end to Virginia's strict class system, Bacon leads the rebels on an unauthorized raid of a Native American village. The rebels are soon joined by middling and poor farmers, indentured servants, and slaves. Berkeley's forces are defeated by the rebels and Jamestown is burned, forcing legislative reform measures by the Virginia Assembly. Fearful after witnessing armed slaves among the rebels, Virginians will institute additional laws designed to ensure the security of white society.

Quakers settle in West New Jersey.

1680

New Hampshire obtains a royal charter and separates from Massachusetts.

1681

March 4 Charter of Pennsylvania grants William Penn the territory between the fortieth and forty-third parallels and extending 5° west from the Delaware. A Quaker visionary, Penn is granted the proprietary charter to satisfy debts owed by Charles II. Pennsylvania's population grows rapidly, as the colony's German farmers (Pennsylvania Dutch) and Scots-Irish immigrants expand west into the frontier.

1684

June Massachusetts Bay Colony charter is annulled by the Court of Chancery after British customs collector Edward Randolph complains that his authority is not recognized, adding to a growing history of tensions over taxation between the Crown and the independent colonials.

October Charles II revokes Massachusetts' charter after the failure of a royal commission to ensure acceptance of the Church of England in Massachusetts.

1687

New England colonies are united as the Dominion of New England. The process is orchestrated as the gubernatorial offices are consolidated by Sir Edmund Andros, governor of Plymouth and Rhode Island (1686) and later governor of Connecticut (1687).

1688–1689

The Glorious Revolution occurs in England. The actions of James II, a Roman Catholic, arouse Whig and Tory

concerns over a possible Catholic Stuart dynasty. In a series of events known as the “bloodless revolution,” leading English political figures invite intervention by the king’s Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange. As William’s Dutch army lands at Devonshire in November 1688, James’s army mutinies and he is forced to flee. After William (now William III) and Mary are invited to assume the throne, and a Bill of Rights is adopted in support of parliamentary rights, James lands in Ireland with French troops intent on punishing Parliament and restoring his crown (1689). William’s army crushes James’s campaign in Ireland, however, and James is driven back into exile in France.

1689–1697

King William’s War erupts between the French and the British as the American component of the War of the League of Augsburg. While the French are supported by Native American groups in Canada and Maine, the British (largely colonial troops) are supported by the Iroquois. Hostilities are concentrated mainly on the northern coast of North America and in the Upper Hudson–Upper St. Lawrence valleys, although the British colonies on St. Kitts and Nevis are also embroiled. The conflict ends with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) and an eventual truce in Maine (1699). The belligerents generally agree to return all possessions that had been seized during the conflict; Newfoundland and Hudson’s Bay are ceded to the British and Acadia to the French.

1696–1698

British Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations is assembled. The office oversees the enforcement of navigation acts, including the Woolen Act of 1698, outlawing the intercolonial wool trade.

1690

British settlement at Calcutta is established.

1691

As a result in part of the Glorious Revolution, Massachusetts is granted a new charter. Sir William Phipps is named governor of the newly chartered Crown Colony, which includes Plymouth, Maine, Nova Scotia, and land north to the St. Lawrence. Electoral participation is extended and Protestant religious rights are secured.

1691

October 3 Irish forces at Limerick surrender to the English. Known as the Pacification of Limerick, the

event ends the war in Ireland and establishes English authority.

1692

The Salem Witch Trials occur in Massachusetts, largely viewed today as a result of class conflict. A group of Puritans bring charges of witchcraft against wealthy residents in the colonial settlement at Salem, Massachusetts. Over twenty-two are executed.

Port Royal, Jamaica, is destroyed by an earthquake.

1693

The College of William and Mary is founded in Virginia.

1695

Censorship of the press ends in Britain, spawning a plethora of newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides. From this point forward, English tradition dictates the trial of public and private matters in the press.

1698

The Royal African Company’s monopoly on the slave trade ends.

1701

Yale College is founded at New Haven, Connecticut.

1702–1713

Queen Anne’s War erupts in North America as a component of the War of the Spanish Succession. Frontier warfare ensues in New England as French forces and their Native American allies attack English settlements. Nova Scotia is seized by British forces, British militia from South Carolina destroy the Spanish town of St. Augustine in Florida, and French-occupied St. Kitts (St. Christopher) is captured in the Caribbean. The war ends with the Peace of Utrecht, which awards Britain possession of Nova Scotia, western Newfoundland, Acadia, and St. Kitts; the French retain Cape Breton Island.

1704

British forces seize Gibraltar from the Spanish. A fortified coastal town in the south of Spain, Gibraltar overlooks the narrow passage between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. Occupation of the fort facilitates control of the strategically vital Strait of Gibraltar to the south and with it the passage of shipping in and out of the Mediterranean.

1707

May 1 England and Scotland are united under the name Great Britain. The Act of Union confirms sovereignty issues that had been overlooked by the Act of Settlement (1701). Free trade is opened between the Scots and the English; in return for representation at Westminster the Scots are forced to dissolve their own Parliament.

The Union Jack becomes the national flag of Great Britain, depicting the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.

1708

Blacks now outnumber whites in Carolina.

1710

Boston merchants begin the importation of African slaves into Massachusetts.

British forces capture Port Royal, Acadia.

1711

Financially leveraged through wild speculation and grandiose claims of future riches, the South Sea Company is formed under the auspices of Parliament developing British trade in South America. In a scandal remembered as the “South Sea Bubble,” the company becomes the focal point of a financial crisis when collapsing stocks ruin investors and destroy reputations. The subsequent Bubble Act (1720) prohibits the formation of joint-stock companies without Crown or Parliamentary approval.

1713

The Treaty of Utrecht awards Britain the *asiento*, exclusive rights to import African slaves into Spanish possessions.

1715

The Mughal emperor in Bengal awards the English East India Company customs exemptions and trade concessions.

1719

The Board of Trade annuls Carolina’s proprietary grants, and the separate colonies of North and South Carolina are established under Crown governance. The action results from general internal unrest and tensions between northern and southern Carolinians over land previously seized from the Yamasee and other allied Native American tribes.

New York governor William Burnet establishes a trading post at Oswego and negotiates with the Six Nations at Albany, as expansion of the fur trade and growing competition between French trappers and British settlers lead to increasing tensions between Native American groups.

1726

Jonathan Swift publishes *Gulliver’s Travels*.

1729

The Carolinas become separate colonies after internal conflict over claims to seized Native American land prompts the Board of Trade to revoke the proprietorship, split the colony between the characteristically different northern and southern regions, and individually place each under royal governments.

1730s–1740s

The “Great Awakening” spreads through the American colonies. A revivalist movement in response to a growth of formalism in American Christianity, the movement challenges the theological authority of the clergy, erodes congregational boundaries, and contributes to the intellectual climate of the coming revolutionary period.

1732

Colonial American journalist, printer, and statesman Benjamin Franklin publishes the first issue of *Poor Richard’s Almanac*.

1733

James Oglethorpe founds Georgia as a colony for imprisoned debtors and as a barrier against French and Spanish settlement. Georgia’s authoritarian government at Savannah outlaws slavery, rum, and land sales. Initially focused on silk and wool, Georgia’s economy eventually turns to rice and cotton production facilitated by slave labor.

The Molasses Act places duty on molasses obtained outside Britain. The act is designed to ensure continued profitability for British-owned sugar plantations throughout the West Indies by placing prohibitive duties on the importation of sugar and molasses from outside British possessions.

1739

The Stono Slave Rebellion erupts in South Carolina. Prompted by poor treatment by colonial slave owners

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and a Spanish edict (1733) ostensibly guaranteeing freedom to slaves of English colonies who escape to Spanish territory, the rebellion erupts under the leadership of a slave named Jemmy near the Stono River in South Carolina. Nearly 100 slaves participate in the rebellion, burning and looting on their march south. The local militia ruthlessly crushes the rebels, hanging the heads of executed slaves on landmark posts throughout the colony. New laws are passed in South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland that provide formal guidelines for the treatment of slaves.

1740

Musical score “Rule, Britannia” first performed.

1744–1748

King George’s War erupts between French and British colonials as the American component of the War of the Austrian Succession. British naval forces and New England militia capture Louisburg on Cape Breton (1745) and unsuccessfully attempt to seize ground in the St. Lawrence valley, followed by French and allied Native American assaults along the frontier as far south as New York. While the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ends hostilities in Europe (1748), the uneasy truce in North America applies only to direct military action as the two colonial powers continue to compete for control of North America.

1748–1765

British general Robert Clive secures Bengal on behalf of the East India Company. British-French competition for control of India reaches its climactic conclusion as the English East India Company’s army under Clive systematically defeats the French East India Company’s forces under Governor Joseph-François Dupleix in the seizure of Arcot (1751). Clive then defeats the Bengal nawab, Siraj ud-Daula, and assumes the governorship of Bengal (1757). Having amassed a personal fortune, he returns to England, but is later recalled in order to extricate the East India Company from financial crisis (1765).

1749

Lord Halifax and 2,500 settlers found an English settlement at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

In order to challenge French claims in the Ohio Valley and threaten the Mississippi corridor between Canada and Louisiana, a group of Virginians and influential Englishmen found the Ohio Company. The company sends Christopher Gist to survey the Upper Ohio

(1750), advertises 500,000 land grants for British colonial settlement, and organizes trading posts for English trappers who are in competition with their French counterparts.

1753–1754

French governor Marquis Duquesne sends a force of 2,500 troops to occupy and patrol the Ohio Valley. In response, Virginia governor Robert Dinwiddie sends George Washington, a young land surveyor, to deliver a letter to the marquis’s troops claiming the Ohio and requesting French withdrawal. The letter is ignored. Virginia troops are sent to the Ohio in the following year with demands for French withdrawal. The incursion is a disaster, however, as the exhausted colonial troops under George Washington are forced to surrender the hastily constructed Fort Necessity.

1754

The Albany Convention considers Benjamin Franklin’s recommendations for a defensive union of Britain’s colonies in North America. The proposal is rejected by the fiercely independent colonials.

1756–1763

The French and Indian War erupts in America as a component of the Seven Years’ War in Europe. Characterized by the use of allied Native American forces by both French and British authorities, the conflict engulfs the entire Old Northwest region of America, much of the South, and key islands in the West Indies. Hostilities prove decisive as all of New France (later, Canada) is captured by the British, as are the West Indian islands of Martinique, Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. The resulting Treaty of Paris grants Britain possession of Acadia, Canada, Cape Breton, and most of Louisiana east of the Mississippi; restores French possession of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Belle Isle, Maria Galante, and St. Lucia; and cedes Havana and Manila to Spain in exchange for Florida.

1759

December 3 Riots erupt in Dublin, Ireland, as rumors of an Act of Union with Britain circulate.

1763

Rebellion of Pontiac strikes in the aftermath of the French and Indian War. Fearing British reprisals for having supported the French and embittered by British policy, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa, leads an uprising of

the Algonquin, the Iroquois, and the tribes on the lower Mississippi. Although British forts from the Great Lakes to Virginia fall to Pontiac's warriors, British forces quickly recover and regain control. After a massive British assault weakens Pontiac's confederacy, he agrees to a peace treaty (1766). Pontiac is later murdered by Native American assassins hired by colonial authorities (1769).

Newly elected British Prime Minister George Grenville institutes measures to exact the cost of the Seven Years' War and French and Indian War from the American colonies. In order to increase British revenue, the navigation laws are strictly enforced and the colonies are taxed directly.

Citing a need for increased security and British authority in North America, Grenville orders the deployment of 10,000 British regulars, a measure that raises the ire of colonials who fear a challenge to their liberty and the loss of their jobs to pensioned British soldiers.

1764

Parliament passes the Sugar Act (Revenue Act). An expanded version of the Molasses Act (1733), the Sugar Act introduces a three-penny tax on foreign refined sugar, and places higher levies on non-British textiles, coffee, indigo, and wine. In addition, the act prohibits the importation of foreign rum and French wines.

The Colonial Currency Act is passed. Designed to prevent payment of debts in England with depreciated colonial currency, the measure creates a shortage of currency in the colonies by requiring all payments in scarce pounds sterling.

1765

English East India Company falls into financial difficulties; Robert Clive is recalled to Bengal and licensed to tax the region on behalf of the company.

Parliament passes the Quartering Act, requiring that British troops be billeted in public hostleries in the event that barracks prove insufficient. The measure is met with outrage among the colonials who associate the practice with justifying an occupation force.

Passing of the Stamp Act requires the adhesion of tax stamps on commercial and legal documents, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, playing cards, and dice.

May Patrick Henry, speaking in the Virginia House of Burgesses, introduces resolutions protesting British colonial policy on legal and ethical grounds.

British stamp officers arrive in Boston to oversee adherence to the Stamp Act, inciting riots and attacks on British governor Thomas Hutchinson.

October New York hosts the Stamp Act Congress, at which representatives of nine American colonies respond to the measure by adopting the "Declaration of Rights and Liberties," which they claimed accorded with English constitutional law.

1766

Parliament repeals the Stamp Act after public protests and riots erupt in the American colonies; however, the subsequent Declaratory Act further solidifies Britain's asserted right to tax the American colonies by reaffirming the king's ultimate authority to create and enforce British law in the colonies.

Famine erupts in Bengal.

The East India Company annexes Northern Circars and Madras.

1767

Residents refuse to accept the quartering of British troops within the city of New York and British authorities suspend the New York Assembly.

Parliament passes the Townshend Acts, imposing duties on imported lead, glass, painting pigments, tea, and paper. The revenues collected under the act are to be distributed among British colonial officials. Talks of boycotting British goods begin in earnest in the port cities of Boston and New York.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, becomes the largest city in the American colonies. Conflict arises, however, because Pennsylvania's grant encroaches on New York and Maryland territory. Surveyors Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon resolve the issue by mapping the famed Mason-Dixon Line.

1768

Office of Secretary of State for the Colonies is founded in Britain.

Massachusetts Assembly refuses to cooperate in the collection of taxes and is dissolved by British

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authorities. Boston refuses to quarter British troops upon their arrival.

1769

The British East India Company opens trading posts in northern Borneo. The posts are abandoned within five years, however, as threats of local violence escalate.

Famine in Bengal kills an estimated one-third of the population.

1770

Boston Massacre erupts as a squad of British soldiers fires into an angry mob of sixty colonials demonstrating against the Townshend Acts, killing five and wounding eleven. The soldiers are tried for murder. Defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two soldiers are declared guilty of manslaughter and branded on the thumb; the rest are acquitted.

In response to the Boston Massacre, Parliament repeals duties on paper, glass, and painting pigments, but the duties on tea are continued. Although the repeals initiate conciliatory gestures by the merchants, continued British pressure for colonial compliance results in further escalation.

English explorer Captain James Cook circumnavigates New Zealand and charts the coast of New South Wales (southeastern Australia). Sir Joseph Banks, the expedition's naturalist, recommends Botany Bay as an ideal location for a British penal colony (1779). The plan is accepted by the British government in 1786.

1772–1773

While the Massachusetts Assembly threatens to secede from British rule, Samuel Adams leads the formation of eighty town committees of correspondence through which to relay information and discuss issues related to colonial grievances.

Warren Hastings is appointed governor of Bengal. Hastings initiates revenue reform and government control of salt and opium manufacturing. Under the Regulating Act (1773), he will wield supervisory powers over regional British authorities.

British Court of King's High Bench outlaws slavery in Britain; while the decision guarantees emancipation to slaves who enter the British Isles, it does not apply to slaves held in British colonies abroad.

1773

Parliament passes the East India Company Regulating Act. Instituted in an effort to standardize British policy and curb growing corruption among colonial officials, the act establishes a court of grievances for British subjects residing in the company's territories, sets limits to the authority of company directors, and outlaws personal trade ventures and the acceptance of gratuities by company officers.

March 12 Virginia House of Burgesses appoints a Provincial Committee of Correspondence through which to communicate with other colonies.

December 16 The Boston Tea Party ensues after the East India Company is awarded a rebate of the tea duty that is not extended to the American colonies. A band of colonists disguised as Indians board three British tea ships at Boston Harbor under cover of dark, dumping 342 chests of tea into the harbor in an act of protest.

1774

Parliament passes the Coercive Acts as regulatory and punitive measures regarding Massachusetts. The acts include the Boston Port Act, closing the port of Boston; the Massachusetts Government Act, revoking colonial charter rights; the Administration of Justice Act, forcing a change of venue for those being tried for sedition; the Quartering Act, requiring the quartering of British troops in private homes; and the Quebec Act, transferring ownership of all land west of the Ohio from Massachusetts to the province of Quebec.

September–October The First Continental Congress assembles in Philadelphia. Radicals led by American lawyer Samuel Adams carry the vote, and the Congress drafts a Declaration of Rights and Grievances addressed to the king. Largely based on the English Bill of Rights (1689), the declaration outlines colonial grievances against Parliament's recent actions: specifically that Parliament's taxation policies and the Coercive Acts were unconstitutional under British law. The plea is met in Britain with indignation by George III and Parliament.

October American colonials form the Continental Association, which institutes a ban on the importation of English goods and calls for an export freeze if colonial grievances are not satisfactorily addressed by the king and Parliament. The grievances are ignored,

and the second measure is adopted the following September.

1775–1782

First Anglo-Maratha War erupts as the Bombay government forms an alliance with the Maratha peshwa, Raghoba, prompting British governor Warren Hastings to send forces from Calcutta to Surat. The alliance is broken and the resulting Treaty of Salbai (1782) secures Salsette and Elephanta.

1775

April–May Open hostilities begin between American colonials and British forces. En route to Concord under orders to destroy colonial munitions, British troops are confronted by armed colonial militia at Lexington and afterward ambushed at Concord Bridge. The British Fort Ticonderoga is captured by Ethan Allen's Green Mountain Boys, followed by Crown Point's capture by militia under Seth Warner.

May–June The Second Continental Congress assembles in Philadelphia and adopts colonial militia near Boston as the Continental Army under George Washington, a former British officer with little experience and questionable ability; Washington proves a wise choice, however, as his unconventional strategy, charismatic leadership, and tireless faith in the colonial cause serve as symbols of American independence.

June 17 American Continentals and British forces clash at the Battle of Bunker Hill near Boston. Harassed by the Continentals, British troops under Thomas Gage confront the Americans, who take to the high ground. Advancing uphill in tight formation, British "redcoats" suffer over 1,000 casualties from point-blank musket fire before routing the rebels. Although American casualties total nearly 400, Gage's disproportionate losses encourage colonial unification by dispelling myths of British invincibility.

1776

Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*, a political pamphlet outlining a moral and legal argument for the American cause that later influences the Declaration of Independence. A British expatriate, Paine arrived in the colonies with a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin (1774).

Scottish philosopher Adam Smith publishes *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of*

Nations, a significant treatise on political economy that forms the basis of modern economics and influences the growth of a world economy based on capitalism. Smith argues for the importance of open competition in the marketplace, suggesting that individuals pursuing profits will be led, "as if by an invisible hand," to create maximum stability and growth within society overall.

July 4 The Continental Congress signs the Declaration of Independence, signaling the American colonials' final secession from British rule. Based largely on philosophical ideas developed and circulated through political pamphleteering, and inspired by Thomas Paine's condemnation of British tyranny, the declaration extends beyond proclaiming American independence by challenging previous standards of government that had supported the divine right of kings. Drafted principally by Thomas Jefferson, a young Virginia lawyer, the document sends shock waves throughout the British Empire and much of the world, providing inspiration for numerous revolutions to come.

August 1776–September 1783

The American War of Independence (Revolutionary War) engulfs North America. Although British strategy to break up the colonies succeeds with British General Howe's capture of New York and Washington's forced retreat into Pennsylvania, the Continental Army rallies at Saratoga and captures Philadelphia (1777), prompting a French-American alliance that later turns the tide in the colonials' favor (1778). Having failed to adequately splinter the colonies, Britain turns its attention on the South, hoping to recruit southern Loyalists. British forces under General Cornwallis seize Charleston, capturing over 5,000 rebel troops, and unwisely pursue the Continental Southern Army under General Nathanael Greene. Cornwallis is finally cornered at Yorktown with a French blockade denying him much needed reinforcements; he is forced to surrender and admit British defeat on October 19, 1780.

Great Britain and the newly independent United States of America sign the Peace of Paris. British authorities, desperate to protect their ongoing investments in North America and curb French aspirations on the continent, easily accept American possession of all land east of the Mississippi and fishing rights off the coast of Canada. Provisions regarding northern boundaries will lead to later conflict between the

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United States and Britain, while those regarding southern territory will lead to tensions between the United States and Spain.

1778

In search of a passage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, Captain Cook discovers Hawaii, which he names the Sandwich Islands after his patron, the earl of Sandwich. Cook is killed in Kealakekua Bay, and his surviving crew returns to England through the East Indies and around the Cape of Good Hope (1779).

1784

The India Act, championed by Prime Minister William Pitt, increases government control over the East India Company (EIC). The act prohibits the EIC from interference in "native affairs" and establishes a Crown oversight board through which to monitor the company's policies.

William Jones founds the Bengal Asiatic Society, inaugurating the British appreciation and study of Sanskrit. Continued study will later involve the College of Fort William (1800) and the Serampore Baptist Mission (1800), both of which help stimulate an intellectual renaissance among Bengali Hindu scholars throughout the nineteenth century.

The first Anglican bishop for the colonies is appointed.

1785

Having been accused of corruption, Warren Hastings resigns his post as governor-general of India and returns to Britain. He will later be acquitted of all charges.

1786

Lord Charles Cornwallis becomes governor-general of India with broad powers as commander in chief of all British interests in the region. He expands British possessions in Bengal by defeating the Tipu, or sultan, effects standardized guidelines for EIC officers, and establishes a series of sweeping reforms known as the Cornwallis Code: instituting a highly structured settlement and tax collection system, forming a judicial system based on English law, codifying the exclusion of Indians from high posts, and restricting the power of local Zamindar authorities.

1788–1792

A penal colony at Botany Bay is founded. Under Captain Arthur Phillip aboard HMS *Supply*, the British

First Fleet arrives in New South Wales carrying over 700 convicts from Britain. Botany Bay proves inadequate for a safe landing, however, and Philip's convoy of eleven ships arrives in the deepwater harbor of Port Jackson (later Sydney). Philip serves as the colony's governor until 1792, when he is replaced by Francis Grose and William Paterson, who share joint authority as vice governors.

1789

HMS *Bounty* mutineers settle Pitcairn Island. Under the command of Lieutenant William Bligh (acting Captain), the *Bounty* had been sent to Tahiti to collect breadfruit for transport to the West Indies. There, it is presumed, British naval strictures combined with the pleasures of island life prompted the crew under Fletcher Christian, the ship's first mate, to seize the *Bounty* and set her captain and his small loyal following adrift in a dinghy. An accomplished navigator, Bligh and his men survive the 3,618-mile voyage to Timor. Great Britain annexes Pitcairn Island in 1838. Descendants of Christian and his followers are still living on Pitcairn and nearby Norfolk Islands.

1791

January 4 The Irish nationalist newspaper *Northern Star* is first published by the United Irishmen of Belfast.

June The Canada Act divides the Canadian territory between predominantly English-speaking Upper Canada and largely French-speaking Lower Canada, each with a governor, appointed Legislative Council, and elected Assembly. Although the rights of Roman Catholics are reaffirmed, one-seventh of Canada's land is reserved for the Protestant clergy.

1792

Captain George Vancouver explores much of the north Pacific coast and circumnavigates Vancouver Island.

1793

The first English settlers arrive in New South Wales, Australia. Totalling eleven, these first settlers are provided with free transport, land grants, tools, and pressed convict service.

The Kermadec Islands are discovered northeast of New Zealand.

British explorer Sir Alexander Mackenzie (1764–1820) completes the first transcontinental expedition across

Canada, traveling from Hudson's Bay north to Fort Churchill and throughout much of the region surrounding Lake Winnipeg and along the Saskatchewan and Athabasca Rivers.

August 16 The Convention Act outlaws political assemblies in Ireland as a measure to combat the United Irishmen and Volunteers, an organization advocating the rights of Catholics.

1795

The Cape of Good Hope is occupied by British forces; slaves outnumber Europeans in the settlement.

1796

Britain seizes Ceylon from the Dutch. The colony is jointly administered by the English East India Company and the Crown.

1797

Merino sheep are introduced in New South Wales, starting what would become the immensely successful Australian wool industry.

The London Missionary Society reaches Tahiti on the British ship *Duff*. The group establishes a station there from which to send missionaries to Tonga and the Marquesas Islands. Later, the Rev. John Williams arrives to oversee the society's proselytizing throughout the Pacific islands.

1798

Lord Mornington (later marquis of Wellesley) becomes governor-general of India. Mornington develops the subsidiary alliance system in southern Asia through which British troops are supplied as protection in exchange for territorial and monetary gain, with a guarantee that Britain will refrain from intervening in local government but may dictate foreign policy as needs arise. By the close of the fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799), Mornington's policies will secure British control over southern India.

The first large wave of Irish immigration to Canada begins.

1799

The London-based Church Missionary Society devotes itself to the conversion of indigenous populations throughout the British colonies, beginning with its proselytizing activities along the Zak River in southern Africa.

1800

August 1 The Act of Union between Britain and Ireland dissolves the Irish Parliament and forms the United Kingdom. The act becomes effective on January 1, 1801.

British forces capture Malta.

Ivory trade dominates the economy of southeastern South Africa. Focused at Delagoa Bay, the trade contributes to the political centralization of the region by encouraging large federations of interested chiefdoms—a circumstance that first assists European trade efforts but later causes difficulties with the expansion of the Zulu Empire.

The city of Ottawa is founded in Canada.

1801

Colonial administration falls under the British Department of War and Colonies.

Pork trade begins between Tahiti and the penal colony in New South Wales. The trade is encouraged to promote commercial opportunities in the South Seas.

March 8 British forces enter Cairo as the French depart from Egypt, signaling the end of French occupation and facilitating the restoration of Turkish Ottoman rule.

1802

Britain and France sign the Treaty of Amiens, restoring Egypt to Ottoman authority.

The West India Docks are built in London. The docks are designed to handle the growth of shipping of tobacco and sugar to and from the colonies.

1803–1805

The Second Anglo-Maratha War erupts and the army of the East India Company under Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) defeats the Maratha at the Battles of Assaye and Argaum.

1803

Hostilities between Britain and France are renewed after a one-year hiatus.

September 20 British authorities execute Irish nationalist leader Robert Emmet; he had led an

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uprising on July 23 during which he claimed independence.

1804

Upper Canada passes the Alien Act, permitting civil banishment of those convicted of disturbing the peace.

Spain aligns with France and declares war against Britain.

Hobart, Tasmania, is founded.

Sandalwood is discovered in Fiji, causing a rush on the island (1807–1810). Likewise, a rush occurs in Hawaii and in Melanesia for the popular scented wood. The trade in sandalwood introduces European tools to the Pacific islanders, profoundly changing island society and economy throughout the Pacific.

British and Foreign Bible Society is founded in London.

1805

British admiral Nelson destroys the French and Spanish fleets at the Battle of Trafalgar. Nelson's victory gives Britain free rein in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Oceans.

1806

British forces capture Cape Colony from the Dutch.

1807

The Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade is passed by Parliament, outlawing the slave trade among British subjects throughout Britain's colonial possessions. As the supply of new slaves declines, labor shortages cause production shortfalls throughout the empire.

Britain annexes Sierra Leone and Gambia. Six thousand slaves are captured at sea by the British Anti-Slavery Squadron and released in Sierra Leone the following year.

March–September British forces occupy Alexandria in an effort to reinstall the Mamluks in Egypt. The attempt fails, however, as Ottoman governor Muhammad Ali Pasha establishes a provisional truce with the Mamluks.

1808

Sierra Leone formally becomes a British colony.

1809

Constituting the first political parties in Canada, the Society of Loyal Electors is formed on Prince Edward Island while the Parti Canadien (Parti Patriot) is formed in Lower Canada.

British forces capture Martinique and Cayenne from the French; Guadeloupe is seized in the following year.

1811

The British army drives 20,000 Xhosa out of Zuurveld and into a region east of the Fish River on the eastern Cape frontier of southern Africa, clearing the land for white settlement.

1812–1814

The War of 1812 erupts between Britain and the United States. The United States declares war in response to trade restrictions imposed by Britain in retaliation for U.S. support of French interests, combined with a U.S. desire to circumvent British-Canadian opposition to westward expansion. Both sides agree to a truce as hostilities prove indecisive. The resulting Treaty of Ghent (1814) restores all previous possessions and calls for a commission to define territorial limits across the northeastern frontier.

Red River Settlement is founded in Manitoba, Canada.

1814

Britain annexes Cape Province.

Cape Colony is formally ceded to Britain through the Treaty of Paris.

The British Church Missionary Society establishes an English school in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and the British Admiralty forms a special court in the colony through which to prosecute captured slave traders and free slaves.

English missionary Samuel Marsden establishes the first Church of England mission in New Zealand's Bay of Islands. The missionaries compile the first Maori-English dictionary in the following year.

1815

The first Corn Laws are passed in Britain. Regulating the import and export of grain (chiefly wheat), the laws restrict the import of foreign grain unless domestic prices reach levels unaffordable by the poor. Trade

slumps, harvest shortfalls, and famine in Ireland prompt a repeal of the laws, however, symbolizing a victory for British liberals in support of free trade (1846).

June 20 Napoleon capitulates after defeat at Waterloo by British and Prussian forces. The event signals an end to years of Anglo-French hostilities and frees British troops for later deployment in Africa and India.

1816

British printing methods introduced in India begin to facilitate the development of English-language and vernacular universities in Calcutta (1816), Bombay (1827), and Delhi (1827).

Britain extends colonial status to Gambia with the intention of relocating freed British slaves to the area.

1817–1818

The Third Anglo-Maratha War erupts as the army of the East India Company under Lord Hastings invades Maratha territory to squelch Pindari raiders who are supported by Maratha princes. The action brings the Maratha Wars to an end and secures British military domination in South Asia.

1817–1839

The Mfecane, or “crushing” of non-Zulu tribes, period begins in southeastern Africa as Shaka becomes king of the Zulu. Under Shaka, the Zulu conquer much of the region, maintaining an empire through strict discipline and superior military tactics. When Shaka is eventually assassinated by his brothers (1828), one of them, Dingane, becomes king in his stead. Dingane resists European settlement and is defeated by the Boers at the Battle of Blood River (1838). The Mfecane comes to an end as Dingane’s half-brother Mpande allies with the Boers, decisively defeats Dingane, and becomes king of the Zulu under the protection of the Boer republic of Natalia.

1818

Britain gains control of the Rajput States and Poona.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain establishes the United States–Canadian border at the forty-ninth parallel westward to the Rocky Mountains and gives Americans fishing rights on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador.

1819

East India Company representative Sir Stamford Raffles acquires a trading settlement in Singapore from the sultan of Johore.

1820

British settlement of the Cape of Good Hope begins with the emigration of the “1820 Settlers,” some 10,000 sponsored British settlers sent to offset the growing Dutch population. Members of the group will build a trading post at Port Natal (present-day Durban) and establish trade relations with the Zulu.

1821

Hudson’s Bay Company absorbs the Northwest Company and receives a twenty-one-year renewal on exclusive rights of trade in the Canadian territories.

The Bank of Canada is chartered at York.

Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Gambia are joined as the British West African Settlements.

Sir Thomas Brisbane becomes governor of Australia. Brisbane’s rule witnesses the colony’s first period of significant development. Land is liberally granted. In addition to private settlement, large syndicates are encouraged. The Australian Agricultural Company, for instance, receives a grant of 1 million acres and a monopoly over coal mining near Newcastle.

1823

The U.S. Monroe Doctrine curbs further European colonization in the Western hemisphere.

1824–1826

The First Burmese War erupts as King Bagyidaw of Burma advances toward India, capturing Manipur and Assam (1822) and invading the province of Kachar (1824). As Bagyidaw’s advance threatens the interests of the British East India Company, a British-Indian force under Sir Archibald Campbell seizes Rangoon, Syriam, Tavoy, Mergui, Martaban, and Pegu. The British then advance up the Irrawaddy River and take Arakan, prompting Bagyidaw’s capitulation. The resulting Treaty of Yandabu cedes Assam, Arakan, and the Tenasserim coast to the British and guarantees the British East India Company a commercial agreement and a Residency at Ava.

1824–1831

Conflict between British forces and the Asante along the Gold Coast of West Africa erupts as Britain

attempts to enforce its abolition of the slave trade. While initial hostilities result in the destruction of an entire British division, the Asante are defeated at Bonsaso and Katakamansu (1826). All territory south of the River Prah along the Gold Coast is ceded to British authorities (1831).

1824

April 12 A parliamentary act establishes free trade in manufactured goods between Britain and Ireland. Instituted as a countermeasure to economic decline following the Napoleonic Wars, the action crushes the cottage textile industry in the south of Ireland by bolstering the mechanized northern mills that are better equipped to meet market demands.

1826

Upper Canada passes the Naturalization (Alien) Bill, denying British citizenship to Americans who have lived in the province less than seven years and who have not declared allegiance to the king.

Bordering on the strategic Malacca Strait in Southeast Asia, the Strait Settlements are united with the East India Company's colonies of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore.

Cholera epidemic erupts in India.

1828

Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general of India. Bentinck's tenure will witness the criminalization of *sati* (the burning of Hindu widows), the introduction of tea and coffee production, and an increase in the authority of Indian officials.

July 5 Irish nationalist Daniel O'Connell wins the County Clare election in Ireland. Under the Test and Corporations Act, however, O'Connell cannot sit in Parliament without swearing an oath of allegiance to the Church of England. In order to avoid civil disorder, Parliament passes the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) that permits Catholics to hold political, civil, and military offices.

1830

Mysore becomes part of British India.

The Royal Geographic Society is founded in London. The society will play a key role in the expansion of the British Empire by encouraging, funding, and popularizing British exploration and territorial claims.

1831

Cholera spreads from India to Central Europe; the pandemic will reach Scotland the following year.

English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882) sails on HMS *Beagle*. Darwin serves as naturalist for the ship's surveying expedition to South America, New Zealand, and Australia. His observations contribute to his theories on evolution published in *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859). Although immensely important to the development of science, Darwin's ideas will be misunderstood and manipulated through quasi social theories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to justify the subjugation of those deemed "less fit" to rule—a phenomenon often referred to as "Social Darwinism."

1832

Rejecting Argentina's claims to the Falkland Islands after Spanish withdrawal, Britain reclaims the islands as a Crown Colony and British naval forces arrive to protect the seal fisheries located there.

1833

The British East India Company loses its monopoly on trade.

British explorer Alexander Burnes (1805–1841) crosses the Hindu Kush mountains in Central Asia.

The Papahuriria millennial movement begins among the Maori of New Zealand. The prophetic movement results from the introduction of Christian theology and increased missionary activities.

1834

Scottish-born William Lyon Mackenzie becomes mayor of Toronto in Upper Canada. A radical, reform-minded politician, Mackenzie opposes the prevailing oligarchies.

South Australia is opened to settlement based on colonial theories developed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. According to Wakefield, profitability is based on a perpetual turnover of capital, land, and labor. "Sufficient" land prices force colonists to labor for several years prior to obtaining ownership, thus facilitating the collection of capital with which to support further importation of labor.

Afrikaner settlement of the Orange River begins.

April 22 Irish nationalist and parliamentarian Daniel O'Connell's efforts to reverse the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland are squelched as the House of Commons refuses his motions for repeal.

1835

British barrister Thomas B. Macaulay's socially conscious manifesto, *Minute on Education* (1835), helps prompt British-subsidized English education of Hindus in India. The resulting system of educational institutions and clerical offices will facilitate the growth of an Indian middle class from which later independence leaders will arise.

A Declaration of Independence is drafted by a group of Northern Maori chiefs in New Zealand; the document will be recognized by the British Parliament but largely ignored by colonial authorities.

1836–1838

The "Great Trek" of Afrikaners (Boers) begins with the northern migration of about 10,000 from Cape Colony in southern Africa. Named after the Voortrekkers, Dutch-speaking pastoralists, the movement results from British labor and antislavery legislation and a shortage of arable land. One group, under Andries H. Potgieter, migrates beyond the Vaal River and founds the settlements of the Transvaal, while a second group, under Piet Retief, crosses the Drakensberg Mountains and settles in Zululand and Natal (1837). After confrontations with the Zulu the Boers found the Republic of Natal (1839) and the Orange Free State (1842).

1836

The first Canadian railroad begins service between Laprairie on the St. Lawrence and St. Johns on the Richelieu.

1837

Victoria succeeds her uncle William IV to become queen of Great Britain, Ireland, and the overseas dependencies. As the only child of George III's fourth son, Edward (Duke of Kent), she is the last of the House of Hanover. She happily marries Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in 1840. Albert's early death in 1861 devastates Victoria, however, and she retreats into seclusion from public life. While her withdrawal from society and pious widowhood earn little favor with the English people, she eventually emerges to become the leading figure of her time: the Victorian Age.

Rebellions erupt in Upper and Lower Canada, but are quickly squelched by authorities. Conflict arises in Upper Canada between appointed Legislative Councils that represent prevailing oligarchies and elected popular assemblies that represent the concerns of middle-class shopkeepers and labor. In Lower Canada, ethnic tensions between a ruling British elite and largely French popular Assembly contribute to the difficulties. Parliament had taken reform measures to relieve the problem in 1828, but no progress had been made.

1838

The British steamships *Cirius* and *Great Western* begin transatlantic service between Britain and the United States.

The New Zealand Company is founded with intentions of forming a colonial settlement based on British middle-class values.

1838–1842

The First British-Afghan War begins as Britain, concerned over a growing Russian presence in the region, sends troops into Afghanistan to replace King Dost Muhammad with Shah Shoja al-Molk, who is sympathetic to British interests. Although British efforts are initially successful, resistance to Shoja's authority results in widespread uprisings and British Indian forces are decimated during the retreat from Kabul to Jalalabad (1842).

1839–1842

The Opium War erupts between Britain and China. The conflict results from China's objection to the British-dominated opium trade, the presence of which poses a serious threat to Chinese society and provides a symbol of unwanted European influence. Chinese authorities confiscate over 20,000 chests of the drug from British warehouses in Guangzhou (present-day Canton). In response, British foreign secretary Lord Palmerston dispatches an armada of warships that bombard Guangzhou and threaten Nanjing (1840). The resulting Treaty of Nanjing (1842) opens China to Western economic expansion by ceding Hong Kong to the British and opening numerous treaty ports to European trade, including Xiamen (Amoy), Guangzhou (Canton), Fuzhou (Foochow), Ningbo (Ningpo), and Shanghai. Conflict is renewed in 1856, however, sparking the Arrow War, or Second Opium War (1856–1860).

1839

Having resigned his position as governor of Quebec the previous year, Lord Durham files his *Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Critical of British imperial policy, Durham's *Report* recommends a union of Upper and Lower Canada, a significant limitation of Britain's authority over internal Canadian matters, and sweeping constitutional reforms to ensure an equitable balance of power between legislative bodies. Lord John Russell introduces a parliamentary resolution for the reforms, prompting the appointment of Poulett Thomson as governor and preparations toward Canadian union.

The British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company is founded by Samuel Cunard and partners. Cunard Lines will increase the speed of international mail traffic, facilitate the growth of European and American tourism throughout the world, and carry millions of immigrants from Europe to North America.

1840

Deportation of convicts from Britain to New South Wales temporarily ends. The British government resumes the practice in 1848 under the Pentonville system, in which convicts who have displayed good behavior in English prisons are transported to the colony and released with the understanding that they cannot return to England until their sentence is completed.

Based on negotiations between British statesman William Hobson and the leading Maori chiefs, Britain claims sovereignty over New Zealand through the Treaty of Waitangi. Significant differences between the Maori and English versions of the treaty will spark subsequent controversies regarding Britain's claims.

April 15 Daniel O'Connell founds the Repeal Association, which organizes numerous Irish meetings at which to discuss cooperative efforts between Protestants and Catholics for the repeal of the Act of Union (1801). Although O'Connell's activities eventually result in his arrest and conviction on conspiracy charges, the judgment is reversed by the House of Lords and he is released (1844).

July 23 Parliament passes the Union Act, uniting Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia in the Dominion of Canada. The confederation provides

for a single governor, a single appointed Legislative Council, and a single elected popular Assembly, each legislative body containing equal representation of the former provinces.

1841

New Zealand is formally recognized as a British colony.

Christian missionary Samuel Ajayi Crowther begins the Niger Mission. Later, Crowther and his congregation leave Yorubaland and begin proselytizing along the Niger River, building an African-run mission there. Crowther becomes the Anglican bishop of West Africa in 1864.

Sarawak is ceded to British adventurer Sir James Brooke by the sultan of Brunei (northern Borneo) in exchange for military assistance. Known as the 'White Rajah,' Brooke successfully rules the region until his death (1868), when he is succeeded by his nephew Charles. Brooke's family continues to rule the region until Japanese occupation in 1942–1945.

1842–1843

War erupts as British forces invade Natal. After early Boer victories under Andreas Pretorius, overwhelming British forces defeat the Boers and annex Natal as a British possession.

1842

August 9 United States and Great Britain sign the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, ceding more than half of Britain's territorial claims on the northeast frontier of Canada to the United States.

October 15 The Young Ireland Movement first publishes *The Nation*, an early pro-Irish nationalist journal. Calling for "defensive physical force" against British tyranny, the Movement splits with O'Connell's constitutionally focused Repeal Association in 1846.

1843

Gambia is formally separated from Sierra Leone and made a Crown Colony.

1845–1847

The First New Zealand War breaks out over the controversial Treaty of Waitangi. Although British forces suffer early losses due to superior Maori tactics, eventual British victory is achieved through modern weaponry and superior numbers.

1845–1848

The First and Second Anglo-Sikh Wars erupt after the death of Ranjit Singh causes a power vacuum in the Punjab. The resulting British annexation of the Punjab initiates the modernization of the state's government and the permanent loyalty of the Sikhs.

1845–1851

The Irish Potato Famine (Irish Famine) erupts as blight destroys Ireland's potato crop. Deprived of their staple diet, farmers are unable to pay their rent, often resulting in their eviction and the destruction of their cottages. Homeless and starving, entire families are forced to live in the open and seek their meals in organized soup kitchens. Estimates indicate that one million people die of starvation during the period. Making matters worse, the year 1846–1847 witnesses a typhus epidemic in Ireland, which claims another 350,000 lives. Seeking relief from the troubles and an opportunity to extricate themselves from poverty, over one million Irish immigrants leave their homes to brave the transatlantic crossing to the United States. For those survivors who remain, the results of the famine are mixed: while increased evictions further land consolidation and reduce extreme poverty, rents and taxes are raised in order to offset the loss of population.

1846

The Corn Laws, timber duties, and some of the Navigation Acts are repealed in Britain. The repeals carry easily in the face of the Potato Famine but provoke opposition from Disraeli and most of the Tories, who favor protectionist policies. Repeal of the timber duties causes price collapses and economic depression in Canada, prompting many Canadians to call for annexation by the United States.

The United States and Great Britain sign an Oregon boundary treaty, ending a long-standing territorial dispute over the area west of the Rocky Mountains and down into the valley of the Columbia River.

The British Presbyterian Mission begins proselytizing activities among the Muslims of the Nigerian coast.

1848

Lord Dalhousie becomes British governor-general of India. Dalhousie will oversee the region's first period of accelerated modernization, including numerous public works projects, widespread road construction, the

digging of irrigation canals, the building of railroads, and the introduction of telegraph service.

The British high commissioner in southern Africa, Sir Harry Smith, annexes the territory between the Fish and Kei Rivers and between the Orange and Vaal Rivers as the Orange Free Sovereignty. Seeking to avoid British rule, many Boers cross into the Transvaal.

1849

British explorer David Livingstone crosses the Kalahari Desert to Lake Ngami.

The last of the Navigation Acts is repealed by Parliament, facilitating increased colonial growth by opening prospects for intercolonial trade.

1850

The Australian Colonies Government Act is passed by Parliament. The Australian colonies are given the right to establish their own legislatures, alter their own constitutions, and determine their own tariffs. However, colonial legislation will continue to be subject to parliamentary approval.

1851

Gold rush begins in New South Wales. Over £80 million of gold is removed from Victoria during the first decade, raising the population from 77,000 to over 300,000 and promoting violence and bushranging (lawlessness) throughout the colony.

August The Catholic Defense Association of Great Britain and Ireland begins to organize in Dublin. Expressing Catholic opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, a measure forbidding clergy from receiving titles associated with specific territories, the association enjoys parliamentary support from the Irish Brigade, a pro-Catholic organization.

1852–1853

The Second Burmese War erupts as King Tharawaddi Min of Burma resists the development of British trade. In response, British-Indian forces seize Rangoon and annex Pegu. A Burmese revolution topples Tharawaddi, replacing him with Mindon Min, who proves friendly to British trade.

1852

New Zealand Constitution Act establishes self-government in the colony. Characteristic of the colony's

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middle-class social structure, a House of Representatives is elected from British landowners.

January The Sand River Convention establishes the independence of the South African Republic (the Transvaal) as Britain renounces territorial claims north of the Vaal River.

1853

The East India Company annexes Nagpur.

Melbourne University is founded in Australia.

English explorer David Livingstone launches his expedition across the African continent, traveling from Zambezi to Luanda. On his return, Livingstone claims discovery of Victoria Falls (1856).

1854

Orange Free State is founded through the Bloemfontein Convention, which cedes the former British Orange River Sovereignty to the Boers, who are willing to forego British protection in exchange for independence. The region had become a political quagmire for the British, who were unable to regulate ongoing territorial conflicts between the expanding Boer settlements and the indigenous Sotho.

The University College of Dublin is founded.

1855

Newfoundland is granted self-government. A bicameral legislature is adopted, with a governor, an appointed Legislative Council of fifteen members, and an elected House of Assembly with thirty-six members.

Sir Richard Burton publishes *Pilgrimage to Mecca*, providing an account of his travels in North Africa and the Middle East. The work promotes growing European interest in the region, leading to a popular cultural aesthetic known as “Orientalism.”

1856–1857

The Anglo-Persian War ensues when an Anglo-Afghan alliance opposes Persian claims in Afghanistan. The Peace of Paris brings the war to an end as the shah recognizes Afghan independence.

1856

The Arrow War (Second Opium War) erupts in China as Chinese forces board and search the British flagship

HMS Arrow. In response, a joint British-French assault is launched (1857). The resulting Treaty of Tianjin (1858) opens additional trading ports to Western interests and allows increased freedom of movement for European merchants and Christian missionaries. The emperor refuses to ratify the treaty, however, and European forces retaliate with the occupation of Beijing. China capitulates and accepts the treaty through the Beijing Convention (1860).

Avadh (Oudh) is annexed by the British East India Company.

1857–1858

The Indian Mutiny (Sepoy Rebellion) erupts against British rule. Growing resentments over destabilizing colonial policies and religious tensions are aggravated when Indian *sepoys*, soldiers in the army of the British East India Company, are forced to handle new munitions greased with pig and cow fat, the presence of which contradicts Muslim and Hindu religious observances. Following bloody *sepoy* attacks on Europeans and Christian Indians in Delhi, British military reaction is swift and ruthless. Despite Governor-General Lord Canning’s call for restraint, British forces launch a bloody campaign against the rebels. *Sepoys* who survive the battles are bayoneted by British soldiers, while others captured and convicted are lashed to the muzzles of cannons and dismembered by roundshots. With British control restored, the East India Company’s authority is revoked by Parliament’s Act for the Better Government of India (1858).

1857

Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Canadas is passed by the Canadian legislature. The measure calls for the removal of Native Americans from areas open to white settlement.

British explorers Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke claim discovery of Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. David Livingstone launches his famed expedition from Zambezi into the interior of Africa the following year, during which he claims discovery of Lake Nyasa (1859).

1858

March 17 Irish nationalists found the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Dublin. A secret organization that calls for and administers physical force, the IRB is joined by international groups, the Fenian Brotherhood and the Clan ne Gael. While the

Fenians share the IRB's demand for an end to British rule in Ireland, they also include practical issues such as their "three F's" of the land problem: free sale, fixed tenure, and fair rent.

August 2 Parliament's Act for the Better Government of India establishes the governing office of viceroy with an Executive Council of British and Indian members as advisers, while ultimate Crown authority is exercised through Britain's India Office. Henceforth, British India will be known as the Raj, the "Crown Jewel" of the British Empire.

1859

Queensland is granted status as a separate colony in western Australia.

Port Said is established in Egypt as the Suez Canal project begins.

Importation of indentured Indian labor to Natal in southern Africa begins in order to fill labor shortages in the region. Within forty years, the population of indentured and voluntary Indian laborers will equal the population of white settlers.

1860–1870

The Second Maori War erupts in New Zealand after the colonial government attempts to force sales of Maori land in the Waitara area of Taranaki. The war has tragic consequences for the Maori, who lose vast portions of their land. Although the conflict is officially ended in 1870 with the withdrawal of British troops, the colonial militia continues hostilities and land seizures for an additional two years.

1861

Britain gains Lagos as a Crown Colony through treaties with indigenous chiefs. Although the effort is designed to gain control of the Yoruba trade routes, French and German traders continue competitive activity in the region.

Gold is discovered in Otago, New Zealand, causing a European population explosion on the South Island.

1863

British explorer Sir Samuel Baker claims discovery of Lake Albert.

Africans serve in the colonial legislature of Sierra Leone.

Systematic recruitment of labor for Queensland and Fiji begins throughout the Pacific islands. The labor system will have a lasting social and economic impact on Pacific islanders as 280,000 are indentured by 1918, along with 186,000 imported Asians.

British forces in New Zealand seize the Waikato territory from the Maori, as the colony's legislature institutes measures for full annexation of Maori land. The escalation of British colonial expansion is facilitated by completion of the Christchurch-to-Fernymead railroad.

1864

Paul Kruger becomes commandant-general of the South African Republic (the Transvaal), a post he will hold until Britain's 1877 annexation of the region. A staunch nationalist, Kruger will lead the Boer independence movement that fosters the Anglo-Boer Wars (1880–1881, 1899–1901).

1865

English author Rudyard Kipling (d. 1936) is born in Bombay, India. Kipling spends much of his life as a member of British India's colonial society, producing poems, short stories, and novels that are appreciated for their celebration of British imperialism.

1866

British explorer David Livingstone embarks from the mouth of the Ruvuma River to Lake Nyasa and on to Lake Tanganyika and Bangweulu.

February 17 Parliament suspends habeas corpus in Ireland in order to purge Ireland of the Fenians. Although its members are being arrested, the organization elects to avoid violence.

1867

The British North America Act is passed, uniting Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia in the Dominion of Canada. Based on the 72 Quebec resolutions, a single federal government and individual provincial governments are established. A federal Parliament of two houses is adopted: a Senate of twenty-four members from Ontario, Quebec, and a third province (now comprising Nova Scotia and New Brunswick); a lower house is elected by popular vote.

The Canada First movement begins. Formed in memory of parliamentarian D'Arcy McGee, the movement calls for a reawakening of Canada's "Aryan

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origins” and levels a political and rhetorical attack against Native Americans as inferior elements in Canadian society.

April Diamonds are discovered near Hopetown, between the Orange Free State and British Cape Colony. The subsequent establishment of diamond mines will have a profound and lasting impact on the region, contributing to a restructuring of southern Africa’s political economy and ethnic balance.

1868

Benjamin Disraeli becomes prime minister of Britain (1868, 1874–1880). He secures Britain’s controlling interest in the Suez Canal Company (1875), procures the title of Empress of India for Queen Victoria (1876), and initiates reform measures for the improvement of public health and labor conditions. Disraeli and the Conservatives are defeated in the 1880 elections, however, as bloody colonial wars and economic depression turn Britain’s political tide in favor of Gladstone and the Liberals.

March 12 After numerous pleas from the Sotho for protection from further Boer encroachments, Britain annexes Basutoland as a protectorate. By installing a colonial government without a substantial white population, Britain sets a precedent for future indirect rule in Africa.

1869

The Dominion of Canada purchases the Northwest Territories from the Hudson’s Bay Company for \$1.5 million. The government assumes administrative control of the lands the following year.

The Red River Rebellion (1869–1870) erupts in Canada as Métis (people of mixed European and Native American ancestry) near Winnipeg fear that surveyors are preparing to seize their land. British-Canadian forces quell the rebellion and Manitoba is absorbed as a Canadian province the following year.

The Suez Canal Company formally opens the canal to sea traffic between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, facilitating increased colonial activity by decreasing the travel distance from Europe to the ports of India.

1870s–1880s

British India experiences accelerated growth in travel and newspaper circulation, facilitating increased

unification of public knowledge and opinion. The first fully connected railroad opens across India, economically and intellectually linking previously isolated regions; expanded newspaper, journal, book, and pamphlet circulation allows a growing number of Indians to participate in public dialogue.

Southern Africa’s political economy undergoes profound changes as the discovery of diamonds in the region, the commercialization of agriculture, and the consolidation of territory under European influence prompt influxes of prospectors and migrant workers and a multinational industrial boom under the driving force of Cecil Rhodes.

1870

Irish independence leader Isaac Butt launches the Home Rule Movement, demanding self-government in Ireland within the British Empire. Butt manages to initiate debate on the issue in the House of Commons but achieves little progress toward his goal. Later replacing Butt as leader of the movement (1877), Charles Parnell drafts a Home Rule constitution that provides the groundwork for eventual self-government (1885).

1871

Explorer Henry Morton Stanley encounters Livingstone on Lake Tanganyika. Stanley then circumnavigates Victoria Nyanza, crosses the Lualaba River, descends to the Congo, and reaches the Atlantic coast.

Cecil Rhodes moves from Natal to Kimberley as Britain annexes the entire South African diamond region of Griqualand.

1873–1876

Under pressure from British Consul General Sir John Kirk, slave markets in Zanzibar are closed by Sultan Barghash. A resulting conflict between the sultan and the slave traders is squelched by British naval forces (1875).

1873

Bengal is struck by famine.

January 29 The Second British-Ashanti War (1873–1874) erupts on the Gold Coast as the claim that they are being cheated by the British in land deals and tribute payments. British forces, supported by Hausa troops, cross the River Prah and attack into Ashanti

territory. The British occupy the capital of Kumasi on February 4, bringing the war to a close.

1874

Fiji's leading chief agrees to British annexation of the islands under a deed that guarantees protection, while promoting economic development and Christianity throughout the islands.

1875

Britain purchases Egypt's controlling shares in the Suez Canal Company after ill-fated conflicts with Abyssinia drain the Egyptian economy. The move will prove troublesome, however, as British interests in the country lead to a long military occupation (1882–1956).

1876

Largely under British Prime Minister Disraeli's leadership, Queen Victoria is named Empress of India by the Royal Titles Act of 1876. Her *darbar* (coronation) is conducted at Delhi (1877), during which Victoria, in Britain, receives the Indian princes as they offer their homage. The act is a carefully orchestrated demonstration of British imperial authority, designed to substantiate Britain's claim to world supremacy: the *pax Britannia*.

King Leopold of Belgium assembles a congress of European geographers and explorers, founding the International Association for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa. While presented as a philanthropic organization of scientists, the association provides a facade of legitimacy to Leopold's imperial claim to the Congo, as witnessed by the group's renewed focus as the Comité d'Études du Haut-Congo (1878). After the activities of British explorer and missionary Henry Morton Stanley result in the establishment of international stations within the region, the Comité becomes known as the International Association of the Congo (1881); although, the region remains Leopold's personal possession as the Congo Independent State (1885).

1877

Britain annexes the South African Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The move proves fraught with difficulties, however, as inept British administration and growing tensions between indigenous Boers and British settlers, or *uitlanders* (foreigners), eventually result in the Boer War (1899–1902) and South African independence.

Bengal suffers famine.

The Western Pacific Order-in-Council is initiated, forming the Western Pacific High Commission based in Fiji. The commission is responsible for the administration of Pacific islands that fall under British control but have not received formal colonial status.

1878

The Second Anglo-Afghan War erupts as British forces again invade Afghanistan. As before (1838), the aim is to limit Russian influence in the region. British successes result in the Treaty of Gandamak (1879), which awards Britain a portion of Afghan territory and the right to maintain a Resident in Kabul. The Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, is soon killed, however, and ill-fated military campaigns result in full British withdrawal.

Britain takes control of Cyprus.

Commercial fur farming begins in Canada.

1878–1879

The Anglo-Zulu War erupts as British authorities deliver impossible ultimatums to the Zulu, requiring land concessions and reforms. After suffering a humiliating defeat at Isandhlwana, a small contingent of British forces repels a Zulu advance at Rorke's Drift. The conflict ends when British and Afrikaner forces decisively defeat the Zulu at the Battle of Ulundi.

1879

The United African Company (National Africa Company; Royal Niger Company) is formed by Sir George Goldie, facilitating the expansion of British trade on the Nigerian coast.

Egyptian pasha Ismail abdicates the throne after falling into debt to European creditors. Tawfiq is installed with British backing as a puppet ruler.

1880–1881

The First Boer War (War of Independence) erupts between Britain and the Transvaal Boers. Inept British administration, tensions between the Boers and a growing numbers of British settlers, or *uitlanders* (foreigners), produce frequent violence. Following Prime Minister Gladstone's refusal to repeal British annexation, Vice-President Paul Kruger, Commandant-General Piet Joubert, and former President of the Transvaal M. W. Pretorius meet at Paardekraal

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(present-day Krugersdorp) and declare independence. The revolutionaries defeat British forces under George Colley, governor of Natal and British high commissioner of South Africa, and the Transvaal Republic gains limited independence from British rule through the Treaty of Pretoria.

1880

Lord Ripon becomes viceroy of British India. Ripon attempts to introduce local self-government in India through the Ilbert Bill (1883), but experiences staunch opposition from British residents fearful that Indian magistrates might preside over trials of European colonists. Defeat of the bill spawns the establishment of Indian nationalist organizations driven by popular sentiment for Indian independence.

1881

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company is granted a charter after previous companies fail. The company is granted \$25 million, 25 million acres of land, and the 670 miles of track that had already been laid. Construction is completed in 1885 and transcontinental service begins in 1887, facilitating a new era of Canadian industrial development.

The Urabi Revolution erupts in Egypt. Egyptian officers led by Captain Ahmad Urabi seize control of the government and vow to resist European control of the country in what is generally viewed as Egypt's first nationalist movement. The revolution proves short-lived, however, as European reaction to a potential loss of control in the canal zone prompts British military action.

The Mahdist revolution against Turco-Egyptian domination engulfs the Sudan. The conflict is partially provoked by Muslim outrage over appointments of non-Muslim Europeans to administrative positions, an influx of Christian missionaries, and related attempts to suppress the slave trade.

Granted a charter to develop trade in the region, the British North Borneo Company assumes control of the American Trading Company's assets and secures additional concessions from the sultans of Brunei and Sulu.

1882

New Zealand begins exportation of frozen meat to Britain, signaling a new age of large-scale agricultural expansion in the colony.

September Britain occupies Egypt. Responding to fears that the Egyptian Urabi Revolution (1881–1882) could compromise European access to the Suez Canal, British forces invade the country, rout Urabi's army at Tel-el-Kebir, and occupy Cairo. The action inaugurates seventy-two years of British occupation of the country, first administered through ministerial advisers and later through de facto government (1914).

1883

Mahdist victory over the British-led Egyptian army causes British withdrawal from the Sudan and the consolidation of Mahdist control of the region under Khalifa Abdallahi (1885).

1883–1884

The New Guinea Crisis erupts in Queensland, Australia. Fearing German intentions in New Guinea, Queensland's colonial government announces its plan to administer the island. While Queensland waits for Britain's authorization, Germany claims the northeastern region of New Guinea, leaving only the southeastern portion of the island to the British. The delay causes many Australians to lose faith in British rule, increasing sentiment for federation.

1884–1885

The Berlin West African Conference (Berlin Conference) is held in order to establish guidelines for further European annexation across sub-Saharan Africa. Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Portugal each negotiate additions to their colonial possessions, institutionalizing European cooperation in the accelerating "scramble for Africa." No Africans are invited to attend.

1884

English author George Alfred Henty publishes *With Clive in Egypt* (1884), one of over 100 children's books he will produce for boys. Henty's stories are valued for their swashbuckling action and imperial romanticism, all designed to prepare Britain's youth for the "responsibilities" of English "superiority."

1885–1910

Epidemics break out in the Sudan, killing people and livestock. Rinderpest kills 90 percent of the region's cattle and eventually spreads as far south as the Cape of Good Hope and west to the Atlantic coast.

1885–1886

The Third Burmese War erupts as King Thibaw of Burma begins negotiations with French interests in

order to construct a railroad from Mandalay to the Indian frontier. Threatened by Burmese overtures to their European rivals, British authorities send an envoy to Thibaw demanding that Burma's international relations be negotiated through the Indian government. After receiving Thibaw's rejection, British forces occupy Mandalay, arrest Thibaw, and annex Upper Burma.

1885

A British protectorate is established over northern Bechuanaland.

The Indian National Congress is founded by leading members of India's nationalist organizations. The congress will meet annually in order to discuss methods to effect legislative reforms and increased Indianization of the civil service.

After years of Métis resistance to Canadian expansion and the sale of indigenous land, Riel's Rebellion (Northwest Rebellion) is squelched in northwest Canada. The government's ability to respond is facilitated by the newly completed Canadian Pacific Railway.

1886

Prospectors discover gold on the Witwatersrand in South Africa, and the newly built city of Johannesburg instantly rises as the center of the world's largest mining revolution under the direction of Cecil Rhodes's Consolidated Gold Mines. The resulting population explosion and European economic domination lead to increased tensions between the Boers and British *uitlanders* (foreigners).

Anglo-Egyptian forces under British General Kitchener invade the Sudan. Intent on the overthrow of the Mahdist state, Britain also hopes to prevent French incursions in the region. Kitchener crushes the Mahdist army and enters French-occupied Fashoda; wishing to avoid further hostilities, French forces withdraw.

Canadian Pacific railway opens.

January 13 Lagos, in present-day Nigeria, becomes a separate colony.

July 10 The Royal Niger Company succeeds the National Africa Company and assumes full authority over British Nigeria.

1887

The First and Second Mediterranean Agreements among Britain, Italy, Austria, and Spain provide for imperial stability in the Mediterranean by affirming British policy in Egypt and the need to protect Ottoman territory from French and Russian expansion.

The Muslim Education Conference is formed in India as a countermeasure to the Indian National Congress, as Indian Muslims fear domination by the majority Hindu population. The conference will soon be followed by the formation of additional Muslim organizations such as the Indian Patriotic Association (1888) and the Upper India Muslim Defence Association (1893).

The British East Africa Company obtains a fifty-year lease along the coast of Zanzibar between Umba and Tana. The company is granted a charter to develop the territory for British expansion.

1888

Guided by John Moffat, a British missionary and agent for Cecil Rhodes, King Lobengula of the Ndebele (Matabele) accepts British protection and grants Rhodes exclusive mining rights in the region (in present-day Zimbabwe) through the Rudd Concession.

Cook Islands become a British protectorate.

North Borneo becomes a British protectorate, although the North Borneo Company continues to administer the territory.

The Suez Canal Convention is adopted by regional and global powers. The treaty guarantees international passage rights.

1889

Britain proclaims a protectorate over the Shire River region in central Africa, as Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company is awarded a charter to develop the territories north of the Zambezi and west of Mozambique.

Anglo-French agreements set the boundaries between the Gold and Ivory Coasts and between Senegal and Gambia.

1890

Britain trades Helgoland to Germany for possession of Zanzibar and Pemba. The sultan of Zanzibar agrees to

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an antislavery decree and accepts the declaration of a British protectorate.

Sir Frederick Lugard of the British East Africa Company arrives in Buganda with an armed force. Lugard forces the kabaka into a peace treaty, and supports missionaries and indigenous Protestant elements within the country in order to develop an environment friendly to British interests.

Having gained a virtual monopoly over the mining industry through the amalgamation of De Beers and Barnato (1888), Cecil Rhodes now becomes prime minister of Cape Colony.

August 5 An Anglo-French agreement defines possessions in northern Nigeria by drawing a line from Say to Lake Chad.

1891

The First Australasian Federal Convention meets at Sydney. Although the outcome is inconclusive, a draft constitution is completed under the guidance of Sir Henry Parkes.

1892

Britain and Germany divide the Cameroons in West Africa.

Cape-Johannesburg railway opens.

Britain proclaims protectorates over the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Solomon Islands, securing a continued labor supply for commercial operations in Fiji and Queensland.

1893

The South African Republic annexes Swaziland.

The British East Africa Company agrees to a long-term commitment in Uganda in order to support English commercial and missionary activities. An eventual treaty between Britain and Uganda establishes a model of indirect British rule based on principles developed by Frederick Lugard.

Australia and New Zealand experience increased agitation for federalization, as the great financial crisis of 1893 and the growth of the White Australia movement contribute to increased nationalist sentiment and pressure for union.

1894

The British South Africa Company occupies Matabeleland.

Uganda becomes a British protectorate.

1895

The Royal Niger Company proclaims a protectorate over Busa and Nikki in West Africa, restricting French colonial advances in the region.

Hoping to create a pretext for British intervention and presumably full annexation of South Africa, Leander Starr Jameson leads an unsuccessful raid on Johannesburg. Governor Cecil Rhodes is implicated in the debacle and is forced to resign (1896).

1895–1896

The Fourth British-Ashanti War breaks out in western Africa as a British expeditionary force enters Ashanti territory, deposing the Asantehene (king) and proclaiming a protectorate over the region. Later, Britain annexes the Ashanti kingdom and incorporates the territory into the Gold Coast (1901).

1896

At his *darbar* (coronation) as Emperor of India, George V announces the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and the reversal of the partition of Bengal. The announcement causes agitation among Indians hoping for self-government.

The Federated Malay States are formed.

1897

India suffers famine.

1898

Britain negotiates a ninety-nine year lease on Kowloon and the New Territories bordering Hong Kong.

The Boxer Rebellion erupts in China in response to perceived foreign interference in Chinese affairs. The rebellion is squelched by cooperative efforts between Western powers and Japan.

1898–1901

British authority in Northern Nigeria is consolidated under the direction of Governor Frederick Lugard. Operating on orders from Sir George Goldie of the Royal Niger Company, Lugard launches a campaign against the Fulani states of Sokoto and Gwandu and

occupies Kano. Having successfully locked out the French, the British government promptly revokes the company's charter, declares a protectorate over Nigeria, and installs Lugard as British high commissioner (1901).

1899–1901

The South African War (Anglo-Boer War) erupts between Britain and the Boers of South Africa. After early Boer successes due to their advantage of numbers and knowledge of the terrain, British reinforcements from India and Britain turn the tide of the war. Outnumbered and outgunned, the Boers are forced to use guerrilla tactics, with some success. In an effort to counter the Boer's elusive tactics, British General Horatio Herbert Kitchener institutes a scorched-earth policy and interns over 120,000 women and children in concentration camps, where some 20,000 die of malnutrition and disease. Hostilities end with the Treaty of Vereeniging (1901). The Boers accept British sovereignty but are granted representative government and a promise of £3 million with which to rebuild.

1899

In an effort to forestall French expansion in the region, British-led Egyptian forces seize the Sudan, destroy the Mahdist state, and install a puppet administration. Sudan becomes a condominium state under the Anglo-Egypt Sudan Convention. Although the agreement stipulates joint authority, the Egyptians have little say in Sudanese affairs.

January 23 The Kuwaiti emir secures a confidential agreement with Britain, in which he surrenders his external sovereignty in exchange for British protection.

1900

Britain proclaims a protectorate over Tonga.

Niue, in the Pacific Cook Islands, becomes a British possession.

July 9 Australian Constitution Act unites the territories. Following a series of federal conventions (1897, 1898, 1899) at which colonial representatives reconsider and amend the draft constitution of 1891, the act provides for a governor-general, a bicameral legislature (Senate and House of Representatives), and a high court to ensure constitutional protection; a British parliamentary amendment allows for appeals to the British Privy Council. The Commonwealth of

Australia is founded the following year, with Prime Minister Edmund Barton leading the nation's first cabinet.

1901

The Mombasa–Lake Victoria Railway opens.

New Zealand assumes administrative responsibility over the Cook Islands, while Ocean Island is included under the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate.

1902

Irish nationalist Arthur Griffith founds Sinn Fein (Gaelic for “we ourselves”) in Dublin. Initially a cultural revival movement, Sinn Fein evolves to become a formidable political party devoted to the creation of a united Irish republic.

British consolidation in East Africa begins in earnest as the East Africa Syndicate receives 500 square miles in British East Africa for the promotion of white settlement in the Highlands. White settlers in Kenya form the Colonists Association; and Lord Delamere settles in Kenya, forming the Kenya Settlers and Farmers Association.

1904–1905

Smallpox decimates the Somali coastal population and spreads to the White Nile as cholera strikes in the Horn; several years of epidemics in the region will greatly reduce the population.

1905–1939

British possessions in West Africa experience a period of accelerated growth with important export crops of coffee, cocoa, and peanuts. The Gold Coast particularly profits as its cocoa production provides half of the world's supply by 1925, making the colony the wealthiest in tropical Africa.

1906

Britain grants self-government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies under the leadership of Louis Botha.

The Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides formalizes the long-standing cooperative British and French efforts to maintain order throughout their multinational settlements in the New Hebrides.

Australia assumes administrative responsibility over British New Guinea (Papua), initiating a series of

paternalistic policies under the direction of Governor Hubert Murray that continue until 1940.

1907

Britain grants New Zealand dominion status after the colony refuses federation with Australia (1901).

The Nobel Prize for Literature is awarded to English author Rudyard Kipling.

1908–1910

The Union of South Africa proclaims independence. The Constitutional Convention is held in Durban and then Cape Town, South Africa. The convention agrees on a union of the South African states to be governed by a bicameral Parliament; the Native Labour Regulation Act criminalizes breach of contract and outlaws African labor strikes.

1908

Completion of the railroad into the Shire Highlands of central Africa opens the region to British colonization and eventual administration.

1909

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company begins operations in Persia. The company will later be renamed British Petroleum.

1910

The Union of South Africa becomes a dominion.

1912

The Rev. John Langalibalele becomes the South African Native National Congress's first president. Later known as the African National Congress (ANC), the organization is initially composed of educated Africans and chiefs.

Labuan falls under the authority of the Straits Settlements, a united Crown Colony composed of previous East India Company trading posts on the Malacca Strait in Southeast Asia.

1913

The Native Land Act establishes territorial segregation in the Union of South Africa. By restricting Africans to 7.3 percent of South Africa's overall land, the act further cripples the already impoverished African peasantry and bolsters the power of white farmers in need of African labor.

The Nobel Prize for literature is awarded to Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore.

1914–1918

World War I engulfs Europe and quickly attains global proportions. With Britain at war, the colonies respond. Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and others deploy combatants and laborers under the Union Jack. British colonial forces are engaged in Europe, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, and Africa. Many colonies contribute financial assistance; India gives over £100 million to the effort. While Britain can count on the support of its colonies, the conflict has profound and lasting consequences for the British Empire. As participation in overseas conflict finds colonials fighting beside allies as unfamiliar as the enemy, many return home disillusioned, resentful, and filled with nationalist sentiment.

1914

The House of Commons passes the Irish Home Rule Bill but the Lords amend the bill to exclude portions of Ulster, causing a heated debate interrupted by the world war.

South African forces invade German South West Africa, inciting a short-lived Afrikaner rebellion in the Orange Free State. While South African white and "Coloured" (mixed-race) troops fought in Europe and East Africa, full-blooded Africans could serve only as noncombatants.

Frederick Lugard unites the colonies of Northern and Southern Nigeria under a single administration, and becomes governor-general.

The *Komagatu Maru* incident, in which the Japanese ship of that name brings 300 Indian immigrants to Vancouver, tests Canadian immigration laws. According to Canadian law, the group is not admitted. On return to India, riots erupt and sixteen are killed.

1915

The Gallipoli campaign is launched by the Allies in an effort to force Turkey out of the war and to open a sea route to Russia. Perhaps the greatest debacle of the war, the action involves a failed British naval operation followed by a joint amphibious landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) on April 25. Landings are executed on the Gallipoli peninsula as simultaneous incursions are pressed on the adjacent Asian mainland. Faced with

impenetrable Turkish resistance, the Allies suffer horrifying casualties before eventual withdrawal: 8,587 killed and 19,367 wounded. Remembered in Australia and New Zealand as ANZAC Day, the disastrous campaign represents the epitome of colonial sacrifice.

Indian barrister Mohandas K. Gandhi (later called Mahatma [Sanskrit for “Great Soul”]) returns to India after a campaign for equal rights in South Africa. Gandhi will soon lead the Indian independence movement based on nonviolent demonstrations; later, he will become an international icon of peaceful resistance to authoritarian injustice.

American-trained pastor John Chilembwe leads a short-lived uprising against colonial rule in Nyasaland (Malawi), in response to forced military subscription and a variety of labor-related injustices.

1916

Baron Chelmsford becomes British viceroy of India. He is immediately faced with demands for increased self-government issued by leading elected members of the imperial legislative council. The demands are well timed and organized by the Lucknow Pact, a joint effort between the Indian National Congress and the All-Indian Muslim League.

April 24–29 The Easter Rebellion erupts in Dublin as nationalist Patrick H. Pearse leads the Irish Republican Brotherhood to arms. Pledged Imperial German support fails to materialize and, despite support from Sinn Féin, the uprising is put down with relative ease.

1917

Reacting to the Lucknow Pact, British secretary of state for India, Edwin Montagu, plans to develop self-governing institutions in India. Montagu and Chelmsford draft a report to Parliament recommending moves toward limited self-government, but the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League both denounce the measure as “disappointing and unsatisfactory.” Taking exception to what they view as a hard-line approach, moderate members of the Congress break away from the National Liberation Federation and call for cooperative efforts (1918).

Widespread rebellion erupts in the Zambezi region of Mozambique, in response to harsh wartime labor demands.

October The Sinn Féin convention adopts a constitution for the Irish Republic and elects Eamon De Valera president.

November The Balfour Declaration provides the foundation of Britain’s policies in Palestine and outlines the basis of Zionist claims for settlement in the territory. According to the Declaration, Britain will support “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . [but] . . . nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.”

1918

The Resident Natives Ordinance is enacted in Kenya colony (British East Africa), requiring African tenants to labor for their white landlords six months a year.

Influenza pandemic kills millions worldwide.

April 1918–January 1919 Conscription is introduced in Ireland, prompting the Irish Nationalists to abandon the British Parliament, call a one-day general strike, and launch a political campaign for repeal. After Nationalist leader De Valera is arrested in May, the movement successfully forces the repeal (June), forms an Irish Parliament (Dáil Éireann), drafts a constitution, and proclaims Ireland’s independence (January).

1919–1945

Marking the end of World War I, the Versailles Treaty (1918) establishes the League of Nations as an international organization for the deterrence of future conflict. Based on the league’s authority and a series of additional treaties established through an Allied Supreme Council, former German and Ottoman colonial possessions fall under the mandate system, devised to fill the administrative vacuum created by the collapse of German and Ottoman authority. The League’s Permanent Mandates Commission, which was to supervise the mandates, proves ineffective, however, as administrative responsibility over indigenous populations remains in the hands of the individual Allied nations. Principally administered by Great Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand, most mandated territories in the Middle East will gain independence before the outbreak of World War II (1939).

1919

General Jan Smuts succeeds Botha as prime minister of the South African Republic.

March 18 British colonial authorities in India introduce the Rowlatt Acts, legal measures that allow for the internment of “agitators” without trial and entitle judges to try cases without juries.

April Protesting the Rowlatt Acts, Mohandas K. Gandhi leads his first *satyagraha* (“holding to the truth”), a practice of nonviolent civil disobedience. Gandhi’s pacifist intentions are misunderstood by much of India’s population, however, as the *satyagraha* turns violent with riots, the killing of five Englishmen, and the beating of an Englishwoman in Amritsar in the Punjab region.

April 13 The Amritsar Massacre ensues when British general Reginald Dyer, hoping to terrorize demonstrators, orders his Gurkha troops to fire into a crowd gathered in the Jallianwala Bagh public park, killing 379 and wounding over 1,200.

April 18 Gandhi calls for the end of the *satyagraha*, remarking that the campaign had been a “Himalayan miscalculation.”

May The Third Anglo-Afghan War erupts. The conflict begins when Afghanistan’s amir, Amanullah, calls for Indian Muslims to rise against British rule as the Afghan army invades from the north. While Afghan assaults enjoy initial success, British-Indian forces quickly repel the invasion. Nonetheless, the resulting Treaty of Rawalpindi recognizes Afghanistan’s independence.

July–September British security forces move to suppress Sinn Fein and other Irish nationalist groups in Tipperary. British police seize the Irish Parliament and raid Sinn Fein’s political headquarters. The Irish view the incursions as an act of war and resist with attacks on British forces, arson, and numerous guerrilla actions.

December 23 The Government of India Act introduces the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The reforms include the formation of the Indian Parliament and shared British-Indian provincial authority; British officials are to oversee security issues, while Indian legislative councils are to manage local infrastructures. Although rejected by the Indian National Congress, the reforms achieve some success through the National Liberal Federation.

1920s–1930s

African Christian independent churches expand their influence throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The

movement begins as Yoruba Anglicans form independent prayer groups, known as *aladuras*, which adapt Christian theology to African traditional beliefs. *Aladuras* reach their apex with the founding of the First Church of the Lord (c. 1930), and the groups’ missionary activities within the interior of West Africa.

1920

The Native Registration Ordinance is enacted in Kenya, providing increased labor and tax control over Africans.

The Khalifat Movement is organized by prominent Indian Muslims in order to protest the poor treatment of the Turks by the victorious Allies. Mahatma Gandhi temporarily joins the movement, hoping to unite Indian Hindus and Muslims in a common cause.

January Based on the Versailles Treaty, the British mandate over former German East Africa goes into effect and the territory is renamed Tanganyika. German Samoa (Western Samoa) is ceded to New Zealand, and the phosphate-rich island of Nauru is placed under joint administration by Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand as a mandate.

May 15 British reinforcements, the “Black and Tans,” arrive in Ireland to pursue reprisals against Sinn Fein. Fierce fighting ensues for several months.

July British East Africa becomes a Crown Colony and is renamed Kenya.

August Accompanied by members of the Khalifat, Gandhi embarks on a nationwide speaking tour during which he calls for a great “noncooperation movement,” to include a boycott of foreign goods, schools, courts, functions, legislatures, and military service.

Based on the Treaty of Sèvres, through which the Ottoman sultan renounces claims to non-Turkish territory, Britain accepts League of Nations mandates over Mesopotamia (Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra) and Palestine.

September A special session of the Indian National Congress meets in Calcutta and approves Gandhi’s plan for achieving Indian self-government through nonviolent demonstrations and carefully calculated legal actions. Later, the annual Congress reaffirms the approval and defines its intention as “the attainment of *swaraj* [self-rule] by peaceful and legitimate means.”

December 23 The Government of Ireland Act establishes Irish independence with separate Parliaments for Northern and Southern Ireland, each represented in the British Parliament. Although Sinn Fein wins 124 of the 128 seats in Southern Ireland, the group refuses to attend and denounces a divided Ireland on principle.

1921

Despite Gandhi's call for an end to all violent efforts, terrorist actions continue to erupt throughout India. Peasant revolts break out against landlords and moneylenders, as some draw connections between resistance to British rule and action against the inequities of socioeconomic class. Many Sikh, Muslim, and Hindu peasants rise against their upper-class Hindu landlords, inaugurating over a decade of racial violence. Hoping to quell the violence, the Indian National Congress grants Gandhi full executive authority over the organization's activities.

March 17 Britain recognizes King Abdallah as provisional ruler of Transjordan, a division within the Palestine mandate.

July 14 Sinn Fein representatives Eamon De Valera and Sir James Craig attend a conference on Ireland with Lloyd George and other British representatives, who offer dominion status for Ireland. De Valera and Craig reject the offer, standing by their call for full independence.

December 6 Sinn Fein representatives Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins attend a second conference with British officials and agree to the proposed terms. Still refusing to accept anything short of a united and independent Ireland, De Valera resigns his post in Sinn Fein and his presidency of the Irish Republic.

1922

January 15 Dáil Éireann accepts the British proposal for an Irish Free State and names Arthur Griffith as president and Michael Collins as prime minister.

February 28 Britain formally recognizes Egyptian independence under the rule of King Fuad I, but retains control over Egyptian foreign policy and defense, the Suez Canal, and the Sudan. Additionally, Britain insists on the continuance of the Capitulations, a system of laws and courts with sole jurisdiction over foreigners.

March 10 British colonial authorities arrest Gandhi and sentence him to six years' imprisonment for leading the Indian civil disobedience movement.

March 15 Eamon De Valera forms the Irish Republican Society and initiates the same violent guerrilla action against the Irish Free State that he had against the British.

July 1 Churchill White Paper attempts to clarify Britain's policies in Palestine. While reaffirming support of the Balfour Declaration (1917), the document favors restrictions on immigration based on the "economic capacity of the country."

August 22 Irish Republican Society assassinates Michael Collins, president-elect of the soon-to-be-proclaimed Irish Free State. Collins is replaced by William T. Cosgrave, who pursues a campaign against De Valera and the Republicans.

October–December Dáil Éireann adopts an Irish constitution, which provides for a bicameral parliament with a senate and a chamber of deputies. The Irish Free State is officially proclaimed (December 6) and Northern Ireland's Parliament refuses inclusion on the following day.

1923

The Halibut Fisheries Treaty solidifies the right of dominions to negotiate and manage international trade agreements independently of British authority.

May 5 The Anglo-Jordan Treaty separates Transjordan from the Palestine mandate. According to the treaty, Transjordan is required to adopt a constitution and to allow Britain to set the nation's foreign policy.

August 15 Irish Free State authorities arrest Republican Eamon De Valera, holding him without trial until July 16, 1924.

September 25 Led by Chitta R. Das, the moderate Swaraj Party gains control of the Indian National Congress. Although Swaraj seeks to use legislative representation to disrupt the colonial government and thereby force independence, several of the party's elected members begin to cooperate with colonial administrative authorities. Many, including Motilal Nehru, begin to advocate dominion status.

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November 14 The Nobel Prize for Literature is awarded to Irish poet W. B. Yeats.

1924

The British Empire Exhibition is held at Wembley.

British Imperial Airways begins service. By 1932 the service will extend to twenty-two countries, cover nearly 2 million miles, and carry over 34,000 passengers and 6 million letters annually.

James B. Hertzog becomes prime minister of South Africa.

February 4 Gandhi, in failing health, is released from prison; authorities fear that his death in prison could result in massive uprisings.

A united conference at Delhi organizes Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians, who agree to initiate measures to prevent further religious and racial violence.

1925

The British Dominion Office is formed.

Afrikaans is recognized as an official language in South Africa.

March The Iraq Petroleum Company, a British firm, receives oil concessions from the mandate of Iraq.

September The Indian Legislative Assembly calls for a round-table conference to draft a scheme for Indian self-government.

1926

The British Imperial Conference further defines the nature of dominion status by recognizing the right of dominions to set international policy independently of the British government.

Lord Irwin (Halifax) becomes British viceroy of India.

November 8 Parliament appoints the Simon Commission to assess circumstances in India, including the implementation of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919. Lacking Indian representation, the commission is boycotted by most Indian political parties. The commission's 1927–1928 tour of India provokes increased agitation among

Indian nationalists, leading to renewed opposition to British rule and increased violence.

November 11 The Nobel Prize for Literature is awarded to Irish dramatist and critic George Bernard Shaw.

November 19 The Irish Free State passes the Public Safety Act, empowering government to suspend habeas corpus in the event of national emergency.

1927

August 11 Having been released from prison one month earlier, Eamon De Valera and other Irish Republicans take the oath of loyalty to the Crown, assume their seats in the Dáil, and begin a political campaign to lawfully take control of the Irish Free State.

1928

The All-India Trade Union Congress and the Communist Party of India gain influence following numerous labor strikes in Bombay.

August 28 The Nehru Report proposing Indian constitutional government and dominion status is adopted by the Indian All-Parties Conference. While Muslim leaders object to the proposal due to its lack of representation for India's Muslim population, Indian extremists reject the notion of accepting dominion status. In opposition to the All-Parties Conference, the Independence of India League is founded by Jawaharlal Nehru (son of Motilal Nehru), Subbas Chandra Bose of Bengal, and Srinivasa Iyengar of Madras (August 30). The league calls for complete Indian independence.

December Gandhi successfully negotiates a compromise between the All-Parties Conference and the Independence of India League, calling for Britain to grant India dominion status within one year or face renewed civil disobedience efforts toward full independence.

1929

August The Western (Wailing) Wall Riots erupt in the British-governed mandate of Palestine. Disputes over Jewish access to the Western Wall of the Second Jewish Temple lead to Arab-Jewish rioting, killing some 250 Arabs and Jews. British authorities intervene with troops and aircraft as the violence spreads throughout the territory. Criticized for what is viewed as excessive

force, Britain loses credibility with Arab Palestinians, and Arab-British relations sharply deteriorate.

Lord Irwin announces a forthcoming round table conference at which dominion status for India will be seriously discussed. While the Irwin Declaration ostensibly guarantees eventual dominion, conservative opponents in Britain block Irwin's plans. In response, the Indian National Congress empowers Gandhi to lead civil disobedience measures in January of the following year.

Aba Women's War (*Ogu Umunwanyi*) ensues in eastern Nigeria when British policies of indirect rule allow newly created local chiefs to break with traditions that had previously guaranteed women a measure of political authority. Women of the Owerri province stage mass protests, destroying court buildings and forcing many chiefs to flee. British troops squelch the protests, killing fifty women and injuring another fifty in the process. The incident leads to reforms under British Governor Donald Cameron (1931–1935). While introducing administrative structures that are designed to respond to local conditions, the Cameron Reforms fail to relieve political and economic inequities in British Nigeria.

The Riotous Assemblies Act is passed in South Africa, facilitating the deportation of individuals deemed “racially hostile” by the government. The first use of the word “apartheid” is recorded.

1930

The Statute of Westminster further defines dominion status within the British Commonwealth.

Eamon De Valera is elected president of Ireland.

The Passfield White Paper recommends a halt to Jewish immigration to Palestine, as the British government believes that Arab hostilities toward Jews result from fears that continued Jewish immigration will result in a loss of Arab land. After heated debate Jewish immigration restrictions are suspended in the following year. The measure prompts a peak in Jewish immigration and 166,000 enter the country between 1933 and 1936, bringing Palestine's Jewish population to over 400,000, approximately 30 percent of the overall population.

The Land Apportionment Act is passed in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), allotting the best half of the

land to whites, establishing African reserves on the remaining half, and requiring African tenants to labor for their white landlords.

March 12 The Salt March begins Gandhi's newly energized nationalist campaign of civil disobedience in India. Leading a large contingent of nationalists, Gandhi marches some 200 miles from his ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarat seacoast to violate tax law forbidding the private manufacture of salt. The action remains unopposed by British authorities until violence erupts.

May 5 Gandhi is again arrested and jailed without trial as British authorities fear his ability to unite nationalist factions. Some 60,000 of Gandhi's followers are arrested throughout the year, 103 are killed, and 420 are wounded by police violence.

November 12 The First Round-Table Conference on India is held in London. Participants include representatives of the Indian princes, the Liberal Party, and the Muslim League. Muhammad Iqbal, president of the Muslim League, proposes the formation of a separate Muslim state.

1931

The Donoughmore Constitution awards Ceylon self-government.

January–March Lord Irwin releases Gandhi from prison in January and the two negotiate the Delhi Pact. Gandhi agrees that the Congress will halt the civil disobedience campaign and recognize the round-table conferences, while Irwin agrees to release political prisoners who had not engaged in violent activities.

September The Second Round-Table Conference on India is held in London. Gandhi participates in the conference as the sole representative of the Congress. No agreement is reached on representation for India's ethnic or religious minorities.

December The earl of Willingdon becomes the British viceroy of India. Due to Willingdon's stubborn resistance to negotiation, Gandhi resumes his campaign of civil disobedience upon his return from London.

1932

January Gandhi is again arrested, the Indian National Congress is outlawed, and the colonial government

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takes measures to squelch the resulting nonviolent demonstrations.

March 9 Republican Eamon De Valera becomes president of the Irish Free State. In the following year he will replace the Dáil membership with Republicans, strip the British governor-general of his authority, outlaw appeals to the English Privy Council, and abolish the oath of loyalty to the Crown.

August British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald announces the Communal Award in India. With the failure of the round-table conferences to settle issues related to minority representation in India, the award maintains the standard of the traditional caste system by codifying separate communal electorates. In protest, Gandhi begins his “fast unto death,” which results in an agreement guaranteeing significant representation for the poor and arouses growing public sentiment against the caste system.

November–December The Third Round-Table Conference on India is held with no significant results.

1933

Newfoundland loses its dominion status. Incompetent administration and corruption lead to intervention by the British government. While Newfoundlanders will retain representation within their government, Britain assumes supervisory authority and oversees a program for economic rehabilitation.

April–November A British parliamentary joint committee reviews the findings of the Simon Commission and the round-table conferences and publishes a draft for an Indian constitution.

1934

The Kenya Land Commission Report establishes designated African reserves and exclusive white farming areas.

Gandhi suspends the civil disobedience campaign and resigns from the Indian National Congress; however, he will remain the driving force behind the Congress’s policies.

1935

August The Government of India Act of 1935 is passed by Parliament, establishing home rule by dividing India into eleven provinces, each falling under the administrative authority of a governor and an

executive council. Initially designed to establish an All-India Federation, the act provides for autonomous provincial governments guided by a central legislature at Delhi that retains responsibility for defense and foreign affairs. The full implementation of an All-India Federation remains elusive, however, as the Indian National Congress and several of the Indian states resist participation in the federation process.

1936

April 7 The Natives Representation Act is passed in South Africa, removing the Cape African franchise and setting up the Native Representative Council (NRC). The simultaneous passage of the Native Trust and Land Act expands the so-called native reserves and requires African tenants to labor for their white landlords six months a year.

April 28 King Faruq succeeds King Fuad to the throne of Egypt. Although Faruq enjoys popularity throughout most of his reign, his authority and prestige are briefly compromised after confrontation with British authorities leads to public humiliation (1942).

August 26 The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty is signed, ending direct British control of Egyptian foreign affairs and arranging for the abolition of the Capitulations. British troops were permitted to remain in the Canal Zone for an additional twenty years, and Egyptian forces were allowed to return to the Sudan. Rather than alleviating nationalist concerns over British intervention, the treaty is viewed by many Egyptians as a disappointing compromise.

1937

Aden becomes a crown colony separate from British India.

The All-India Congress wins majorities in six elections and pluralities in three others for the provincial assemblies in India. While the objective of the Congress had been to consolidate Indian authority through a constituent assembly, political victory leaves party leaders confronted with decisions on how to use their newly won legislative power.

Irish Free State elections result in stalemate, with Eamon De Valera securing half of the seats. A compromise is reached, however, and a Protestant cultural revivalist, Douglas Hyde, becomes the first president of Ireland with De Valera as prime minister.

July The Peel Commission declares an Arab-Jewish Palestine “unfeasible” and recommends the establishment of separate Arab and Jewish states created from Transjordan and Palestine. While Arab leaders reject the idea of partition outright, the Zionist Congress accepts the plan on principle but demands special considerations be extended to Jewish settlements.

September The assassination of Yelland Andrews, British district commissioner for Galilee, prompts the outlawing of the Arab High Committee and the arrest of the organization’s leading members.

October The Great Arab Revolt erupts across Palestine. Primarily a rural revolt, the main target of the attacks is the British Administration. British authorities respond with increasing military action until hostilities cease in late 1939.

1938

April Gandhi meets with Mohammed Ali Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, to consider the league’s claim to be the sole representative of Indian Muslims. Gandhi and the Congress reject Jinnah’s claims, abandoning further negotiations on the matter.

1939–1945

World War II engulfs the entire world in conflict as Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan launch lightning offensives across Europe, North Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Wartime service, resistance to enemy occupation, economic inflation, and staggering losses of life virtually rip the British Empire apart. Although Britain’s colonies support the war effort, many that have been overrun by Axis or Japanese forces will develop increasing nationalist sentiments. At war’s end, Britain is faced with a \$20 billion debt and a worldwide decolonization movement.

1939

January–May The Irish Republican Army begins its violent campaign for a united and independent Ireland as a series of bomb attacks occur in England. Although De Valera announces Ireland’s intention to remain neutral in any British-German conflict, the government bolsters the Public Safety Act of 1926, providing special security powers to police in the event of an emergency.

February–March The Palestine Conference in London ends inconclusively as Jewish and Palestinian Arab representatives are unable to reach a

compromise. Seeking to resolve the explosive conflict, British authorities exercise unilateral authority and present a plan calling for a binational state in which power is shared between Arabs and Jews. The plan is rejected and sporadic violence is continued by both sides.

1940–1942

In an effort to elicit political stability and wartime support, Britain offers India “equal partnership” and a new constitution to be drafted at war’s end (1940). The offer is rejected as coercive, however, and the Indian nationalists demand immediate independence (1942). The exchange incites civil disturbances, leading to the temporary arrests of independence leaders Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Abul Kalam Azad. In a second effort to ensure a cooperative India, Britain announces a reorganization of the government that is to provide Indians with a significant majority on the viceroy’s imperial council.

1940

Parliament passes the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, marking a turning point in the relationship between Britain and its overseas colonies. Discarding antiquated views of its colonies as mere possessions, Britain begins to develop welfare and education programs to encourage indigenous participation in colonial administration.

1942

Britain’s concerns over Axis sympathizers within the Egyptian government lead ambassador Sir Miles Lampson to demand Faruq’s support of the Wafd, the only Egyptian political party the British believe they can trust to govern wartime Egypt. Viewing the Wafd as an obstacle to his authority, the king rejects the ultimatum but is forced to appoint a Wafdist government after British tanks surround his palace.

1944–1949

East Africa experiences widespread unrest and ethnic conflict as British-created multiracial legislatures in Kenya (1944), Tanganyika and Uganda (1945), Northern Rhodesia (1948), and Nyasaland (1949) encourage African nationalism but incite racial conflict.

1944

October 7 Egypt signs the Alexandria Protocol, joining the Arab League as a charter member. The move reflects an evolution of Egyptian policy away

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from cooperation with British interests and toward a leadership role in pan-Arab development.

November 6 Zionists assassinate Lord Moyne, British minister resident in the Middle East.

1945

The Second Colonial Development and Welfare Act adds further measures to Britain's agenda of increased colonial support.

June–December The All-India Congress proves unable to form an inclusive list of ministers for a proposed new government, as Muslim and Hindu leaders continue to lack common ground. Britain initiates discussion of Indian autonomy in reference to the 1942 offer, provoking independence leaders to call upon the British government to “quit India.” Indian elections to the central legislative assembly install Congress Party and Muslim League majorities, reflecting the nation's growing nationalist sentiment.

1946

Sir Charles Brooke, the “White Rajah,” cedes Sarawak to Britain.

Britain dismantles the Straits Settlements, with Singapore becoming a separate colony and Penang, Malacca, and Labuan joining the Malayan Union.

March–June In an explosive environment of Hindu-Muslim conflict, food shortages, and frequent riots, a British cabinet mission offers full independence to India. Negotiations fail to satisfy the Muslim League under Mohammed Ali Jinnah, however, whose demands for a separate Muslim state of Pakistan include a call for “direct action.”

July 22 Zionist terrorists explode a bomb at the King David Hotel in Palestine; the hotel served as headquarters for the British security force.

August An executive council is formed in India as an interim government, including Congress members and non-League Muslim representatives (August); although League members initially boycott the council, they later accept participation (October). While the constituent assembly that had been elected in 1945 begins to consider India's future, the League refuses to participate as it is committed to a separate state of Pakistan (December).

1947

July 5 Endorsed by the Muslim League and the All-India Congress, the Indian Independence Bill introduces the partitioning and independence of India and Pakistan within the British Commonwealth.

August 15 India becomes a dominion with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as prime minister. While most Indian states accept the new government, Hyderabad and Kashmir abstain from recognizing Delhi's authority. Kashmir will remain a source of contention between India and Pakistan, requiring intervention by the United Nations.

Lord Mountbatten becomes British governor-general of India. He will participate in the nation's final independence as the last British governing official.

Pakistan becomes a dominion with Liaquat Ali Khan as prime minister and Mohammed Ali Jinnah as governor-general.

August 31 United Nations Special Committee on Palestine recommends a three-sided partition of the country, to include a Jewish zone (half Jewish and half Arab), an Arab zone (entirely Arab), and an international zone around Jerusalem. In December, Britain announces its timetable for partitioning, and full-blown civil war erupts between Palestinian and Zionist forces. British forces refrain from intervention.

September Ethnic and religious unrest result in nearly 2 million refugees migrating between India and Pakistan. Although both nations vow to resolve the conflict, the struggle over Kashmir escalates into sporadic war.

1948

The British Citizenship Act extends British passports to all Commonwealth citizens.

The Winster Constitution is submitted by Britain, granting increased independence to Cyprus. The measure is rejected by the Greek Cypriot population under the leadership of the Greek Orthodox Church, however, and a referendum is held on the island resulting in overwhelming Greek Cypriot support for annexation by Greece.

January 4 The Union of Burma is declared and the independent republic cuts all official ties to the British Commonwealth.

January 30 A Hindu dissident upset over the partitioning of India and Pakistan assassinates Mahatma Gandhi.

February 4 Ceylon becomes the first non-European colony to gain dominion status in the British Commonwealth. The ascension of the United Front government in 1972 will result in the introduction of a republican constitution and Ceylon's adoption of the name Sri Lanka.

April 9 As well-organized Zionist forces overwhelm factionalized Palestinian resistance, Jewish terrorists murder 254 Palestinian villagers in the Dayr Yasin Massacre.

May 14 The Mandate of Palestine becomes the State of Israel, and British troops leave the nation on June 30. Violent conflict between the Israeli government and the Palestinians continues to this day, causing hundreds of deaths each year and fomenting resentment throughout the Muslim world.

September 11 Pakistani governor-general Mohammed Ali Jinnah dies and is succeeded by Khwaja Nazimuddin.

1949

Newfoundland joins the Dominion of Canada as the tenth province. The decision is passed by a narrow margin as Newfoundlanders struggle between a desire for national identity and a need for economic solvency.

January India and Pakistan agree to a cease-fire in their conflict over Kashmir, but India refuses to accept UN offers of arbitration.

April 18 Britain recognizes the independent Republic of Ireland on the anniversary of the Easter Rebellion of 1916. Although the House of Commons recognized Ireland's independence, Northern Ireland's position within the United Kingdom is reaffirmed. The IRA denounces the agreement and renews hostilities against the British government and Protestant authorities of Northern Ireland. Although steps are taken toward reconciliation, no final agreements are reached.

May 25 Transjordan becomes a kingdom under Abdallah and is renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (June 2). Abdallah is assassinated in the following year.

1950s

As the Cold War between the Western democracies on the one hand and the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on the other gains momentum, the decade witnesses the emergence of the "nonaligned nations." Primarily composed of postcolonial nations wishing to abstain from the bipolar conflict (notably, India, Egypt, and Indonesia), many struggle to retain their relationships with imperial powers while maintaining their individual sovereignty.

1950

The Republic of India is formed with Rajendra Prasad as president. Adopting the constitution of a federal republic, India becomes the largest democracy in the world, with 173 million eligible voters by 1951.

October 8 Michael Mouskos is elected bishop of Citium as Archbishop Makarios III. He becomes the central proponent of Cypriot independence.

1951

Muhammed Mussadegh becomes prime minister of Iran. Muhammed is a staunch advocate for the nationalization of Iran's oil reserves, causing tensions between Iran and Britain over British Petroleum's oil interests in the region.

October 8 Nationalist sentiment rises against British rule in Egypt as Prime Minister Mustafa al-Nahas repeals the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, and guerrilla attacks against British garrisons in the canal zone escalate.

November 28 Britain introduces the Colombo Plan to aid the development of India, Pakistan, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Sarawak, and Borneo. The plan initially calls for the distribution of £8 billion over six years and accepts new members among Asian developing nations.

1952–1959

The Mau Mau Rebellion erupts in Kenya and a state of emergency is declared. The rebellion results from Kikuyu anger over land lost to Europeans and is aggravated by general discontent over discriminatory farming regulations. British military reaction is swift, leaving thousands dead. Nationalist leader Jomo Kenyatta and five of his followers are convicted of "managing" the rebellion.

1952

January 26 The Black Saturday Riots erupt in Cairo, in response to a British attack on an Egyptian police

station in the canal zone the previous day. Thirty rioters are killed as the commercial district is looted. The moderate Wafdist government resigns.

July 23 The Egyptian Revolution brings General Muhammad Naguib and the Revolutionary Command Council to power. The event marks a turning point in Anglo-Egyptian relations by crushing the old political elite and installing a new group of young, idealistic military officers and bureaucrats with nationalist sentiments and a pan-Arab vision. King Faruq abdicates to his young son, Ahmad Fuad, who serves as a titular monarch under a regency until the following year when Egypt is declared a republic and the monarchy is abolished.

1953

London Conference considers the federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Final federation plans will be implemented late in the year.

Britain temporarily suspends the Constitution of British Guiana after the popular election of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progress Party, prompts fears of a Marxist takeover in the country.

1954

Following several purges within the Egyptian government, Gamal Abdul Nasser becomes head of the state.

1955

Guerrilla warfare erupts in Cyprus, and the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) demands union with Greece. As EOKA attacks ensue against British and Turkish forces on the island, a London conference on the crisis remains deadlocked. Archbishop Makarios demands immediate sovereignty and Britain deports him to the Seychelles Islands (1957).

1956

The Suez Crisis erupts in Egypt. Following announcements by the United States and Britain that they will not participate in financing the Aswan High Dam, the Egyptian government under Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal (July). After international conferences fail to resolve the issue, Israeli, French, and British forces invade Egypt and occupy the Sinai (Suez War). U.S. and Soviet opposition to the invasion prompts the deployment of a UN Emergency Force that

supervises the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt and the resumption of operations at the canal.

Pakistan becomes the Islamic Republic of Pakistan with Hussein Shaheed Suhrawardy as prime minister. The government will collapse, however, when President Iskander Mirza dismisses the prime minister and proclaims martial law. Pakistan will continue to fluctuate between republican democracy and dictatorship for years to come.

Founding members of the growing "nonaligned nations" movement—Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia, Zhou Enlai of the People's Republic of China, and Nasser of Egypt—meet at the Bandung Conference of Asian-African States in Indonesia.

July Sudan gains independence under the Umma Party's Abdallah Khalil as prime minister. Khalil is soon overthrown, however, as the nation's coalition of religious factions splinters, leading to a series of military coups (1958, 1969, 1985, 2000). As radical political policies and the discovery of oil further destabilize the nation, conflict with growing resistance movements, devastating floods, and ongoing famine result in endemic civil war and the emergence of a renewed slave trade.

1957

Ghana (the former Gold Coast) gains independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

August 31 Malaya becomes an independent nation in the British Commonwealth and joins the Colombo Plan in October.

1958

January 3 The Federation of the West Indies is established, joining ten British territories in the Caribbean, including Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Granada, Montserrat, St. Kitts–Nevis–Anguilla, Dominica, and Antigua.

1959

Civil unrest in Nyasaland leads to the arrest of nationalist leader Hastings Banda.

February 19 A Cypriot constitution is drafted by a London conference, forbidding union with Greece and ethnic partitioning and guaranteeing rights to the Turkish minority with proportionate legislative representation. Archbishop Makarios is released from

the Seychelles and is elected as Cyprus's first president (December 13). The Republic of Cyprus is formed 16 August 1970.

President S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike of Ceylon is assassinated.

1960–1993

The People's National Movement announces that Trinidad and Tobago will seek independence outside of the West Indies Federation. The move splinters the federation, signaling a lengthy series of political upsets and national secessions throughout the British Caribbean. Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, British Guiana, and Barbados become independent within the Commonwealth; Anguilla, Bermuda, the Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos, and the British Virgin Islands remain British possessions; and Dominica, St. Vincent, Granada, Belize (formerly British Honduras), St. Lucia, and St. Kitts–Nevis become independent states.

1960s

Throughout the postcolonial and developing nations, the decade is characterized by the emergence of neocolonialism. The trend is based on economic relationships resulting from the production of cash crops, the harvesting of minerals, and the preponderance of inexpensive labor in often-impooverished developing regions. Neocolonial powers wield significant leverage through foreign policy and economic domination. The “Green Revolution,” which involves increased use of fertilizers and genetically altered seeds from the industrialized West, renders many ex-colonies even more dependent on neocolonial relationships.

1960

March 21 The Sharpeville massacre occurs in South Africa: police fire on unarmed demonstrators who are protesting the government's apartheid policies; 69 demonstrators are killed and 180 others are wounded.

June 26 British Somaliland gains independence.

July 1 Ghana becomes a republic within the Commonwealth (1960) but then aligns with the Soviet Union, Cuba, and China.

October 1 Nigeria wins independence from Britain but experiences deep political divisions and instability that will eventually drive the nation into a bitter civil

war (1967–1970), costing over 1 million lives, largely through starvation and disease.

1961

South Africa becomes an independent republic but is refused entry into the Commonwealth due to its apartheid policies.

April 27 Sierra Leone gains independence under the People's Party led by Dr. Milton Margai, a conservative who had gained the support of the nation's Creoles and other ethnic groups. Margai's hold on the nation quickly deteriorates, leading to civil unrest. Sierra Leone continues to experience intermittent violent conflict.

August Following the adoption of a draft constitution and the rise of the Kenya African National Union, Kenya gains independence under Jomo Kenyatta, the nation's first president, who commences leadership upon his release from prison.

December Tanganyika and Zanzibar gain independence.

1962

Noted historian Eric Williams becomes Trinidad and Tobago's first prime minister. Originally a sugar exporter, Trinidad and Tobago will develop as an oil-refining nation to become the economic center of the British Caribbean.

April Uganda gains independence.

1963

December 12 Kenya gains independence.

September 16 The Federation of Malaysia comprises Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo.

1964

The Central African Federation disintegrates as Kenneth Kaunda becomes president of Northern Rhodesia and proclaims the independent republic of Zambia.

January 1 Zanzibar becomes a republic and unites with Tanganyika to form Tanzania.

July 6 Nyasaland becomes the independent state of Malawi under Dr. Hastings Banda but remains within the Commonwealth.

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1965

Gambia and Rhodesia declare independence, and Singapore becomes independent within the Commonwealth.

1966

September 30 Botswana gains independence.

1968

Mauritius, Swaziland, and Nauru gain independence but remain within the Commonwealth.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau of the Liberal Party becomes prime minister of Canada. Trudeau initiates the Bilingual Language Act, which improves relations between English- and French-speaking Canadians.

The British government increases restrictions on immigration from India, Pakistan, and the West Indies.

July 26 Britain recognizes the independent Republic of Maldives on condition that the nation host a British airbase on Gan Island until 1986.

1969

Conservative member of Parliament Enoch Powell proposes that the British government finance repatriation of “New Commonwealth” immigrants back to their countries or colonies of origin.

1970

Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa gain independence.

1973

Bahamas gain independence.

1982

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Canada gains full independence from Great Britain.

April–June Seeking popular favor by inciting patriotic fervor, Argentina’s ruling general Leopoldo Galtieri invades the British-held Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and St. George, inciting the Falkland Islands War. Although the Falklands had been a British colony since 1832, their possession had remained a contested issue between the countries. In response to the invasion, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher dispatched the British fleet. The Argentines were soon routed and Galtieri was deposed.

1997

July 1 Hong Kong returns to Chinese sovereignty after 156 years of British colonial rule. Although panic had ensued about the reversion in the 1980s, particularly after the Tiananmen Square crackdown had turned violent in 1989, the change of power occurs with relative ease as the People’s Republic of China begins to experiment with a market economy.

DANISH EMPIRE

JAMES CIMENT

982

The Norwegian explorer Erik the Red settles Greenland.

1261

The Norse Republic of Greenland comes to an end as Norse settlers swear allegiance to the king of Norway.

1612

The Danish East India Company is formed.

1666

The First Danish settlers arrive in St. Thomas (now in the U.S. Virgin Islands).

1671

The Danish West India Company is chartered and purchases the island of St. Thomas from the French; Danish planters begin growing sugar cane using convicts from Europe.

1673

The first consignment of African slaves is sold in St. Thomas.

1717

The Danish West India Company purchases the island of St. John (now in the U.S. Virgin Islands) from the French.

1721

Following the long disappearance of Norsemen in Greenland, the unified kingdom of Denmark-Norway commissions a trading post and Lutheran mission near the present-day settlement of Godthåb.

1725–1726

Drought causes starvation and the deaths of hundreds of slaves in the Danish West Indies.

1733

The Danish West India Company purchases island of St. Croix (now in the U.S. Virgin Islands) from the French.

September–August 1734 In response to a draconian new slave code, slaves rise up against their masters in St. John; the rebellion is put down by Dutch West India Company mercenaries and armed planters.

1754

The Dutch West India Company rule of the Danish West Indies ends; administration is turned over directly to the Danish government.

1776

The Danish government assumes a full monopoly over trade with Greenland and closes the island to foreigners until 1950.

1792

The slave trade is outlawed in the Danish West Indies.

1801–1815

Fearing French moves against the islands, Britain briefly occupies the Danish West Indies but returns them to Danish control following end of the Napoleonic Wars.

1848

A major slave rebellion erupts in St. Croix; slavery is prohibited in the Danish West Indies.

1849

Labor codes for newly freed slaves in Danish West Indies are passed; they are nearly as restrictive as the old slave codes.

1866

Following two decades of economic decline in the wake of the abolition of slavery, Denmark first approaches the United States about purchasing the

Danish West Indies; negotiations will continue for nearly fifty years.

1873

Hamburg-American shipping line makes St. Thomas its main entrepôt in the Lesser Antilles.

1878

The laboring people of St. Croix riot against the colony's draconian labor laws; mild reforms are instituted in the wake of the violence.

1903

Leading citizens of the Danish West Indies petition the Danish Royal Commission, complaining about harsh labor laws, police brutality, and absentee government; their petition is largely ignored.

1916

August 4 Denmark and the United States sign a treaty selling the Danish West Indies to the United States for a payment of \$25 million.

1917

March 31 Denmark officially turns the Danish West Indies over to U.S. control; the islands become known as the U.S. Virgin Islands.

1931

July 10 Norway annexes East Greenland over Danish protests; the matter is referred to the League of Nations.

1940

Following the Nazi invasion of Denmark, the United States assumes protection of Greenland.

1945

Greenland reverts to Danish control.

1951

The Royal Greenland Trading Company's trade monopoly is ended.

1953

Greenland becomes an integral part of the kingdom of Denmark; reforms to the local economy, education, and transport begin.

1979

May 1 Greenland wins home rule within the kingdom of Denmark.

DUTCH EMPIRE

JAMES CIMENT

1566

Protests against high grain prices lead to a general uprising against Spanish Hapsburg rule in the Netherlands, beginning the Dutch revolution and war of independence that will continue through 1609.

1585

The first Dutch trading ship sails into the Mediterranean.

1593

Naval commander Jan Huyghen van Linschoten returns to the Netherlands after a number of years in the service of the Portuguese Empire in the Indian Ocean; his memoirs will serve as a source of much information for Dutch attacks on Portuguese outposts in Africa and Asia in the seventeenth century.

1593–1597

Various Dutch expeditions fail in the attempt to find a passage to the East Indies by sailing north around Russia.

1595–1597

The first Dutch expedition to Bantam in western Java is undertaken.

1598

The Dutch settle the uninhabited Indian Ocean island of Mauritius; it becomes the Netherlands' first colony.

1598–1599

Commanded by Jacob van Neck, a second expedition to the East Indies (modern Indonesia) yields huge profits.

1598–1604

Bent on plundering Spanish galleons, Olivier van Noort commands a round-the-world expedition funded by Rotterdam merchants; the expedition is largely unsuccessful as far as plunder is concerned.

1602

The Dutch East India Company is formed with a capital of 6.5 million guilders in shares; the company is granted a monopoly over all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) and with all lands in the Pacific; the company is also granted war- and treaty-making powers and the right to appoint local governors.

1605

The Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company open trade in metals with China.

1605

A Dutch expedition drives the Portuguese from Amboina, a clove-producing island in the Spice Islands (now the Moluccas in Indonesia).

1605–1609

The Dutch launch a number of raids against Portuguese trading outposts, including Moçambique Island off East Africa, Goa in India, and Malacca in the East Indies.

1606

Dutch commander Willem Jansz and his crew become the first Europeans to reach Australia.

1608

The Dutch found their first trading posts in India at Golconda and Pulicat.

1609

The Spanish and Austrian Hapsburg governments recognize the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, after forty-five years of struggle that drew in all the major powers of western Europe; the Dutch refuse a Spanish demand that they not trade in the West Indies.

The Dutch East India Company establishes a trade outpost at Firando, Japan.

Sailing for the Dutch East India Company, English explorer Henry Hudson searches for passage to the Indies around North America; he sails up the mouth of the Hudson River, which he names the Mauritius after Prince Maurits of the Netherlands.

1612

The Dutch West India Company begins to use Manhattan as a base for trading for furs with Native Americans; the company establishes a permanent outpost the following year.

The Dutch sign a treaty with the sultan to trade in the Ottoman Empire.

1613

August Jan Pieterszoon Coen takes over the Dutch East India Company operations in Java; he begins signing trading alliances with local leaders and building fortified trading posts.

1614

The Dutch found the Northern Company to finance whaling expeditions; the company will be dissolved in 1642 after desultory success.

October 11 The New Netherland Company of Amsterdam is formed to trade in North America and to counter threats of the English.

1615

The Dutch East India Company launches war against all indigenous and European competitors to take control of the Spice Islands trade.

1615–1617

The first Dutch expedition to the East Indies via the Strait of Magellan in South America sails.

1617

The Dutch East India Company founds a trading post on the island of Sumatra (in modern Indonesia).

1618

The Dutch West African Company is formed in order to trade in slaves and trade goods.

1619

The Dutch East India Company director in the East Indies, Jan Coen, founds a trading post at Batavia (modern Jakarta, Indonesia).

1621

The Dutch establish a trading post on Gorée Island, off Cape Verde, Africa (modern Senegal); it would later become a major slave trading center.

The Dutch seize the Banda Islands, in modern-day Indonesia; Dutch East India Company director Jan Coen directs a massacre of local inhabitants to prevent people from growing their own nutmeg and competing with the Dutch.

June 3 The Dutch West India Company is founded to foster trade with Africa and the West Indies and to conduct raids on Spanish America.

1623

February Dutch East India Company personnel massacre English traders of the British East India Company on the spice island of Amboina; the motive is to eliminate competitors in the highly lucrative spice trade.

1624

Dutch West India Company forces take Bahia, Brazil, from the Portuguese for a year.

The Dutch seize the island of Taiwan from the Portuguese, using it as headquarters for trade with China; the Dutch will remain in control of the island for eighteen years.

May The Dutch province of Holland founds the colony of New Netherlands in the territory between Fort Orange at the highest point seagoing vessels can sail up the Hudson River (modern-day Albany, New York) and the mouth of the river (modern-day New York Harbor).

1625

The Dutch establish the colony of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island (modern-day New York City).

1628

The Dutch conduct the most successful raid on a Spanish silver fleet in their history; The Dutch occupy the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and Tobago in the Caribbean; the first three of these islands will remain in Dutch possession until the present day.

1629

Sultan Agung of Java launches an unsuccessful siege of the Dutch trading fort at Batavia.

1630

The Dutch begin conquest of the Portuguese colony of Pernambuco, Brazil.

1631

The Dutch West India Company founds a settlement on the Delaware River.

1633

The Dutch found settlements in present-day Connecticut.

1634

The Dutch West India Company founds a major trading post on the Caribbean island of Curaçao.

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Johan Maurits becomes governor of the Dutch settlements in Brazil; during his ten-year tenure, the Dutch expand and consolidate their hold in the region.

1635

Driven by wealth from overseas trade, Dutch embark on two-year-long frenzy of speculation in tulips, inflating prices for rare bulbs to astronomical levels until a crash pops the speculative bubble.

1636

Dutch colonists found the first settlement in Breuckelen (modern Brooklyn) on Long Island.

1637

The Dutch capture the Portuguese slave fort at Elmina on the Gold Coast of West Africa (modern Ghana); the fort becomes the center of a thriving Dutch slave trade.

The Dutch finish the conquest of Pernambuco, Brazil, taking the entire colony from Portugal.

Dutch military leader Antonio Van Diemen forms an alliance with local leader Raja Sinha against the Portuguese traders on the cinnamon-producing island of Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka), beginning a slow conquest of the island that will take twenty years.

1641

The Dutch establish colonies on St. Eustatius and St. Martin islands in the Caribbean.

Japan orders Dutch traders off the mainland to the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor; the Dutch are the only Europeans allowed to trade with Japan until 1853.

January The Dutch capture the Portuguese settlement of Malacca in modern-day Indonesia.

June Ten-year truce with Portugal is signed.

August The Dutch West India Company captures Luanda, Angola, gaining access to new slaves for plantations in the Dutch-controlled regions of Brazil.

1643

With the Dutch supplying guns to their traditional Iroquoian enemies, Algonquin tribes of North America attack Dutch settlements in New Netherlands in “Kieft’s War”; 200 Dutch and 1,000 Algonquin are killed in the three-year conflict.

1644

Johan Maurits, governor of the Dutch colony in Brazil, departs; Portuguese settlers and indigenous Indians rise up against their Dutch rulers in Pernambuco, protesting Dutch West India Company taxation and the imposition of the Protestant faith.

1648

January 30 The Spanish and Dutch sign the Treaty of Münster recognizing the latter’s independence; among other provisions of the treaty, the Dutch and Spanish honor the legitimacy of each other’s overseas territory and the Spanish agree to keep out of Dutch possessions in the East and West Indies.

August The Portuguese recapture Luanda from Dutch.

1651

The English pass navigation acts intended, in part, to keep the Dutch from trading with English overseas colonies.

1652

April 8 The First Anglo-Dutch war breaks out, in part over trade with the East and West Indies; the war will continue for two years.

The Portuguese expel the last Dutch settlers from Brazil.

The Netherlands grants New Amsterdam the right of self-government.

The Dutch East India Company founds a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope (modern Cape Town, South Africa) as a supply post for ships sailing between the Netherlands and its colonies in the East Indies.

1654

April The Dutch and the English sign the Treaty of Westminster ending the First Anglo-Dutch war; among the provisions of the treaty, the Dutch agree to honor the English navigation acts and to punish those responsible for the 1623 massacre of Englishmen on Amboina.

The Dutch begin the conquest of Portuguese settlements in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and along the Malabar coast of southern India; the full conquest will take nine years.

1655

New Netherlands governor Peter Stuyvesant orders the conquest of the tiny Swedish settlement on the Delaware River.

1661

The Manchus of China drive Dutch colonists and traders from the island of Formosa.

1663

The English attack and seize a number of Dutch slaving forts on the West African coast.

1664

Without declaring war, the British launch attacks on more Dutch posts on the African coast and Dutch settlements in North America, including Fort Orange (renamed Albany) and New Amsterdam, temporarily capturing both; the Dutch counterattack in Africa, taking back some of their slaving forts.

1665

March 4 The Second Anglo-Dutch war breaks out; as with the first, this conflict is fought in part over colonies and colonial trade; the war continues for two years.

1667

The Dutch conquer Macassar, a settlement on the island of Sulawesi, in modern-day Indonesia.

July 21 The British and Dutch sign the Peace of Breda, ending the Second Anglo-Dutch war; the Dutch retain Surinam in South America and the English retain New Netherlands, renamed New York, in North America.

1672

March 17 The Third Anglo-Dutch war breaks out.

1673

August The Dutch recapture New York; war continues for two years.

1674

The Dutch West India Company is restructured with fewer directors and less capital.

February 9 The Treaty of Westminster, among other things, requires the Dutch to evacuate New York and return it to the English.

1682

The Dutch begin conquest of Bantam in the East Indies; full subjugation will take two years.

1688

The Dutch East India Company offers passage to and right to settle in Cape Colony of South Africa to French Huguenots, or Protestants, who have been banned in France since the 1685 Edict of Nantes.

1689

Port Natal in modern-day South Africa is incorporated into the Dutch East India Company's colony at the Cape of Good Hope, following payment to the local chief.

1695

The Dutch introduce coffee trees to island of Java.

1704

Wars break out in Java over succession to royal leadership there; fighting will continue in two major wars through 1723.

1710

The Dutch abandon the island of Mauritius to pirates.

1725

The Dutch purchase the last of the Brandenburg, or Prussian, slaving forts in West Africa.

1730

The Dutch abandon their trading posts in southern Mozambique.

1740

Chinese settlers in the Dutch settlement of Batavia rise up in revolt and are massacred.

1749

The third war of succession breaks out in Java; it lasts for six years.

1755

The Dutch East India Company signs the Treaty of Giyanti with the rebel prince in the Javanese war of succession, ending the war and dividing the kingdom into two states.

1756–1763

During the worldwide Seven Years' War between the French and English—known in North America as the French and Indian War—the Dutch remain neutral,

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despite English pleadings; while the Dutch profit as neutrals, much of their trade is disrupted and many cargoes and ships are seized by the English.

1758

The Dutch attempt to reassert their presence in Bengal but are crushed at Chinsura by Lord Robert Clive, the commander of British East India Company forces.

1764

A long-brewing crisis among provinces of the Netherlands over expansion of the army and restoration of the fleet reaches a head; Amsterdam refuses to support the former until the other provinces agree to annual cost sharing in support of the fleet.

1775

The Dutch island of St. Eustatius becomes the center of contraband trade with the rebellious American colonies; it comes to be called the "Golden Rock."

1777

The provinces of the Netherlands finally agree to equip twenty men-o'-war for fourteen months.

1778

The Dutch refuse to honor British demands not to trade in contraband with the rebellious American colonies; Dutch and the American rebels discuss a trade agreement.

Dutch colonists in Java found the Batavian Society of the Arts and Sciences to conduct linguistic, geographic, and anthropological research in the Indonesian archipelago.

1780–1784

Due in part to the Dutch refusal to stop trading with American rebels, fighting breaks out between the English and the Dutch in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch war; the conflict, which lasts for four years, has disastrous effects on Dutch overseas trade and settlement.

1781

November 13 The British capture the Dutch settlement at Negapatam in southern India.

1782

January 11 The British conquer the Dutch settlement at Trincomalee, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

1784

The Dutch and the English sign the Peace of Paris, ending the Fourth Anglo-Dutch war; the Dutch formally cede Negapatam in southern India to the British and allow the British free passage in the Spice (Moluccan) Islands of present-day Indonesia.

1791

The Dutch West India Company charter is not renewed and the company is dissolved.

1795

May 16 The governments of the Netherlands and revolutionary France sign the Treaty of the Hague, forming a defensive alliance; in response, Britain declares war on the Netherlands and seizes Dutch colonies in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and at the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa.

1799

The Dutch East India Company is dissolved; its possessions and debts are assumed by the Batavian Republic, the revolutionary government of the Netherlands.

1802

The Netherlands signs the Peace of Amiens with Britain; the British return all Dutch colonies except Ceylon (now Sri Lanka).

1803

War breaks out anew between Britain and the Netherlands, and Britain once again seizes Dutch colonies.

The Paderi war between Muslim reformers and traditional leaders breaks out in Sumatra; the war lasts until 1837. The Dutch side with the traditional leaders and send troops to crush the reformist Paderi Muslims.

1808

Dutch general Herman Willem Daendels is sent by King Louis Napoleon of the Netherlands to shore up the defenses of Java against possible British attack; he introduces many governmental reforms.

1811

August–September The British launch the conquest of the last Dutch colony of Java and rule the island for five years. British East India Company official Thomas Raffles is made governor; he attempts economic

reforms, including the first land rent, and tries to convince the British government to keep the island.

1814

The British and Dutch negotiate over the return of all Dutch colonies except the Cape Colony of southern Africa, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and territories in South America that will come to form British Guiana.

1816

The British return Java, the former Dutch Caribbean islands, and Surinam in South America to the Netherlands.

1824

The Dutch Trading Company is established to help restore the international trade of the Netherlands; the Dutch and British sign a treaty allowing for British trade with the Dutch East Indies, British sovereignty over Malacca and Singapore, and Dutch control of Sumatra.

1825–1830

The Javanese nobility goes to war against the Dutch colonizers because of harsh Dutch laws and Dutch encroachment on their lands. The rebellion is crushed and its leaders imprisoned, and Dutch general van den Bosch imposes the “culture system” on Dutch possessions in the East Indies whereby one-fifth of all land must be devoted to growing commercial crops like coffee and sugar.

1828

The Dutch found settlement of Lobo in Irian Jaya on the island of New Guinea.

1836–1838

Fleeing British rule, Dutch settler-farmers of southern Africa, or Boers, launch the Great Trek to the northeast, establishing settlements that would form the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

1837

June 6 The Boers formally establish the Republic of Natal in southern Africa.

1838

December 16 The Boers in the Republic of Natal defeat a Zulu force at Blood River; the Boer attack is in retaliation for the Zulu defeat of an earlier Dutch expedition. Their victory establishes the security of the Natal Republic.

1843

May 4 Natal in southern Africa is declared a British colony.

1846

The Dutch begin mining coal in South Kalimantan (Borneo).

1848

February 3 The British declare sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers of southern Africa.

August 29 The British defeat the Boers at Boomplaats in the Orange Free State; the Boers are forced to flee across the Vaal River and the British establish sovereignty over the Orange River territory.

1859

Slavery is prohibited in the Dutch East Indies (modern Indonesia).

1859–1863

A war of succession in Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan (Borneo) pits the pro-Dutch traditional sultan’s forces against anti-Dutch reformist Islamic forces. The Dutch ban the sultanate in 1860; formal fighting ends with the Dutch victory in 1863, but sporadic guerrilla fighting continues through 1905.

1860

Exposé of brutal “culture system” of forced commercial crop production in Dutch East Indies appears in the Netherlands.

1863

The Dutch begin cultivation of tobacco in Sumatra.

Slavery is prohibited in the Dutch West Indies.

1864

Dutch establish the first railroad in the Dutch East Indies.

1868

March 12 British protection is granted to indigenous Africans of Basutoland (modern Lesotho) against the Boers.

1870

The “Liberal Policy” in the Dutch East Indies begins; the old “culture system,” whereby the local people were

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forced to grow commercial crops like coffee and sugar on one-fifth of their land, ends in principle. The government also makes it possible for individuals to lease government land in the Dutch East Indies; while all “unclaimed” land falls under government jurisdiction, authorities recognize native usufruct, or land-use, rights to land.

1872

February 2 The Dutch sell trading posts on the Gold Coast of West Africa (modern Ghana) to Britain in exchange for recognition of Dutch sovereignty over Sumatra.

1873–1904

The Dutch annex the Aceh region of western Sumatra, setting off a thirty-year war of resistance by Aceh nationalists; during the course of the war, 12,000 Dutch and 100,000 Acehnese die.

1877

The practice of transferring the budgetary surplus (*Batig slot*) of the government of the Dutch East Indies directly to the government treasury in the Netherlands is ended.

1878

Leaf disease, *Hamileia vastatrix*, devastates coffee plantations in Java, leading to cultivation of hardier robusta beans.

1880

The Dutch East Indies government passes the Coolie Ordinance whereby laborers from South China who attempt to leave the plantations on which they work could be imprisoned.

1883

August 27 In the largest eruption of modern times, a volcano on the Dutch East Indies island of Krakatoa sets off tsunamis that drown 36,000 people in Java and Sumatra; dust from the eruption circles the planet and affects the global climate for several years.

September 9 The Boer republic of Stellaland is founded in Bechuanaland, modern-day Botswana.

1885

March 3 The British extend protectorate over Bechuanaland, ending the Boer republic of Stellaland.

1886

The first petroleum discovery is made in the Dutch East Indies.

1888

Major anticolonial uprising breaks out against Dutch rule in Banten, a town in western Java.

1890

The Royal Dutch Petroleum company, later Shell Oil, is founded, partly to exploit recently discovered reserves in the Dutch East Indies.

1894

As revolts break out against Dutch rule in the East Indies, Dutch forces occupy the island of Lombok.

1899–1902

War between the Boers and the British government in South Africa breaks out; the Boer War lasts for three years. The Boers embark on the first great guerrilla campaign in history; British forces respond with concentration camps and other measures. Dutch offers to mediate an end to the conflict are brushed aside by the British government. The war ends in the defeat of the Boers; roughly 6,000 British and 4,000 Boers die in the conflict. In the Peace of Vereeniging, the Boers accept British sovereignty but gain self-government in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal.

1901

The “ethical policy” begins in the Dutch East Indies, whereby the colonial government extends health care and education and helps develop irrigation, communications, and other infrastructure improvements.

1902

The policy of transmigration is instituted, whereby Indonesians on crowded islands like Java are resettled in less-crowded Sumatra and Borneo.

1905

Dutch forces occupy Tapanuli in northern Sumatra and Bone in southern Sulawesi; the decentralization of government in the Dutch East Indies is inaugurated.

1907

Royal Dutch Petroleum and Britain’s Shell Transport and Trading Company merge to form Royal Dutch Shell, a company that will come to dominate the petroleum industry in the Dutch East Indies.

1908

Budi Utomo, or Noble Endeavor, the first Indonesian nationalist organization, is founded.

1910

Sarekat Islam, or Islamic Association, a Muslim nationalist organization in the Dutch East Indies is founded.

1912

Muhammadiyah, another Islamic nationalist organization, founded in the Dutch East Indies.

1914

The Indies Social Democratic Association, the first Marxist organization in the Dutch East Indies, is founded; initially organized by Europeans, it soon recruits Indonesians.

1914–1918

Although the Netherlands remains neutral, World War I in Europe disrupts Dutch shipping between the metropolis and its colonies around the world.

1916

The Volksraad, or People's Council, is founded in the Dutch East Indies; it is composed of fifteen Indonesians and twenty-three Europeans and non-Indonesian Asians; it has only advisory powers at first.

1917

Dutch demands for forced labor and new taxes provoke a revolt in Toraja, a mountainous region in central Sulawesi.

1918

With a rebellious spirit against Dutch rule rising in the East Indies, Governor General van Limburg promises reforms and sets up a commission to study the subject.

1920

The Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), or Communist Party of Indonesia, is founded—the first Communist party in Asia outside Russian-controlled sections of the continent.

1923

Communists are expelled from Sarekat Islam, an Islamic nationalist organization in the Dutch East Indies.

1924

The first airplane flight from the Netherlands to the Dutch East Indies takes place.

1925

November The first Algeneene Studieclub, or General Study Club, is founded in the Dutch East Indies; while most branches are philosophical and educational in orientation, many embrace nationalist politics.

1926–1927

Major Communist and nationalist uprisings break out against Dutch rule in Java and Sumatra; the Dutch establish internment camps in New Guinea to lock up rebel leaders and ban the Communist Party of Indonesia. Future Indonesian president Sukarno and other nationalists found Partai Nasional Indonesia, or Nationalist Party of Indonesia.

1928

October 28 At the second national Youth Congress of the Dutch East Indies, delegates vote to make all of Indonesia the framework for the independence struggle, declaring all inhabitants of the archipelago one people, with one language (*bangsa Indonesia*) and one homeland.

1929

December The Dutch authorities arrest and intern Sukarno and other nationalist leaders.

1931

The Volksraad, or People's Council, is given power to approve the annual budget for the Dutch East Indies.

The Nationalist Party of Indonesia dissolves itself; Partai Indonesia (PARTINDO) is founded to replace it.

1933

February 5 Dutch and Indonesian sailors aboard the Dutch navy ship *De Zeven Provinciën* mutiny over a wage cut; the mutineers profess loyalty to the government, but Dutch authorities see the action as a result of nationalist agitation, justifying repressive political measures in the Dutch East Indies.

1935

December A moderate nationalist party, Partai Indonesia Raya (PARINDRA), or Greater Indonesia Party, is founded.

1936

July Indonesian bureaucrat Sutarjo issues a petition calling for a round table conference to discuss granting autonomy for the Dutch East Indies within ten years;

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the Dutch Minister of Colonies refuses to discuss the issue.

1937

May 24 A radical nationalist party, Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia (GERINDO), or Indonesian People's Movement, is founded.

December 17 The Antara News Agency, Indonesian nationalist news service, is founded.

1940

May German forces invade and occupy the Netherlands. A government in exile forms in England; the East Indies remain under the control of Dutch colonial authorities.

1941

July Under U.S. and British pressure, the Dutch East Indies stop exporting rubber, oil, and tin to Japan.

1942

January Japanese forces land on Borneo.

February 15 Following up on their takeover of Singapore, Japanese forces land on Sumatra.

February 27 Lacking air cover, the Dutch navy is defeated in the Battle of the Java Sea by Japanese naval forces, allowing for the acceleration of the Japanese takeover of Sumatra.

March 9 Dutch forces on Java surrender to the Japanese; all Dutch citizens are placed in internment camps.

1944

September 7 The Japanese government promises independence to occupied Indonesia.

1945

June 1 Nationalist leader Sukarno issues the *Pancasila*, or five principles for an independent Indonesia.

August 15 Japan surrenders to the United States and Allies following two atomic attacks.

August 17–18 Sukarno and other nationalist leaders declare the independence of Indonesia from the Dutch and promulgate a constitution; with no Dutch forces in the archipelago, Japanese forces surrender their weapons to the nationalists.

September 29 The first Allied landings, including Dutch troops, are made in Indonesia.

October 5 An Indonesian army is formed to defend the independent republic.

October 31 Informal negotiations between the Dutch government and Indonesian nationalists begin.

November 1 The Republic of Indonesia issues the *Manifesto Politik*, declaring the republic's intention to honor the property rights of foreigners.

November 10 Nationalist forces and British Indian forces, defending the Dutch, fight at the Battle of Surabaya in eastern Java.

1946

The Dutch declare their intention to establish the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, a semiautonomous government for the archipelago.

January–February The Dutch engage in a brutal pacification program in Sulawesi.

April The first formal negotiations between Indonesian nationalists and Dutch authorities produce no results.

July Dutch forces retake Borneo and the islands in the eastern part of the archipelago, declaring them part of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

November 15 Indonesian nationalists and Dutch authorities initial the Linggajati Accord, under which the Dutch recognize Indonesian sovereignty over Java and Sumatra, and Borneo and the eastern archipelago are incorporated into Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

December 24 Negara Indonesia Timur, or state of East Indonesia, founded; it is part of a Dutch strategy to create a weak federal union for Indonesia that would fall under Netherlands control, but local authorities fear the power of the nationalists and refuse to do the Dutch bidding.

1947

June 8 The Republic of Indonesia accuses the Dutch of bad faith in implementing Linggajati Accord by creating East Indonesia and refusing to let the Indonesian republic incorporate Irian Jaya, or western New Guinea.

June 20–August 5 The first Dutch police action results in seizure of large sections of Java and Sumatra; the UN Security Council protests the Dutch action, and the UN begins to mediate the conflict.

1948

The Dutch government organizes the First Round Table Conference to create the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, which incorporates the Netherlands Antilles of the Caribbean and Surinam in South America as full members.

January 17 The Indonesian republic and the Netherlands sign an agreement aboard USS *Renville* committing themselves anew to fulfilling the Linggajati Accord.

September Fighting breaks out between Communist and Muslim forces in those eastern and central sections of Java still under the control of the Republic of Indonesia government; numerous massacres are perpetrated on both sides.

1948–1949

December 10–January 5 A second Dutch police action takes place on Java and Sumatra; the UN Security Council forces the Dutch to free prisoners and cease hostilities.

1949

March 1 Anti-Communist nationalist leader Suharto launches an unsuccessful attack on the Dutch forces at Yogyakarta, in southern Java.

August 7 Muslim nationalists in western Java repudiate the republican government and declare the establishment of an Islamic state, or Negara Islam Indonesia, in western Java.

August 23 The Round Table Conference between the Republic of Indonesia and Dutch officials begins in The Hague to draw up a transfer of authority for Indonesia; the issue of New Guinea is left off the agenda.

December 27 The Dutch officially transfer sovereignty over all of Indonesia, except New Guinea, to the Republic of Indonesia.

1950

January 23 An attack on Bandung, in Java, by renegade Dutch officers gives the Republic of Indonesia

an opportunity to annex smaller islands of the archipelago that had been left out of the republic. The Dutch-created Republic of the South Moluccas resists and asks for Dutch aid, but is refused; refugees flee to the Netherlands.

December The Netherlands and Indonesia conduct fruitless negotiations over the fate of New Guinea.

1952

The Second Round Table Conference among the Netherlands, Netherlands Antilles, and Surinam breaks down, leading to fears of secession by the latter two entities.

1954

The Third Round Table Conference among the Netherlands, Netherlands Antilles, and Surinam leads to promulgation of the Statute of the Kingdom, addressing issues of sovereignty and self-government.

1955

April Sukarno hosts the Asia-Africa Conference at Bandung, calling for the neutrality of the new Asian and African countries in the Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1956

May 8 The Republic of Indonesia formally abrogates the Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

August 4 The Republic of Indonesia repudiates all debts owed to the Netherlands.

1957

December 3–5 Indonesia begins seizure of Dutch businesses in the country; the government orders the expulsion of all 46,000 Dutch citizens in Indonesia.

1960

Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands break down over the issue of New Guinea; Indonesian forces begin attacking Dutch forces on the western half of New Guinea, which is still controlled by the Dutch.

1963

May 1 The Dutch transfer sovereignty over the western half of New Guinea to the Republic of Indonesia, with the stipulation that the inhabitants will have a chance to vote on the sovereignty question by

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1969; diplomatic relations are restored between the Netherlands and Indonesia.

1965

October Indonesian general Suharto leads a successful coup against the Sukarno government; 200,000 Communists and Communist-sympathizers are massacred.

1969

Oil refinery workers in the Dutch island of Curaçao in the Caribbean go on strike; the resulting violence causes the Netherlands Antilles government to request intervention by Dutch forces to restore order.

1971

A state visit by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands to Indonesia leads to a policy of Dutch-Indonesia cooperation and cultural exchange.

1975

November 25 Surinam gains independence.

December 7 Following the Portuguese decision to pull out of its colony of East Timor, Indonesian forces

occupy the territory against international and UN protests; during their nineteen years of struggle for independence against Indonesian occupiers, some 200,000 East Timorese will be killed.

1998

May 21 Following the collapse of the Indonesia economy and widespread rioting, Indonesian dictator Suharto agrees to step down after thirty-three years in power.

1999

September 4 A referendum in East Timor results in 78.5 percent of inhabitants voting for independence; following the balloting violence breaks out as pro-Indonesian militias attack independence supporters, forcing thousands of refugees to flee.

September 18 UN peacekeepers, led by Australia, arrive in East Timor to restore order and stop the massacres.

2001

August 30 The East Timorese hold elections under UN auspices for the first independent parliament.

FRENCH EMPIRE

JOHN BARNHILL

12th and 13th centuries

Calais fishermen fish the rich waters off Mauritania.

1493

On his second voyage, Christopher Columbus sights both of the main islands (Martinique and Guadeloupe) of what became the French Antilles, but establishes no colonies because the Carib Indians still inhabit the islands.

1502

June 15 Christopher Columbus lands at Carbet on the Caribbean side of Martinique.

1524

Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing for France, sights land around the Carolinas, discovers the Hudson River, and reaches Nova Scotia before returning to France.

1534

Jacques Cartier explores from the Strait of Belle Isle south to Gaspé Bay.

1535

Jacques Cartier, on his second voyage, sails up the St. Lawrence River to a Huron Indian village at present-day Quebec, then to Mount Real.

1541

On Cartier's final voyage to Quebec, he finds fool's gold and quartz that he thinks are gold and diamonds.

1562

Jean Ribault brings 150 Huguenots to what is now Port Royal, North Carolina. The group disbands two years later.

1564

French Huguenots settle in Florida, spurring the Spanish to defend their territory.

The French and Spanish begin an intermittent fight that will end only in 1580 when French commander

Gilberto Gil loses a naval battle and the French withdraw from Florida.

1595

Sir Walter Raleigh (Raleigh) publishes *The Discovery of the Large, Rich and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, generating the legend of El Dorado, or the mythical city of gold, and attracting explorers for Spain and England, and later France.

Early 17th century

American, European, Arab, and other African slavers begin providing slaves to the Americas after the indigenous populations prove unadaptable. French collection stations on Africa's west coast include Gorée, Senegal; Elmina, Ghana; and Ouidah, Dahomey. Serving as slave centers for nearly two centuries helps to establish them as commercial communities.

1604

The first French settlement on the North Atlantic coast is established at Neutral Island in present-day Maine. Later, the settlement moves to Nova Scotia.

The first French expedition to Guiana occurs as part of the general approach of taking advantage of Spanish and Portuguese neglect of the Americas. Under the auspices of Henry of Navarre, Daniel La Ravardiere travels to Guiana and then recommends that settlement is in order. The Dutch and English also establish footholds in Guiana. The French effort is weak and eventually centers on Cayenne.

1605

Samuel de Champlain sails south to Cape Cod while garrisoning Quebec and developing the fur trade.

1608

The city of Quebec is established.

1626

The Rouen Commercial Company sends twenty-six French settlers to establish the village of Sinnamary in French Guiana, then join with additional settlers on an island later named Cayenne.

1627

Alexandre de Rhodes of Avignon arrives in Vietnam while it is under the control of the Portuguese. Stationed in Hanoi, the Jesuit missionary woos the

northern emperor, Trinh Trang, and baptizes 6,700 Vietnamese. Banished to the south in 1630, he is then banned by the southern Nguyen dynasty. He returns to Europe and lobbies the Vatican for repeal of the papal edicts dividing the world between Spain and Portugal, but he dies in 1660, before the pope accepts his argument and opens the east to other countries.

1635

French trader Pierre Bélain d'Esnameuc arrives in Martinique. Because of their wealth from sugar, the West Indian islands are desired by both England and France. Martinique and Guadeloupe remain French, although France later loses its other islands (Dominica, St. Lucia, Tobago) in the Napoleonic Wars.

1636

October 31 Louis XIII permits the introduction of slaves to the French West Indies.

1638

The Compagnie Normande, chartered under Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu, establishes a trading post near the mouth of the Senegal River. Moved to Saint-Louis in 1659, this becomes the first permanent French installation on the black African coast. For a century, France slowly moves up the Senegal River Valley, establishing the base from which it will conquer its sub-Saharan empire.

1643

Charles-Jacques Poncet, Lord of Brétigny, armed with the titles of governor and lieutenant general, arrives in Cayenne in November, establishes a harsh rule, and provokes an uprising by some of his officers. The rebellion fails and the officers are imprisoned. Poncet's misrule provokes the Indians to rise against his colony and destroy it.

1656

Guerin Spranger and sixty other Dutch Jews land in Guiana after Brazil evicts them because of their religion. The Dutch bring slaves, work well with the Indians, and establish a sugar-exporting colony.

1663–1664

France plans to retake the colony of Guiana from the Dutch. Guerin Spranger surrenders when faced with a force of 1,200 French and goes to Surinam. The French agree to leave the Indians alone if they recapture the Dutch slaves and then leave Cayenne.

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1664

French religious leaders and businessmen create the Society of Foreign Missions to advance Christianity in Asia. French businessmen, with religious backing, create the East India Company to develop trade with Asia and compete with the English East India Company, which has been in England since 1603. French trading posts are established in India, although there is little interest in France because of internal problems and wars with England.

1663–1763

Guiana switches from French to English to Dutch to French control and mostly stagnates. In 1664, French take Guiana from Dutch; in 1667, Dutch lose it to English; and in 1676, French take it back.

1671

French explorers reach Sault Ste. Marie in what is now Michigan and claim the interior of North America for Louis XIV.

1673

Jesuit priest Jacques Marquette and trader Louis Joliet explore from Lake Michigan south down the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River. Hearing that the Spanish control the lower Mississippi, they turn back.

1674

Martinique is officially annexed by the king of France.

1678

Explorer René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, and missionary Louis Hennepin pass Niagara Falls on an exploration from Canada to the American interior.

René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, establishes Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois River. French Huguenots settle in Charles Town, Carolina.

1685

René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, reaches Matagorda Bay in the Gulf of Mexico, builds Fort St. Louis, and begins the land trek back to Canada. La Salle's men murder him in 1687.

French official Jean-Baptiste Colbert's "Black Code," whose sixty articles officially govern the lives of slaves until 1848, is instituted.

1689

A series of wars with England begins. The first conflict is the War of the League of Augsburg,

(known in America as King William's War), 1689–1697.

1701

The War of the Spanish Succession (known in America as Queen Anne's War) begins; it lasts until 1714.

1714

At the end of Queen Anne's War, the English gain Nova Scotia and its important fishing grounds. The English also win the *asiento*, the right to send one shipload of slaves and one shipload of trading goods to the Spanish American colonies each year for thirty years.

1715–1775

Only eleven French slavers leave Nantes for Cayenne compared with 299 for Martinique. Cayenne is remote, malarial, and swampy, and drainage begins only in the late eighteenth century.

1740

The War of the Austrian Succession (known in America as King George's War) breaks out; it ends in 1748.

Mid-18th century

French commander Joseph-François Duplex establishes the method of rule Europeans will use so successfully in India. He gives military aid to local rulers in their conflicts with neighbors, and in return he receives concessions, trading or territorial. Duplex makes inroads on the Carnatic coast and in the Deccan. Robert Clive, head of the British forces in India, uses the same methods for Britain.

1754

Joseph-François Duplex is recalled in disgrace because of his failures in India against Robert Clive.

1756–1763

In the French and Indian War, the American component of the European conflict known as the Seven Years' War, initial French success at Fort Necessity (near today's Pittsburgh) turns to defeat as the British take Quebec in 1759, Montreal in 1760, and Martinique, Grenada, and the other French Caribbean islands in 1762.

1757

Robert Clive and his Indian allies defeat the French East India company at Plassey, take Pondicherry from the French, and acquire 800 square miles of territory at the mouth of the Ganges River.

1762–1815

Martinique is occupied several times by the British. France and Britain fight over the island until 1815, when it is restored to France.

1763

The Treaty of Paris gives Canada, Cape Breton, and Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Britain; France also grants Britain many of its island possessions in the Caribbean, but Britain returns the islands. France is finished as a major player in the New World.

1763–1765

Louis XV wants to reestablish an empire in the aftermath of his defeats to Britain. His best opportunity is in Guiana, the largest landmass left of the empire. To control the area and preclude slave rebellions, he sends 14,000 white French settlers to Kourou on the coast. Ten thousand of them die within two years, and the survivors move to the Îles du Salut (Safety Islands), which have a less malarial climate.

1764

Britain takes control of all of Bengal.

1765

Monsignor Pierre-Joseph-Georges Pigneau de Béhaine is assigned to the seminary on Phuquoc Island in the Gulf of Siam. Embroiled in local politics and suffering from the dismal climate, he has to escape pirates, fleeing all the way to Pondicherry, India.

1768

Pierre Poivre, a failed missionary and trader, joins Charles Hector d'Estaing, who earlier wanted to capture Hue, in a plan to invade Vietnam with 3,000 mercenaries. The plan fails to materialize.

1769

The French East India Company dissolves because of British success and French failure in India.

1772

Three brothers belonging to the Vietnamese merchant class lead a populist uprising—the Tayson insurrection—against the mandarin tyranny of the Nguyen clan. Within three years the Tayson forces take the tiny port of Saigon and exact revenge on Chinese traders, killing 10,000. The rebels institute reforms and unify Vietnam for the first time in a century. Mandarin

leader Nguyen Anh resists, taking and losing Saigon periodically over ten years.

1775

Having returned to Vietnam, Pierre-Joseph-Georges Pigneau de Béhaine shelters Nguyen Anh from the Tayson. Nguyen finally acknowledges that he needs French help and sends Pigneau de Béhaine to France as his emissary.

1787

November 28 Pierre-Joseph-Georges Pigneau de Béhaine and Comte de Montmorin, the French foreign minister, sign a treaty whereby France promises Nguyen Anh 1,650 soldiers, weapons, ammunition, and transportation. In return, France receives Tourane, the island of Poulo Condore, and exclusive commercial access to Vietnam.

1789

The French Revolution begins, eventually destroying the monarchy and instituting the first republic.

After Louis XVI, distracted by the French Revolution, backs out of the 1787 agreement, Pierre-Joseph-Georges Pigneau de Béhaine acquires ships and weapons from French merchants in India. He also hires 500 deserters from the French army in India, including Olivier de Puymanel, who trains the 50,000-man army of Nguyen Anh that defeats the Tayson for good in 1799.

1791

Louis XVI attempts to flee with his family to Austria. France and Austria will go to war for a time in 1792.

Slaves rebel in Haiti, led by a slave leader named Boukman.

1792–1815

The Napoleonic Wars engulf Europe and the European empires.

1793

Louis XVI and his queen, Marie-Antoinette, are tried and executed.

Slavery is abolished in Santo Domingo.

1794

The French Revolution leads to the freeing of 10,000 slaves in Guiana. Escaped and freed slaves set up a maroon, or rebel slave, colony in the interior. France

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decides that Guiana will be a good location for a prison but implementation goes slowly because France is at war with Britain.

1795

The first French political prisoners arrive in Guiana. In 1798 more than 300 additional prisoners are sent, mostly priests who refuse to take the oath of obedience to the revolution. Of the 700 men deported, most die.

1798

Napoleon Bonaparte conquers Egypt.

An army of slaves, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, defeats a British invasion force in Haiti.

August 1 British admiral Horatio Nelson destroys the French fleet at Aboukir Bay in the Battle of the Nile, cutting Napoleon's army off from France.

1799

Napoleon returns to France, leaving his armies behind, and becomes first consul.

1802

Napoleon is named consul for life.

When a French general claims Egypt as a French protectorate, the British occupy Alexandria and, with Ottoman help, take Damietta and Cairo. French troops surrender. Napoleon's Egyptian venture ends.

Consul Victor Hueues reestablishes slavery in the colonies.

Napoleon sends French troops to Santo Domingo to restore slavery. The French capture Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Nguyen Anh crowns himself Vietnamese emperor, showing no mercy to his enemies and establishing the dynasty that will rule Vietnam until Bao Dai abdicates in 1954.

1803

An army of former slaves, led by Jean-Jacques Dessalines, defeats French forces in Haiti. Toussaint L'Ouverture dies in captivity.

1804

Jean-Jacques Dessalines proclaims Haiti's independence as the world's first black republic.

Napoleon crowns himself emperor of France.

1807

The transatlantic slave trade is outlawed. France is among the nations whose navies patrol for slave ships off West Africa. France also establishes bases and trading posts on the coast.

1807–1815

The British and Portuguese occupy French Guiana.

1815

Dominica, St. Lucia, and Tobago are lost by France in the Napoleonic Wars, which also makes Britain master of the seas.

The restoration of French control of Guiana comes with calls for the abolition of slavery. Anne-Marie Javouhey, an abolitionist, establishes a center for freed slaves near the Mana River. Emancipation occurs in 1848.

1827

April 28 The dey of Algiers strikes the French consul with a fly whisk and calls him a wicked rascal and other names. Hussein Dey wants an explanation for France's failure to pay a thirty-year-old debt, and Pierre Deval, the consul, cannot give a satisfactory explanation for why Charles X ignores the dey; three years later, France will use the incident as a rationale to occupy Algiers.

1830

June 16 Charles X sends a military force to Algiers, taking the city on July 5. France pacifies Algeria and brings it into the French Empire in 1848.

The July Revolution replaces Charles X with the Duc d'Orléans, Louis-Philippe.

1837

The introduction of peanuts into Senegal at Gorée gives the colony a cash crop—the vegetable fat needed by Marseilles soapmakers—and an alternative to the slave trade.

1838

France recognizes Haitian independence in exchange for a large financial indemnity.

1840

The British Opium War opens China to European trade, reviving French business interest in the Asian market.

Minh Mang of Vietnam, intent on avoiding a comparable invasion of his land by the French, sends emissaries to the court of Louis-Philippe, who refuses an audience and squanders an opportunity to renew French-Vietnamese ties.

In the Indian Ocean, the French assume control of Mayotte in the Comoro Islands.

1842

The French navy establishes a naval station in Gabon to support the antislavery effort.

France establishes a protectorate over Tahiti and other islands of the Society chain and acquires the Marquesas Islands.

1843

France deploys a fleet in Asian waters to protect French political and business interests. French Catholics face anti-Catholic Vietnamese emperor Thieu Tri, who replaces Minh Mang.

1845

Built with French capital, the first Egyptian railroad is opened.

French diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps decides to build a canal from the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea to speed trade with India.

1846

Under French pressure, the Chinese emperor gives foreign Christians limited rights and protection.

1847

France demands that Vietnam stop repressing Catholics. In a naval battle at Tourane, the French sink three Vietnamese vessels, destroy the city's forts, and kill hundreds of people.

1848

Agitation for electoral reform in 1847 and 1848 culminates in the abdication of Louis-Philippe in favor of his grandson. The French prefer another republic and elect Napoleon Bonaparte's nephew, Louis-Napoleon, as president of the Second Republic.

A wave of revolutionary fervor in Europe leads France to free 262,564 slaves, mostly in the plantation colonies of the West Indies and Réunion. Former slaves in Guiana leave plantations to become subsistence

farmers. Former slaves in Guiana also gain the right to vote. Because slave revolts begin in Martinique and Guadeloupe before notification of the decree, the governors of these colonies free the slaves on their own authority. Loss of slaves leads the plantation owners to bring in contract workers to French Guiana from India, but labor problems persist in the sugar industry through the nineteenth century.

Tu Duc, who assumed the Vietnamese throne in 1847, issues his first anti-Christian edict. France is distracted by the collapse of Louis-Philippe's monarchy and does not respond.

Algeria becomes an integral part of France. As colonies become territories of the republic and receive representation in the National Assembly, Algeria is divided into civil and military regions, and the civil regions are subdivided into the departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. The new administrative system, including prefects, or legislative districts, resembles that of metropolitan departments and lasts more than a century. The government also tries to turn Algeria into a settler colony.

Residents of Saint-Louis, Gorée, Dakar, and Rufisque, the four communes, receive special status and French citizenship and representation in the National Assembly. The same rights are extended to residents of Réunion, the West Indies, and other French possessions.

French consul Louis Charles de Montigny declares part of Shanghai as part of France, establishing the French concession, or trading district.

October–December France invests 55 million francs in settling some 13,000 French colonists in Algeria. Mostly former revolutionaries against the French monarchy, the colonists find Algeria unprepared to receive them. Tight military control hampers their efforts to farm and many either die or return to France.

1848–1851

France experiments with Chinese plantation labor in Guiana. The effort fails and the Chinese become shopkeepers in Cayenne; the plantations revert to jungle.

1850s–1860s

Gold rushes in Guiana attract thousands of emigrants from the British and French West Indies. Swiss

arbitration gives Brazil the area claimed by French Guiana south and east to the Amazon River.

1851

While Louis-Napoleon is distracted by a political fight with the French parliament, Tu Duc issues an edict forcing Vietnamese Catholics to wear physical identification of “infidel.” He also prescribes harsh treatments for European missionaries and Vietnamese priests. After learning that Christians assisted his brother’s aborted rebellion against him, Tu Duc executes one French priest in 1851 and another in 1852, outraging the French in the region.

Louis-Napoleon decides to use Guiana as a penal colony for the more than 6,000 prisoners kept on naval vessels off the coast of France. He requires prisoners, male and female, to remain in Guiana after their release for a term equal to their sentence.

1852

In a national election, the French people vote to establish themselves as an empire with Louis-Napoleon retitled as Emperor Napoleon III.

The first purchase of Chinese silk (52 bales of about 60 kilograms each) is made by a Lyon silk company from China. By 1869 China is the French silk industry’s most important supplier.

1853

Two years after opening the penal colony in Guiana, Napoleon III takes over New Caledonia partly to establish a new penitentiary in the Pacific.

Guiana’s first penal camp, at Montagne d’Argent, houses 300 of the colony’s 2,000 convicts. Living in tents and eating outdoors while building their own prison, half of the prisoners die within the year. The camp closes in 1868. Other camps have the same problems, and in 1856 only 3,600 of the 8,600 convicts initially transported there are still alive. Plans to colonize Guiana with prisoners are abandoned, and one settlement, St. Laurent, becomes the major prison site for eighty years.

1854

Louis Faidherbe becomes governor of Senegal. Faidherbe is the founder of France’s modern black African empire. He expands the four communes up the Senegal River with a series of forts. Faidherbe fails to link the coastal ports to the upper Niger River, but he

unifies and pacifies Senegal, laying the foundation for future French expansion. He establishes the pattern for colonial government in Africa, the *cercle*, with a military commandant and African chiefs restricted to the canton and village levels. His approach is to govern indirectly through the traditional structure—later administrators more often impose a French bureaucracy on top of the local one and fail to mesh the two, dividing themselves with a language barrier, too. Because the peoples of the black African colonies are so different culturally, Faidherbe introduces the concept of association to replace that of assimilation as practiced in Algeria.

Ferdinand de Lesseps forms the Suez Canal Corporation to build the waterway across Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula.

1856

After finally getting Napoleon III to agree that France should demand reparations for Vietnamese actions against Catholics, Louis Charles de Montigny sets forth via Siam and Cambodia to punish the Vietnamese and take the port of Tourane under the treaty of 1787. In Montigny’s absence, French marines land at Tourane but the attack falters and the French back away.

1858

The French send a large military force (14 ships and 2,500 men) and capture Tourane, although they subsequently fall to the disease and debilitation of the country. Cholera, typhus, and eventually the Vietnamese forces defeat the French, leading to their evacuation from Tourane in 1859. A ragtag French force holds on in Saigon.

The Tianjin Treaty formalizes the Christian protectorate in China, expanding guarantees first granted in 1846. The treaty follows a French invasion that uses the pretext of the murder of Père Chapdelaine, a French priest residing illegally in Guangxi.

1860

Under the Beijing Treaty, France receives renewed guarantees of protection for Christians in China.

1860–1861

François de Chasseloup-Laubat becomes minister of the navy and colonies and authorizes another French fleet in Southeast Asia. Under Adm. Leonard Victor Joseph Charner, the French navy takes Saigon in 1861.

Napoleon III suggests to Mexico that it make Maximilian, the archduke of Austria, its emperor.

1862

With his agricultural region in enemy hands, his northern enemies threatening, and French forces slowly gaining Vietnamese territory, Tu Duc gives France the three provinces adjacent to Saigon and Poulo Condore Island, allows Catholic proselytization within Vietnam, opens three ports to European commerce, and grants France the right to veto Vietnamese cessions to other countries.

1863

October A Mexican delegation offers to make Maximilian the emperor. Maximilian accepts only if a national plebiscite indicates that it is the wish of the people.

Without authorization from Paris, French commander Pierre Paul Marie Benoit de La Grandière claims Cambodia, which has previously been a subordinate state to Vietnam.

1864

Under French protection, Ferdinand Maximilian, archduke of Austria, declares himself emperor of Mexico.

1865

The Civil War in the United States ends. The United States pressures France to observe the Monroe Doctrine and leave Mexico.

1866

Napoleon III withdraws French troops from Mexico. Maximilian is unwilling to abandon his supporters and his wife, Charlotte, sails to Europe to seek help but finds none. Mexican republican forces slowly take control.

Pierre Paul Marie Benoit de La Grandière authorizes exploration of the Mekong River as a possible trade route to China. The expedition through Cambodia and Laos takes two years. In 1873 a report of the expedition concludes that the Mekong is not navigable, but that the Red River, which flows from Yunnan, China, to Haiphong on the Gulf of Tonkin, is suitable. To take advantage of this route, however, France has to take northern Vietnam. Jean Dupuis and a collection of Europeans, Chinese, and Filipinos, claims a section of Hanoi for France and asks Saigon for aid. In the end,

France evacuates the north but establishes the south as its protectorate and the Red River as open to commerce.

1867

Pierre Paul Marie Benoit de La Grandière, without permission from France, occupies the three western provinces of Cochinchina to protect Cambodia from the Vietnamese.

June 19 After a seventy-two-day siege at Querétaro, Mexican republican forces take Maximilian and execute him and two of his generals.

Operation of the French penal colony in Guiana is suspended. Prisoners are taken to New Caledonia instead.

1869

August 15 The Suez Canal opens. Ferdinand de Lesseps becomes famous for his role in its construction.

1870s

Morocco asks the United States several times to make it a protectorate, to no avail.

1870

The Franco-Prussian War produces another French defeat, and France is cautious about coming into conflict with other colonial powers for the next decade. French naval decline makes it increasingly inferior to the British navy through the 1880s.

1873

Royale, largest of the Îles du Salut, becomes home to the most hard-core prisoners in French Guiana. By the turn of century, there are over 700 convicts whose main work is fighting the growth that threatens to overtake their clearings and roads. Those too dangerous for Royale go to St. Joseph, a prison with solitary confinement.

1875

Admiral de Montaignac, minister of the navy, commissions Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza to explore the Ogooué River to near Franceville in southwestern Gabon and then across the Bateke Plateau to the Alima River. Brazza finds a route that bypasses the lower Congo River rapids and falls and links to the many navigable streams of central Africa. Exploration is eased by the absence of strong states, with inhabitants

being mostly hunter-gatherers or slash-and-burn agriculturalists.

1876

Ferdinand de Lesseps is chosen by the Geographical Society of Paris to head La Société Civile Internationale du Canal Interocéanique to build a canal across the Darien region of Panama. French navy lieutenant Lucien Napoleon-Bonaparte Wyse examines the Isthmus of Panama for a suitable route for the canal.

1877

Lucien Napoleon-Bonaparte Wyse returns to Paris. De Lesseps rejects his various plans because they call for building tunnels and locks. Wyse goes back to Panama.

December 6 Lucien Napoleon-Bonaparte Wyse begins examining two routes in Panama: San Blas in eastern Panama and the route selected, from Limon Bay to Panama City. Based on his report, the Société Civile decides to construct a sea-level canal that parallels the Panama railroad. It will require a 23,160-foot-long tunnel through the Continental Divide at Culebra Mountain.

1878

The so-called Wyse Concession, agreed to at Bogotá, gives the Société Civile exclusive rights to build a canal through Panama. The waterway is to become Colombian property after ninety-nine years.

King Leopold of Belgium hires Henry Morton Stanley to claim as much of the Congo as he can. To beat him, Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza sets out from France, establishes a post at modern-day Brazzaville, and signs a treaty with the Bateke chief Makoko in September 1880 that grants France sovereignty over a large but vaguely defined territory. Makoko has shaky right to sovereignty over the territory and Brazza has no French authority to sign. France ratifies the pact regardless.

1879

Admiral Jean Jaureguiberry, minister of the marine, and Louis de Freycinet, minister for public works, advocate Adolphe Duponchel's idea to construct a trans-Saharan railway to give France stronger influence in the Upper Senegal and Niger regions and improve trade and commerce with the area. The French parliament does not approve the railway, but it authorizes an expedition to Upper Senegal.

Charles Marie Le Myre de Vilers becomes Cochinchina's first civilian governor. He follows the

aggressive policies of his naval predecessors, finding a justification to intervene against pirates in the north, and keeps interest in the region alive, resulting in the French parliament in 1883 appropriating more than 5 million francs for an expedition to impose a protectorate on all of Vietnam that is not part of Cochinchina. After an exercise of force, France establishes the protectorate. By the end of 1883, France has 20,000 men in Tonkin. The French replace "Vietnam" with the administrative districts of Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina.

1880

A 180,000-hectare area is set aside as Penitentiary Territory, administratively separate from French Guiana, run by a council including the highest-ranking military leader, the penal administrator, a justice of the peace, and four others.

Capt. Joseph Simon Gallieni is ordered by Col. Briere de l'Isle, governor of Senegal, to reestablish contact with the Tokolor. Under El Hadj Omar's son, Ahmadou, the Tokolor empire is weak and under pressure from the Mandinka leader Samory, who is establishing an empire in Guinea. Gallieni, overestimating his strength, is taken prisoner. He is released in 1881 after a relief column under Col. Gustave Borgnis-Desbordes puts on a display of force. Borgnis-Desbordes continues the invasion of Tokolor territory, taking advantage of Ahmadou's preoccupation with Samory. In 1886 Gallieni returns as Commandant Supérieur du Soudan Français (High Commander of French Sudan) and pacifies the area by playing one group against the other and showing force discreetly and at the opportune moment.

Ferdinand de Lesseps arrives in Panama for the canal's ceremonial first cut.

The United States and the European imperial powers meet at the Madrid Conference and agree that Morocco will retain its territorial integrity and be open to trade with all countries.

1881

June The first yellow fever death among the 1,039 canal-building employees in Panama occurs early in the wet season.

August Ferdinand de Lesseps and the French company building the canal buy the Panama railroad for more than \$25 million.

Tunisia becomes a French protectorate under the Treaty of Bardo. Tunisia is ruled by a bey whose family has held power since 1705.

1882

Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza founds Brazzaville. Brazza, called the “father of slaves” because of his reputation for freeing and caring for African slaves, acquires 500,000 square miles for France in two years, beginning with the signing of treaties with the Bateke chief Makoko.

January 20 The official beginning of the Culebra Cut, the major test of the canal in Panama, is celebrated with a banquet and ball in Panama City. Lack of organization keeps actual digging to a minimum.

March The first 200-bed hospital in Panama is established in Colón in March.

September 17 L'Hôpital Central de Panama, on the Pacific Ocean side of the country, is dedicated.

1883

Transportation of prisoners to Guiana resumes, although the jungle has reclaimed St. Laurent in the meantime.

In reaction to the British occupation of Lagos, the French proclaim a protectorate over eastern Dahomey, with the capital at Porto-Novo. France also occupies the Dahomean port of Cotonou, but hesitates to take on the Fon, who are reputedly highly skilled fighters, because it is extremely involved in the Sudan.

September Ten thousand men are working on the Panama Canal. Most laborers are from the West Indies, mainly Jamaica.

1883–1885

France conquers Tonkin, thereby providing a route to trade with southwest China. Although the trade fails to materialize, France does develop other trade from Tonkin, especially after 1895.

France and China go to war over Vietnam. Although China is collapsing, the French government of Jules Ferry collapses faster after his request for 200 million francs to fight the war is rejected. However, China decides to recognize French claims to Vietnam because it is busy trying to slow European efforts to slice up its own territory. France revitalizes its

imperial appetites and recommits to pacifying its possessions.

1884

More than 19,000 men work on the canal in Panama. This is the maximum number the French employ at one time.

October Philippe-Jean Bunau-Varilla becomes division engineer in the Culebra and Pacific slope construction for the canal, dealing with dry excavation and dredging. Soon he becomes the canal project's director general.

1885

The Congress of Berlin ratifies the division in central Africa between Belgium and France at the line of the Ubangi River. France gets the worst territory but it is in proximity to their territories in the Sudan and easy to link with them. French exploration now focuses on the Sangha River, Lake Chad, and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

During a Chamber of Deputies debate over financing an expedition to Madagascar, French premier Jules Ferry argues that overseas possessions are France's greatest contribution to world history. Especially after World War II, empire is the justification for a French role throughout the world. The concept persists through the eras of Charles de Gaulle and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the 1970s, well after decolonization.

The Treaty of Tianjin ends the Sino-French War provoked by French premier Jules Ferry trying to open Indochina-China trade.

July The Culebra excavation in Panama is only about one-tenth finished. The sea-level canal plan will fail due to the inability to overcome regular landslides. Yellow fever and malaria increase in frequency and severity, and the death rate peaks.

1886

The French perform their first test of a light railroad built in China to transport coal. Other French construction contracts are for two bridges across the Beihe River and a naval dockyard at Port Arthur. Between 1886 and 1890, French industry receives more Chinese orders than the other Western powers (Germany, United States, Britain) combined. But as the finished products materialize, sometimes late, they are often of less quality than desired by China. Thus, the

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initial French industrial effort in China is largely defunct by 1891.

Pope Leo XIII considers sending a legate to China. Monsignor Alphonse Favier successfully thwarts the move, recognizing that papal oversight will weaken the French protectorate in China by putting into place a church organization instead of the current commercial arrangement. The French deflect similar papal proposals in 1893 and 1900.

A new director general, Leon Boyer, replaces Philippe-Jean Bunau-Varilla on the isthmian canal project in Panama. Shortly after, Bunau-Varilla contracts yellow fever and returns to France to recuperate.

1887

France creates the Indochinese Union, consisting of Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin, and Cambodia. Laos becomes part of the union in 1893. Pacification of the region remains a problem.

October With the difficulties of controlling landslides at Culebra, the high-level lock canal in Panama is determined to be more workable than a sea-level canal. Back in Panama after a bout with yellow fever, French engineer Philippe-Jean Bunau-Varilla suggests floating dredges in a series of pools that would be connected by ten locks. The highest level of the canal is planned to be 170 feet.

1888

January 15 Work begins on the lock canal in Panama. French civil engineer Gustave Eiffel is in charge of constructing the canal locks.

1889

King Behanzin succeeds Gelele as ruler of the Fon in Dahomey.

In Senegal, France defeats Samory while finishing its pacification of the Tokolor.

The money for the isthmian canal in Panama is gone. Ferdinand de Lesseps asks for a public subscription, but the effort fails. The French Panama Canal Company dissolves, but work on the canal continues for a few months until ending completely on May 15.

1891

Dahomey goes to war with France.

1891–1896

As China weakens, especially after 1894, France becomes less subtle, threatening and demanding treaty rights. Rather than bidding on Chinese projects, French companies claim a privileged position under the disputed Treaty of Tianjin of 1885.

1892

The French grow tired of King Behanzin, depose him, occupy Abomey, and divide the kingdom of Dahomey between the Fon and the Gan kings. Eventually the French unify Dahomey and leave the kings as little more than figureheads.

The *groupe coloniale*, an informal group of procolonial political and economic leaders, comes into being to lobby for a strong colonial policy and unite deputies of diverse parties in the Fashoda strategy, which commits France to challenge British control of Egypt. Fashoda was a town in the Sahara disputed by Britain and France. Other procolonial groups include the Union Coloniale Française, founded 1893, and the Comité de l'Afrique Française, established in 1890.

1893

In response to British presence on Gold Coast, Louis-Gustave Binger joins Marcel Treich-Laplène at Kong. The two then move south and sign treaties with local chiefs as they go. They proclaim the colony of Côte d'Ivoire with Binger as the first governor.

With the original Wyse Concession due to expire, Lucien Napoleon-Bonaparte Wyse negotiates a ten-year extension.

1894

October 20 The “new” Panama canal company, the Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama, is organized.

France conquers Madagascar.

The French Ministry for the Colonies is established.

Liquidation of the French Panama Canal Company is complete. Company officials are prosecuted. Ferdinand de Lesseps and his son, Charles, receive but never serve five-year sentences for fraud and maladministration. Ferdinand dies at age eighty-nine on December 7. Charles lives until 1923; by then the canal is a reality, and both his and his father's names are cleared.

Situated off the coast of French Guiana, Devil's Island, originally a leper colony, becomes the home of political prisoners after 1894. The prisoners do not engage in hard labor, but there are only a dozen or so at any given time, and there is no outside contact, even with the larger islands.

1895

Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) is organized as the federation of French West African territories. Initially it consists of Senegal, Guinea, Sudan, and Ivory Coast, with Senegal's Saint-Louis as its capital and Senegal's governor as governor-general. Eventually, the AOF includes all eight French colonies and its administrative seat is Dakar. The constituent territories are Dahomey, French Guinea, French Sudan, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta. It is a highly centralized administrative grouping that redistributes the wealth of the richer members to the poorer ones. It exists until 1957–1958, when the wealthy colonies, resentful about giving their money to the poorer colonies, end the AOF.

1896

Capt. Jean-Baptiste Marchand is in the Upper Nile region to pressure militarily the British in Egyptian Sudan. France wants a trans-Saharan railway to link West and Central Africa to the Red Sea. The British defeat of the Mahdist fundamentalists at Omdurman in 1898 allows Lord Kitchener to move toward Fashoda and Marchand. The British force the French evacuation of Fashoda, but the two nations eventually partition this region of Africa in 1899.

February The Comité Technique, a unit of the Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama, arrives at the Isthmus of Panama with the assignment of examining the canal project's history and preparing a plan for completing the canal.

1897

Paul Doumer becomes governor-general of Indochina. He turns Vietnam from a financial drain to a profitable enterprise for France. He unifies the administration, institutes tax reform to increase government revenues, and establishes government monopolies on alcohol, salt, and opium (he increases the number of Vietnamese addicts to the point that this monopoly eventually provides one-third of Indochinese government income). Doumer also institutes land reform that dispossesses peasants, making them

available for the mines, rubber plantations, or work on the railroads and roads. Their land goes to French speculators or prominent Vietnamese families.

1898

The granting of the Beijing-Hankou Railway to a joint French-Belgian group is the largest concession to Europeans to date, rivaling Russia's concession of the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria. The Beijing-Hankou is expected to link Tonkin with the Russian railroad.

November 16 The canal committee, or the Comité Technique, presents a plan that prefigures the American canal of 1914. The technical solution is a lock canal with lakes high enough to lift ships over the Continental Divide.

December 2 U.S. president William McKinley receives a delegation from the new French company set up to build the canal in Panama, the Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama. The company has spent half its original capital already and all it has is a technical solution. The deal (to turn over the company's right to build a canal across the isthmus) takes five years to complete.

1899

France decides that commercial rather than territorial conquest is its best option in China, this despite the lobbying from Indochina, especially Governor-General Paul Doumer, who wants France to annex China.

March 21 France gives up claims to the Nile River basin. The French and British governments agree that the watersheds of the Nile and Congo Rivers are the boundaries of their respective spheres of influence.

1900

With the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion, Europeans mobilize their militaries to protect their nationals, Chinese Christians, and their concessions. The French army and navy guard the Beijing-Hankou Railway, but the Boxers destroy the railway anyway.

A new law creates the French colonial army, Armée Coloniale, after fifteen to twenty years of debate over whether the army should use indigenous or French troops in the overseas areas; the new law makes use of both troops.

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April 22 French forces corner and kill Morocco's Sultan Rabah by Lake Chad, thus ending the twenty-year effort to contain the sultan.

1902

May 8 Mount Pelée erupts, destroying St.-Pierre, Martinique, and killing 30,000 people in three minutes. Fort-de-France becomes the new capital of Martinique.

1904

Britain and France resolve their African disagreements and sign the Entente Cordiale. Having secretly arranged with Spain to partition Morocco, France agrees that Britain can have free rein in Egypt in exchange for French freedom in Morocco. France and Britain are now allied against Germany in the imperial arena and eventually in World War I. France gives Germany part of equatorial Africa adjacent to the Cameroons.

From 1904 France requires all colonies to be self-supporting except for national defense and public works of imperial interest.

France sells its interest in the Panama Canal to the United States for approximately \$40 million. The United States begins a ten-year construction project that costs approximately \$387 million.

1905

The Beijing-Hankou Railway is finished and quickly becomes one of the most profitable railroads in the world. The French company that built the railway replaces its Belgian partners with English ones and arranges terms that allow China to take the profits and gradually buy the railway, which it does in 1909.

France asks the sultan of Morocco for a protectorate, provoking Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm II visits Tangier and declares his backing for Morocco's integrity. He demands a conference that convenes at Algeciras, Spain, in 1906.

1906

The Algeciras Conference reaffirms the principles of the Madrid Conference and guarantees German investments in Morocco, but allows France to patrol the border with Algeria and France and Spain to police Morocco. The Tangier Statute, signed by Britain, France, and Spain, establishes Tangier as an international zone.

1908

The German consul at Casablanca, Morocco, gives sanctuary to deserters from the French Foreign Legion, causing a dispute that requires settlement by the Hague Tribunal. Moroccan unrest increases when Abd al-Hafid successfully topples his brother, Abd al-Aziz IV, as sultan.

1910

Afrique Équatoriale Française (French Equatorial Africa; AEF), comprising a number of French colonies in Central Africa, is established on the Afrique Occidentale Française model. This organizational structure supersedes Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza's commissariat general created in 1886 at Libreville and later relocated to Brazzaville.

1911

July 1 The German warship *Panther* appears at Agadir, Morocco; France interprets its presence as a threat of war. France and Germany begin negotiating a resolution to their rivalry.

November 4 Germany agrees to a French protectorate in Morocco in exchange for the cession of French territory in equatorial Africa.

1912

March 30 At Fès, the sultan agrees to a French protectorate in Morocco.

November 27 France and Spain divide Morocco. French Morocco is nine-tenths of the country. The remaining part is Spanish Morocco, a protectorate that is part of the Spanish Sahara, and the international zone of Tangier.

1912–1925

The administrator of French Morocco is Gen. (later Marshal) Louis-Hubert-Gonzalve Lyautey, a bad soldier but a good administrator who turns Casablanca into Morocco's principal port and governs as co-sovereign within the context of Islamic institutions. (He is eventually fired for going his own way instead of obeying the French government.) Lyautey establishes Morocco's programs of public health, public works, roads, resource development, and scientific agriculture. He pacifies towns and fights the Berber resistance in the hills, but the Berbers hold out until 1934.

1913

French humanitarian Albert Schweitzer establishes a hospital in French Equatorial Africa. He later expands it and establishes a leper colony.

1914

African troops are brought to the battlefields of France during World War I. Prewar planning assumed that Africans would remain in their homelands as replacements for French troops brought back to Europe.

Britain and France invade the Cameroons and defeat German forces that have held the Cameroons since 1883. After the war, under the League of Nations, the victors share a mandate, with France receiving 166,800 square miles and Britain accepting 34,000 square miles. After World War II both mandates become a United Nations trust territory. Other World War I mandates include Syria and Lebanon.

1917

November At this point, the French Empire has contributed 330,000 troops, with 90,000 from West Africa and 85,000 Algerians. By the end of the war, due in part to the recruiting efforts of Blaise Diagne of Senegal (the first black African to sit in the French parliament), the French army has 200,000 black troops. Of these, 125,000 see combat in the Dardanelles, Bulgaria, and on the western front.

1919

After World War I, France takes over the mandated territory of Togo from Germany.

1920

Regular boat service is established from Cayenne to St. Laurent in French Guiana. The trip takes twenty hours.

1926

In Morocco's Rif, France helps Spain defeat Abd el-Krim who has been in rebellion since the early 1920s. Abd el-Krim is exiled to the French island of Réunion.

1928

Jean Galmot, a politician and populist in French Guiana, dies mysteriously, leading to rioting against the administration with which he had been in conflict.

1930

French Guiana is divided, with the interior placed under the direct control of the governor and its own council. This region, the Inini territory, is to be exploited for natural resources. The effort fails, but the action insulates the interior from the coast. Inini remains populated primarily by Amerindians,

descendants of slaves known as Maroons, and gold miners.

1930s

South American neighbors and European countries put pressure on France to close the penal colony in French Guiana.

1932

Liberal opinion in France forces the government to give Vietnamese emperor Bao Dai free rein to institute reforms in Indochina, but Bao Dai is too weak to force reform in the face of opposition and returns to what critics call a "playboy" lifestyle.

1933

France tries to end its mandates in Syria and Lebanon similar to what Britain has done in Iraq.

1936

The Popular Front government of Léon Blum establishes a commission to see if shutting down the penal colony in French Guiana is viable.

All people in the empire have the right to become citizens of France, but they must assimilate. There are 80,500 French citizens of African descent in Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa), but all but 2,000 are Senegalese. France drafts a treaty regarding the release of its mandates in Syria and Lebanon, but the pact remains unratified at the outbreak of World War II.

1938

After the National Assembly decides to phase out the penal colony, the final transfer of prisoners to French Guiana occurs. During its history, the colony received 70,000 prisoners. Only 18,000 lived to finish their sentences.

In Tunisia, the nationalist Neo-Destour party is banned. Among those imprisoned in the Sahara is the organization's founder, Habib Bourguiba. During World War II, German occupiers free Bourguiba in 1942. Rearrested when the French return, he flees to Cairo. Bourguiba later becomes the first president of an independent Tunisia.

1939

There are only 63,200 students in the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF; French West Africa), mostly in 2-year village schools.

1940

France falls to German forces during World War II. The Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa), under Governor-General Pierre Boisson supports Vichy France and Philippe Pétain. The Afrique Équatoriale Française (French Equatorial Africa) and Cameroon join Félix Éboué, governor of Chad, in backing the Free French.

Pierre Boisson transfers from Brazzaville to Dakar to shore up Vichy control. He tries to maintain loyalty to Philippe Pétain while resisting Pierre Laval and German attempts to increase their influence.

September Japan occupies Indochina, leaving the French administration in place.

1940–1943

Vichy prison administrators in the Îles du Salut, cut off by the Allied blockade in the Atlantic Ocean, are without funds and inflict harsh treatment on prisoners. Half of the prisoners die during World War II due to shortages.

1941

Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh forms the Viet Minh to fight against both Japan and France.

Britain and the Free French invade Syria and Lebanon when they appear to be assisting the Germans. The Free French promise independence, but fail to honor the commitment. Syrian and Lebanese nationalists use French-British disagreements to gain sovereignty by the end of the year, general elections in 1943, the withdrawal of French forces in 1945, and full independence in 1946.

1941–1945

Spain occupies the international zone of Tangier.

1942

Allied forces land in North Africa.

Félix Éboué of Afrique Équatoriale Française (French Equatorial Africa) establishes the notable *évolué* class, which gives African elites status and rights appropriate to their educational and social levels. He also increases participation by indigenous chiefs and allows retention of African culture, which French citizenship, requiring assimilation, does not.

1943

The proximity of an American military base to Cayenne in French Guiana leads prison administrators

to switch their sympathies from Vichy to the Free French.

In Morocco, the nationalist party, Istiqlal, forms through a merger of indigenous nationalist groups. It is driven underground in 1952, the year France outlaws the Communist Party of Morocco while allowing the French communists to remain legal.

The Allied conference in Tehran restates the anticolonialism of the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and the 1942 Declaration by the United Nations.

By late 1943 the Free French are in control of all of the empire except for Indochina. Charles de Gaulle of the Free French has replaced the American-backed Henri Giraud in Algeria.

Pierre Boisson of Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa) is imprisoned after Charles de Gaulle takes power in Algiers. Boisson dies awaiting trial.

1944

January 30 Charles de Gaulle opens the Brazzaville Conference. Reforms of the French colonial system in black Africa include the groundwork for the abolition of forced labor and complete citizenship rights under the Fourth Republic and the 1946 constitution. No Africans participate directly, but Félix Éboué introduces a letter expressing African sentiment, important to later African nationalists. Conference recommendations include African participation in the postwar drafting of a new French constitution, greater local control of government, economic development, and educational reform. Greater interterritorial trade freedom is proposed through the elimination of the requirement that all commerce go through France. There is no recommendation for independence.

Félix Éboué, who hosts the Brazzaville Conference, dies shortly after the meeting.

Vo Nguyen Giap creates a Viet Minh army in Vietnam.

1945

The Japanese take over administration of Indochina. Bao Dai declares Vietnam independent under Japanese auspices. Later, Japan surrenders and transfers power to the Viet Minh; Bao Dai abdicates. Ho Chi Minh declares independence. British forces land in Saigon to reestablish French control.

Drafting of the constitution of the Fourth Republic takes place with African representation, but the deliberations are dominated by the Resistance and Free French. Voters reject the constitution.

Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union sign a new treaty reaffirming Tangier as an international zone. This agreement establishes a Committee of Control that includes eight nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and the Netherlands—all signatories of the Act of Algeciras (1906).

Syria and Lebanon break with France over Charles de Gaulle's failure to give them independence as promised, and the machinations of King Faisal of Iraq in Syria. Syria remains estranged, but Lebanon reestablishes ties with France in 1956 during the turbulence associated with the Egyptian-French confrontation over the Suez Canal.

May Riots in Constantine, Algeria, are the first uprising of note in North Africa. Causes include drought, famine, nationalism, and a police attempt to break up a V-E Day celebration. Fifty thousand Arabs participate in the riots, with 1,500 dying in the violence.

1945–1946

African political parties form as the constitutional conventions meet. Parties link together through the Bloc Africain led by Lamine Guèye of Senegal.

In reaction to the defeat of the first constitution in 1945 and in expectation that the conservatives would dominate the drafting of a second one, African leaders meet to develop unity and strategy. Moderates do not attend, so the meeting is dominated by nationalists and communists. The meeting produces the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA; African Democratic Assembly), the first successful mass interterritorial party, as called for by Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast.

1946

At the second constitutional convention of the Fourth Republic, Léopold Senghor, who will later be first president of Senegal and who wants an increased black role in French government and closer ties between French Africa and France, sits on the drafting committee. The constitution abolishes forced labor, establishes citizenship without assimilation on Félix

Éboué's model, and calls for financial and fiscal reforms. It establishes the French Union linking the semiautonomous Indochinese states with the French Republic, which includes metropolitan France; the departments of Réunion, Guiana, and the French West Indies; and overseas territories in Africa and Madagascar. The French assembly includes deputies from Africa and the rest of the empire. And all territories have representative assemblies, initially consultative only. African representation, two or three per territory, is token, but France is the only colonial power to give such representation. The Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa) and the Afrique Équatoriale Française (French Equatorial Africa) assemblies are subordinate to the French assembly, with local governments subordinate to them, but consultative assemblies give way slowly to deliberative bodies during the years leading up to independence.

Guiana, now officially a fully integrated overseas territory of France, has one of the lowest population densities on Earth, with a population of only 29,506, with 10,961 in Cayenne. Only 6,509 people live in the interior.

The closure of the penal colony and the decline of the gold fields in French Guiana lead to a population decline of 25 percent from prewar years, with the decline continuing until 1954.

China withdraws from Vietnam in return for French renunciation of extraterritorial claims in China.

March 19 Martinique acquires the status of a French department. Four deputies and two senators represent it in the National Assembly in Paris.

March After reaching an accord with the Viet Minh, France recognizes Vietnam as a free state within the French Union. French troops are clear to replace the Chinese in the north, and a referendum is scheduled to determine whether Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina should reunite.

June The French high commissioner for Indochina, Adm. Thierry d'Argenlieu, proclaims a separate government for Cochinchina, violating the March agreement.

November 23 The French bombard Haiphong to combat a growing anti-French nationalist movement led by Communist-Nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh.

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December The Viet Minh attack the French in Hanoi, then move to the countryside.

1947

Bao Dai, in Hong Kong, negotiates Vietnamese independence with limits.

The Statut de l'Algerie gives Algeria thirty deputies in the French National Assembly, fourteen in the Senate, and eighteen in the Assembly of French Union, about one-fourth of what Algeria would have if representation were equitably allotted based on the total population of France's metropolitan and overseas possessions. Also established is the Assemblée Algerienne, in which Arabs and Europeans share power. This body controls the budget and incorporates elements of home rule.

A revolt sponsored by the Renovation Party, dominated by indigenous ruling classes, fails to loosen the French hold on Madagascar. The uprising generates a decade of confusion among competing indigenous parties.

1947–1952

All prisoners of the penal colony are repatriated except for the 300 who refuse to leave Guiana. The lepers remain, too.

1949

Vietnam becomes an “associated state,” with France retaining control of defense and finances. Bao Dai returns to Vietnam.

DDT spraying against mosquitos begins in Guiana. Combined with other public health measures begun in the 1940s, this helps to decrease mortality rates for malaria, yellow fever, and leprosy.

1950

Ho Chi Minh declares that the only legal Vietnamese government is the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Soviet Union and China recognize it and Yugoslavia establishes diplomatic relations. The United States denounces Ho as a Soviet puppet. The United States and Britain recognize Bao Dai as Vietnam's leader. China begins to arm the Viet Minh. After North Korea invades the South, U.S. president Harry Truman provides \$15 million in military aid to Vietnam in a general effort to fight communism in Asia. The French lose Caobang, an essential position near the Chinese border.

France and the United States negotiate terms for the location of five American military bases in Morocco. Construction begins in April 1951. Bases are at Sidi Slimane, Nouasseur, Ben Guérir, Boulhaut, and El Djema Sahim. Nouasseur construction costs \$115 million, and equipping it approximately the same amount. In 1953 the United States negotiates military bases in Spain, reducing its need for bases in unsettled Morocco.

1951

Léopold Senghor founds the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais (BDS; Senegalese Democratic Bloc). The BDS becomes the dominant party in Senegal, and Senghor rivals Félix Houphouët-Boigny in African politics. Senghor's socialism eventually loses out to Houphouët-Boigny's liberal advocacy of private ownership.

Ho Chi Minh establishes the Lao Dong (Worker's Party) to replace the Communist Party dissolved in Vietnam in 1945.

1952

December Riots break out in Casablanca after the assassination of labor leader Ferhat Hashed in Tunis on December 5. Workers strike, the French respond with force, and between 33 (French count) and 1,208 (Arab count) Arabs die. Seven Europeans die. There is an outcry in France over the perceived needless bloodshed. France arrests the entire Tunisian cabinet, exiles them to the Sahara, and calls new elections that are boycotted by townspeople. In 1953 and 1954 terrorists control the countryside, and Asian and Arab countries in the United Nations call for an independent Tunisia within three years as well as a total boycott of France and French goods.

1953

October France grants Laos full independence as part of the French Union.

November Cambodia declares independence.

French reoccupy Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh tells a Swedish newspaper he is ready to negotiate peace with the French.

December The Viet Minh enter Laos.

1954

A coup in Morocco reduces Sultan Mohammed V to a figurehead. Political turbulence increases.

January 20 Spain denies the legality of the deposing of Mohammed V. French warships enter Spanish Moroccan waters in protest and to stabilize Spanish Morocco. France needs stability in Spanish Morocco in order to hold its own territory.

March 13–May 17 The Battle of Dien Bien Phu occurs in Vietnam.

June 17 Pierre Mendès-France becomes prime minister of France. He survives two of three votes of confidence, losing the third in February 1955. Mendès-France establishes a cabinet department to deal with Morocco and Tunisia and promises an end to the Indochina war.

Summer Forty French Tunisians ask Pierre Mendès-France to ease repressive measures. In August in Tunis, Mendès-France promises immediate home rule. An all-Tunisian government forms with three nationalist members.

July A cease-fire is agreed upon at Geneva for Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The line of demarcation is the seventeenth parallel pending national elections and complete French withdrawal in 1956. The United States is unenthusiastic about the agreements and Bao Dai rejects them.

October 9 The French leave Hanoi with numerous Catholic refugees. The United States arrives in Saigon with \$100 million in aid for the southern regime of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

November France crushes a Tunisian-led armed rebellion in eastern Algeria. Nationalism spreads from Morocco and Tunisia to Algeria. In its aftermath only 3 percent of the army eligibles are reliable enough to be called up.

1955

April France agrees to home rule for Morocco and Tunisia.

1956

Morocco and Tunisia gain independence before they become as problematic as Algeria and Indochina.

The French military begins training African officers at Frejus in the south of France. Trainees total 276 between 1956 and 1965.

January Elections to the French assembly gives Félix Houphouët-Boigny's Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (African Democratic Rally) twelve seats, up from three in the previous assembly. Léopold Senghor's party loses eight of its fourteen seats.

June 23 The *loi cadre* ends the two African confederations and the greater French republic. Implemented on April 4, 1957, the *loi cadre* gives territories control of their internal affairs, weakens the governors, and institutes one-man, one-vote and universal suffrage.

1956–1963

France intervenes in Mauritania to stabilize the country.

1957

François Mitterrand, future French president, calls for an end to colonial domination. Sékou Touré of Guinea seeks a voluntary association with France.

1957–1964

The French military intervenes in Cameroon against Russian-backed rebels.

1958

May 13 A French army revolt brings down the Fourth Republic. Charles de Gaulle forms the Fifth Republic with a new constitution drafted with input from Félix Houphouët-Boigny but not Léopold Senghor, who refused a cabinet position under the previous government.

In the referendum on the new constitution, Charles de Gaulle defines Africa's choices as a continuing confederation or becoming immediately independent and losing French economic aid (which has been significant since 1947). Only Sékou Touré's Guinea rejects the new arrangement. The confederation ends in 1959.

1959

The *Plan Raisonnable* organizes African armies in preparation for independence. The lack of African officers in colonial armies forces the wholesale promotion of inadequately trained and educated noncommissioned officers. One of these NCOs is Jean-Bédél Bokassa, who later becomes the self-styled emperor of the Central African Republic. Each army is 5,000-men strong with a comparably sized constabulary. France retains a small force to

supplement or combat these forces as necessary and establishes a rapid deployment force in France.

France establishes the African section of the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (Foreign Intelligence and Counter-Espionage Service) under Col. Maurice Robert. Clandestine operations include attempts to depose Sékou Touré of Guinea in 1959 and 1960. In 1961 in Zaire's Katanga Province, France aids Moïse Tshombe against the Belgians, and later, Irish-manned United Nations forces. France later becomes more sympathetic to Zaire. French clandestine efforts also occur in Biafra in the 1967–1970 Nigerian civil war and in Dahomey in 1974.

1960

Hanoi creates the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam, called by the Viet Cong or Communist Vietnamese by the South.

Mali demands independence. Charles de Gaulle agrees and ends the French African empire, which becomes thirteen small independent states. Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Chad are the only three with reasonable preparation for independence, but the new states have educated elites after the previous fifteen years of French efforts to develop, instead of simply exploiting, the empire.

France signs postindependence cooperation accords with Mali for economic and technical assistance; with Senegal, Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Chad, Dahomey, Niger, Mauritania, and Togo for defense, diplomatic, economic, commercial, technical, financial, and monetary aid; and with Cameroon and Upper Volta for all but common defense (although they sign on for military aid). Guinea refuses all assistance, but by 1984 is negotiating and after the death of Sékou Touré that year agrees to some aid.

Under Charles de Gaulle, the Ministry of Cooperation comes into being as France's provider of foreign aid to black Africa in the Franc Zone (the area where French currency is the standard).

1962

France leaves Algeria under the Evian Accords between the Algerian National Liberation Front and the French government of Charles de Gaulle.

France establishes a space agency with a mandate to find a new rocket site to replace the one in Hammaguir, Algeria. The new site is in French Guiana.

1963

The Organization of African Unity is founded at Addis Ababa. The OAU is an attempt at a regional alliance to stabilize Africa. Its successes are few because of the wide diversity of states on the continent.

1964

France opens the European space center in Kourou, French Guiana. Migration is a problem in the 1960s as Guianese leave for France and French laborers and technicians come to Kourou to build the center.

The French military intervenes in Gabon. After the army mutinies and takes President Léon M'ba prisoner, France sends paratroopers from Dakar and Brazzaville to Libreville. French forces end the uprising and restore the president. French intervention in Africa is inconsistent in the 1960s: France does nothing when the president of Togo is assassinated and his government ousted in 1962, and they do nothing when Abbé Youlou is forced to resign the presidency of Congo-Brazzaville. The French also ignore a series of coups in Dahomey, the Central African Republic, and Upper Volta during the late 1960s.

1965

The first major Franco-African joint military exercise takes place in Senegal. Bilateral exercises continue, and France begins rotating metropolitan troops to Africa in 1975 to acclimatize and pre-position them to be in place for potential missions in Africa.

1968

First space launch from French Guiana is a French Veronique sounding rocket. European space launches since then exceed 460.

1968–1975

The French intervene in Chad, as they will again in 1977–1980, 1983, and 1986. Chad is of strategic importance. France supports the Christian-animist south against the Muslims of the Saharan provinces to reestablish its credibility and preserve regional stability.

1969

April Charles de Gaulle resigns as president of France.

Inini territory in French Guiana is abolished under an administrative consolidation. Maroons, descendants of

slaves, and Amerindians of the interior acquire more political influence.

1970s and 1980s

Drought in the Sahel leads to a large migration, especially from Senegal, to France, and conflict between immigrants and the French.

1970s

As France moves into the European Economic Community and signs treaties with Pacific, Caribbean, and African nations, and as local tastes shift toward European food and away from the local manioc, the agricultural sector of French Guiana declines.

1970

Eight space missions with France's Diamant B launch vehicle take place. Technical difficulties force a complete overhaul of the European space program.

France includes other francophone African states in its "family"—the former Belgian colonies of Zaire, Burundi, and Rwanda.

1971

A nascent independence movement fails in Guiana after the militants are arrested. A second effort in 1974 has the same result.

1973

France begins its annual Franco-African summits to promote closer political and economic cooperation between France and its former colonies in Africa.

The United States signs a cease-fire and leaves Vietnam. Scars prevent normalization of relations between the United States and Vietnam for a quarter of a century.

1974

Martinique and Guadeloupe become regions of France.

Mid-1970s

Of the original twelve states with full-defense agreements with France, only Senegal, Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Togo, and Cameroon retain them. Africans seek a more independent course as Third World nations.

1975

The Vietnam War ends with North Vietnam's victory. Unified Vietnam fights wars with Cambodia in 1978

and China in 1979. It suffers an exodus of refugees, so-called boat people, beginning in 1978.

Under the French "Green Plan" to send 30,000 settlers to Guiana and establish agriculture and trees for paper production, 1,000–3,000 people actually go, but most return quickly. Local independence advocates define it as "genocide," with the light skins gaining by the sweat of the dark brow.

France withdraws all forces from Madagascar/Malagasy.

Dahomey changes its name to Benin. From 1974 to 1989, Benin is a one-party socialist state; multiparty elections resume in 1991.

The Economic Community of West African States is established for economic development. Members are Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

1977

France intervenes militarily in Mauritania after the country annexes the southern third of the former Spanish Sahara in 1976. Mauritania gives up the territory after three years of raids by the Polisario guerrilla group, which seeks independence.

Djibouti signs an agreement authorizing a French naval base.

1977–1978

French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, unlike his predecessor Georges Pompidou, actively intervenes in Africa. In 1977 he sends advisers, arms, and planes to support a primarily Moroccan force that beats back an incursion from Angola into Shaba Province in Zaire by the Front de Liberation Nationale Congolaise (FNLC; National Congolese Liberation Front), a Katangan force in Angola since the fall of Moïse Tshombe in the mid-1960s. In 1978 d'Estaing sends in French paratroopers, Belgian forces assist the effort, and FNLC survivors retreat to Angola.

1978

A French agreement with the Comoro Islands allows France to retain control of the Mozambique Channel. The French Indian Ocean fleet moves to Réunion, generating complaints from Malagasy.

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1978–1980

France intervenes militarily in Chad.

1979

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing sends French paratroopers to depose the increasingly despotic Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Republic.

The Ariane rocket and the European space program become a technical and commercial success, attracting contracts and people and making Kourou Guiana's second largest city, replacing St. Laurent.

1980s

French Africa is in a general economic crisis and France is looking away, toward the European Economic Community. In 1980 cereal production of sub-Saharan Africa is 20 percent lower than at the start of the 1970s. Black Africa, a food exporter in the 1970s, is turning into a food importer in the 1980s.

1980

The French intervene militarily in Mauritania again. Previous interventions took place in 1956–1963 and 1977.

1981

May 28 The Economic Community of West African States establishes defense protocols that fail to materialize because the francophone states do not trust Nigeria's potential to dominate and because Nigeria regards the continuing French military presence as a hindrance to Nigerian development as a regional power. Francophone states prefer to develop a defense protocol within the Communauté Économique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Economic Community of West Africa).

1982

The Socialist Party victory in France leads to decentralization and increased local autonomy.

Guiana attempts to export gold, wood, and shrimp. European tourism is light. Immigration from Brazil begins.

Senegal and Gambia confederate as Senegambia, which dissolves in 1989.

Southern separatists begin a sporadic and ongoing conflict with the Senegalese government.

1982–1983

Development becomes part of French aid to francophone Africa.

1982–1988

France intervenes in Chad in support of President Hissène Habré against a Libyan incursion. French president François Mitterrand, under pressure from the United States and African nations, commits troops to southern Chad while Libyans control the north. Mitterrand negotiates a Libyan withdrawal with its leader, Muammar al-Gadhafi, who hides his troops instead of withdrawing. The Chadian army, with French assistance (including air power that neutralizes the Libyan air force), forces Libya back.

1983

Central Africa attempts a regional association, the Communauté Économique des États de l'Afrique Centrale (Economic Community of Central African States) that includes Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, São Tomé, Chad, and Zaire, with Angola as an observer state.

1985

The World Bank establishes a special fund for Africa. There is an international effort to put resources into Africa.

1985–1987

Cotton prices fall, hurting Mali, Chad, Senegal, and Burkina Faso. Falling oil prices hurt the economies of Congo, Gabon, and Cameroon.

1986

The French military intervenes in Togo on behalf of its president, Gnassingbe Eyadema.

1986–1988

Ten thousand refugees from Surinam's internal conflict come to Guiana.

1987

January The Libreville conference brings together more than 700 French and African business leaders to discuss business investment in Africa.

1990

French Guiana's population exceeds 100,000.

1991

Mauritania legalizes opposition parties and approves a new constitution. Although multiparty elections occur, Mauritania remains a one-party state. It experiences ongoing problems in the 1990s with ethnic tensions between its black minority and Arab-Berber majority.

Mali ends rule by dictatorship and holds its first democratic election the next year. It has a single president through the 1990s, a political and economic reformer named Alpha Oumar Konare.

1993

Independent since 1958, Guinea holds its first democratic elections, choosing Gen. Lansana Conte, head of the preceding military government, as its president. He is reelected in 1998. Guinea in the 1990s is hampered by the spillover of unrest from neighboring Sierra Leone.

Niger holds its first free and open elections. In the 1990s it solves its five-year Tuareg insurgency.

Togo, governed by Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema, the country's military ruler since 1967, holds multiparty elections, but the military remains in control. Togo is noted for human rights abuses and internal political unrest, causing other countries and international organizations to deny it aid.

1994

An attempt to revitalize a moribund project to build a road from Guiana to Brazil causes an ecological uproar as the World Wildlife Federation opposes the destruction of 450,000 trees to allow passage of perhaps half a dozen cars per day. At the time, Guiana has 260 miles of road after 400 years of development.

1996

A coup takes place in Niger.

1999

Another coup occurs in Niger.

December Niger creates the National Reconciliation Council and begins civilian rule.

GERMAN EMPIRE

WAYNE BOWEN

1870

November Thirty-eight German business leaders petition Kaiser Wilhelm I and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to insist on the transfer of Cochinchina (southern Vietnam), Tahiti, Réunion, and other French colonies to Prussia as a condition of French surrender in the Franco-Prussian War. The kaiser and Bismarck reject the idea.

1871

January 18 After defeating France in the Franco-Prussian War, King Wilhelm I of Prussia is declared emperor of the Germans, creating the German Empire.

1882

December 2 The German Colonization Society (Kolonialverein) interest and lobbying group forms to promote imperial expansion and the establishment of new colonies.

1884

April 24 At the request of German businessman Adolf Lüderitz, who has interests in the region, Germany

establishes a protectorate over what would become South West Africa (Namibia), creating the first overseas German colony.

May Gustav Nachtigal, the German explorer and former consul in Tunisia, raises German flags over Togo and the Cameroons.

June Great Britain recognizes South West Africa as a German colony, and also accepts Germany's claims over some of the Fiji Islands in the South Pacific.

July Germany establishes formal colonial rule over Togo and the Cameroons in support of Adolf Woermann, a German businessman engaged in trade in the Gulf of Guinea. The chief of Togoville, Mlapa III, signs a treaty with Gustav Nachtigal on July 4 confirming German control over coastal Togo.

December 23 Germany declares a protectorate over the island of New Britain and sections of the northeastern part of New Guinea.

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1885

February German colonist Carl Peters receives patent of protection over a small settler base in Tanganyika, establishing the colony of German East Africa (Tanzania), including the island of Zanzibar. The German East Africa Company is chartered to administer these claims.

February 26 The Berlin conference on Africa ends more than three months after it began at the invitation of the German government. During the conference, European powers create the Congo Free State as a colony for Belgian king Leopold II, agree to free trade in central Africa, reconcile and expand existing European claims, and ban the slave trade.

May Kaiser-Wilhelmsland and Bismarck Archipelago, both in northeastern New Guinea, become German protectorates at the request of banker Adolf von Hansemann.

August Germany claims the Caroline Islands, but then withdraws when Spain protests, although it receives rights to establish a naval base, as well as freedom to trade.

November Five local chiefs in the Marshall Islands agree to the extension of a German protectorate over their lands.

December France and Germany establish the border between the French Congo and the German Cameroons.

1886

Germany acquires the Solomon Islands.

1888

German companies receive the first contracts from the Ottoman Empire to begin building a railway from Berlin to Baghdad.

A tribal uprising begins in East Africa that takes two years to crush.

1890

Germany signs the Heligoland Zanzibar Treaty with Britain, trading the African island of Zanzibar, off the coast of German East Africa, for the North Sea island of Heligoland.

March Carl Peters enters Uganda and convinces chief Mwanga to sign a treaty acknowledging German rule.

July 1 The procolonialist Pan-German League forms to unite all Germans into one national state and to promote imperial expansion.

July Germany and Britain agree to expand South West Africa to the Zambezi River and extend German East Africa to the border of the Congo Free State, in exchange for recognition of Britain's claims over Egypt, the Sudan, and the sources of the Nile River, including Uganda. The German Colonization Society and other imperialist groups criticize the treaty as a surrender.

October 28 Facing bankruptcy and rebellion of the indigenous peoples (the Abushiri revolt), the German East Africa Company gives all of its rights to the German government.

German East Africa becomes a formal colony of Germany.

1891

The German Foreign Ministry creates a new section, the colonial department, to administer overseas territories.

1893

November An Anglo-German agreement defines the border between Cameroon and Nigeria.

1894

German Count Von Goetzen visits Rwanda, the first European to do so.

April Germany asks Great Britain and the United States to withdraw from joint control over the Samoa Islands, leaving Berlin as the sole colonial power.

September A German-Portuguese agreement defines the border between Mozambique and German East Africa.

1896

January 3 Kaiser Wilhelm II sends a congratulatory telegram to President Paul Kruger of the Transvaal concerning his declaration of independence from the British, and considers declaring a protectorate over the new South African Republic, but does not send substantive military aid to support the Afrikaners in the upcoming Boer War. The British government is furious over the telegram, as it considers the Transvaal within its sphere of influence.

January 18 In a speech commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the unification of the German

Empire, Kaiser Wilhelm II declares that Germany will seek to enlarge its colonial possessions overseas.

1897

Germany proposes to the United States and Great Britain a tripartite protectorate over the Hawaiian Islands, a plan made moot by the U.S. seizure of the territory the following year.

November After the murder of two of its missionaries in China, Germany seizes the Tsingtao (Kiaochow) territory on the Shantung Peninsula.

1898

The German Naval League forms to support building a large navy and challenging Britain at sea.

Kaiser Wilhelm II travels to Jerusalem and Damascus, within the Ottoman Empire, to promote German economic and political interests in the area.

March 6 Germany forces the Chinese government to grant a ninety-nine-year lease on the Tsingtao (Kiaochow) territory, as well as two railroad concessions to the Chinese interior and mining rights near the colony. Germany builds a naval base in the new colony, and governs the land through its Navy Department, rather than its Colonial Office.

March 28 The German Reichstag passes a naval bill that will allow it to build a global fleet to compete with the British navy, and will include nineteen battleships and forty-two cruisers. This begins a naval arms race with Britain, which lasts until World War I. Despite the buildup, the German navy continues to lag behind Britain in terms of naval arms stockpiles.

May 11 Germany's naval commander in the Pacific supports a rebellion in the Philippines against Spain, but is unable to gain the support of his government to establish a protectorate.

August 30 Germany and Great Britain agree to partition the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa should Portugal suffer an economic or political collapse, or default on loans to the two powers.

1899

The mwami (ruler) of Rwanda signs a treaty accepting German imperial rule.

February 12 Germany buys from Spain the Caroline and Mariana Islands (excluding Guam), which had

been previously occupied by the United States during the Spanish-American War.

November 14 Germany transfers some of the Solomon Islands to Britain in exchange for concessions in Samoa.

December 2 Germany receives two of the Samoa Islands, Upolu and Savaii, through an agreement with Great Britain and the United States.

1900

June 13–August 14 The Boxer Rebellion begins in China with the murder of the German minister Baron von Ketteler. German field marshal Count Waldersee is named leader of the European and U.S. expeditionary force sent to protect colonial claims in China, but the force arrives after the rebellion ends.

1904

January 12 Rebellion begins in South West Africa among the Herero and Nama tribes, resulting in several years of fighting against German colonial forces. Germany sends over 15,000 soldiers to the territory to crush the uprising, which finally ends in 1908.

1905

March 31 Kaiser Wilhelm II lands in Tangier, Morocco, meets with the sultan, Abd al-Aziz, promises to support Moroccan independence, and threatens French diplomats with intervention if they encroach on German interests.

June The Maji-Maji uprising begins in East Africa, precipitated by a new program of forced labor implemented by the colonial governor, Adolf von Gotzen, to improve cotton production.

1906

During the first Moroccan crisis, Germany attempts to use French penetration into Morocco to demand an international conference on the status of the North African state. Supported only by Austria-Hungary, at the conference held at Algeiras, Spain, Germany gains no new colonial concessions.

German settlers and traders discover diamonds and copper in South West Africa.

1907

January Espousing a stronger colonial policy, conservative and nationalist parties win parliamentary

elections over the Social Democrats, who favor withdrawing from the empire and criticize the cost of the colonies and protest abuses of the natives by German administrators and business interests. The election follows a series of scandals during the previous year during which the Reichstag complained about serious corruption, inefficiency, and favoritism displayed by the government in colonial affairs.

June Germany establishes a new Colonial Office, independent of its Foreign Ministry, to administer German overseas possessions, partly in reaction to criticism by the Social Democrats and other parties of poor management.

August German ambassador Hans Freiherr von Wangenheim proposes to the Mexican government that it grant Germany concessions to establish coaling stations on its Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

1911

June–November In response to French intervention in Morocco, Germany stations the warship *Panther* off the coast to protect its interests, and demands territorial concessions as a condition for removing the gunboat. A war scare erupts in London and Paris, and Germany eventually withdraws its ship in exchange for a small corridor of territory in the Cameroons.

1913

October 20 Germany and Britain sign a treaty agreeing to divide Angola and Mozambique between them if Portugal is unable to quell unrest in the region, or if there is a direct threat to British or German property or citizens in those two colonies. Germany delays publishing the treaty, however, and it becomes a dead agreement with the coming of World War I.

1914

August World War I begins in Europe. At the start of the war, Germany, the European power with the third-largest colonial empire, rules an area outside Europe that includes 1.1 million square miles and 13 million people in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

August 26 The German colonial army in Togo surrenders. West Togo falls under British rule, becoming part of Ghana, while East Togo becomes part of the French Empire, and later the modern state of Togo.

August–October German forces in the South Pacific island colonies surrender to Japanese and British military units.

November 7 German naval and marine units at Tsingtao surrender to Japanese forces, eliminating Germany's most important naval bases in Asia. The area remains under Japanese occupation until 1922.

1915

Belgian military units from the Congo defeat a small German force in Rwanda and occupy the colony.

July 9 British troops defeat the last remaining German military forces in South West Africa.

1916

February 18 The commander of German forces in Cameroon surrenders. The colony is divided between France and Britain.

1918

Rwanda becomes a protectorate under Belgian rule.

November 11 Germany surrenders to the Allies to end World War I.

November 14 The last military units in German East Africa surrender to British forces. Commanded from the beginning of the war by Col. Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, the German contingent of a few hundred Germans and just over 2,000 natives had resisted British, Portuguese, and South African attacks by superior forces, some involving two or more divisions. Over 300,000 soldiers had fought against the small German force, which remained undefeated until after the German armistice.

1919

June 28 Under Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany renounces all claims to its overseas empire. German East Africa, Togo, and part of Cameroon come under British rule, while South West Africa becomes a mandate of South Africa. A small section of German East Africa becomes a Portuguese mandate. In the Pacific, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand divide the former island colonies. Germany's Chinese colonies revert to China after brief Japanese rule. Both Rwanda and the neighboring territory of Burundi are mandated to Belgium as a trust territory called Ruanda-Urundi. The League of Nations establishes these territories as mandates, meaning that the colonial powers are trustees empowered to administer them until their final status is determined.

1920

The League of Nations awards the mandate over Bismarck Archipelago to Australia.

1937

November 5 In a secret meeting with his chief military advisers, Adolf Hitler declares that Germany will seek to reclaim and expand its former overseas colonies only after it has achieved its conquests on the European continent.

1939

Nazi Germany creates a Ministry for Colonies to plan for the administration of overseas territories in Africa.

September Germany invades Poland, setting off World War I in Europe.

1940

February Germany secretly offers peace to South Africa in exchange for the return of its colonies.

September–October Germany demands bases in Morocco and possession of one of the Canary Islands from Spain as a naval and air base, along with Spanish entry into World War II on the side of the Axis. Spain refuses.

November Germany proposes to the Soviet Union a permanent peace treaty, which would grant central Africa to the Third Reich as a future colonial empire, leaving North Africa for Italy and the Middle East and India for the Soviet Union.

1943–1944

December 15, 1943–November 27, 1944 U.S. and Australian forces seize Bismarck Archipelago from Japanese defenders.

1944

The United States occupies the Caroline and Mariana Islands after defeating Japanese forces.

1945

May Germany surrenders to Allies, formally ending World War II in Europe.

League of Nations mandates over former German colonies become United Nations mandates. The former Japanese mandates over the Caroline, Mariana, and Marshall Islands become UN trust territories under U.S. administration.

1946

Tanganyika becomes a UN trust territory under British control.

1955

French Togo becomes an autonomous republic within the French Union.

1956

In a referendum sponsored by the United Nations, West Togo votes to remain part of Ghana rather than reunite with East Togo.

1958

Sylvanus Olympio is selected president of Togo in a United Nations-supervised election.

December France grants self-government to French Cameroon.

1959

In Belgian-ruled Rwanda, a Hutu rebellion begins against the Tutsi elite and colonial government.

1960

The Tutsi king of Rwanda and 200,000 Tutsi flee the country.

January 1 French Cameroon becomes independent, with Ahmadou Ahidjo as its first president.

April 27 French Togo becomes fully independent under a provisional constitution, with Sylvanus Olympio as president.

September Cameroon is admitted to the United Nations.

1961

October 1 After a United Nations-sponsored vote, the British-administered Northern Cameroon becomes part of Nigeria, while the remainder of Central and Southern Cameroon remains part of the Republic of Cameroon.

December 9 Tanganyika gains its independence from Great Britain, with Julius Nyerere as president.

1962

July 1 Belgium grants Rwanda independence, with a Hutu-dominated government.

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1963

December 10 Zanzibar achieves its independence from Great Britain.

1964

January 12 Rebels in Zanzibar overthrow the sultan.

April 26 Tanganyika and Zanzibar unite to form Tanzania.

1966

The United Nations revokes South Africa's mandate over South West Africa, but South Africa refuses to withdraw from the colony.

1973

Australia surrenders control of the Bismarck Archipelago, which becomes part of the newly independent Papua New Guinea.

1979

All of the Caroline Islands except Palau unite to form the Federated States of Micronesia.

1985

November 5 Julius Nyerere resigns as president of Tanzania.

1986

The Federated States of Micronesia become independent from the United States and join the United Nations.

1990

South West Africa becomes the independent nation of Namibia.

1994

April–July Up to a million Tutsis and Hutu moderates are killed by their government in Rwanda. Another 2 million flee to neighboring countries.

October 1 Palau becomes an independent nation.

1995

The Tutsi-backed Rwandan Patriotic Front takes control of Rwanda, allowing Tutsi exiles to return.

November Cameroon joins the Commonwealth of Nations, an organization of former British colonies.

ITALIAN EMPIRE

TIM WATTS

1854

Piedmontese prime minister Camillo Benso, Conte di Cavour, offers 15,000 men to fight with France and Britain against Russia in the Crimean War. At the Conference of Paris in 1856, which ends the war, Cavour raises the question of Italian unification. He receives promises of help against Austria from French emperor Napoleon III.

1858

July 20 Camillo Benso, Conte di Cavour, and Napoleon III sign the secret Pact of Plombieres to form an alliance against Austria. Cavour begins maneuvering to force Austria to declare war on Piedmont.

1859

April 29 Austria declares war on Piedmont and invades. Austrian forces are defeated at the Battles of Montebello (May 20) and Palestro (May 30), and retreat.

June 4 Under Napoleon III's command, French and Piedmontese forces invade Lombardy and defeat the Austrians at the Battle of Magenta.

June 24 The Austrians are decisively defeated at Solferino. They sign an armistice on July 11 at Villafranca, conceding most of Lombardy to Piedmont.

1860

March Plebiscites are held in Tuscany, Massa, Carrara, Parma, Modena, and Romagna. The people vote to join the kingdom of Piedmont. Most of northern Italy is ruled by Piedmont.

May "Red Shirts" under Giuseppe Garibaldi, an Italian nationalist leader, invade Marsala, Sicily, on May 11. Garibaldi defeats Neapolitan forces at Calatafimi and captures Palermo on May 27. He soon conquers all of Sicily and invades the Neapolitan territory in mainland Italy.

September Giuseppe Garibaldi captures Naples on September 7. Piedmontese forces invade the Papal States on September 10. Garibaldi declares his support for Victor Emanuel II, king of Piedmont, as king of a united Italy.

1861

March 17 A united kingdom of Italy is proclaimed, with Victor Emanuel II as its king. Rome and Venetia remain to be liberated from the Papal States and Austro-Hungarian Empire, respectively.

1866

Despite Italian defeats in the Austro-Prussian War, Italy receives Venetia as its reward for assisting Prussia in defeating Austria.

1867

An African society is founded in Naples to provide financial support for explorers and missionaries in Africa. The real intent is to arouse public support for colonial ventures.

1870

March 13 Father Giuseppe Sapeto, a missionary acting as an agent for the Societa di Navigazione Rabbatino (Rabbatino Navigation Society), purchases a small area in the Bay of Assab on the Red Sea, ostensibly as a coaling station for trade between Genoa and the Indies. When the Egyptian government objects, the Italian government buys the concession in 1882 and stations a garrison there, making it the first official Italian colonial venture. Some Italian politicians hope to use the port as a gateway to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), to conquer the African state for use as a penal colony and for settling excess population.

September 20 Italian soldiers capture Rome during the Franco-Prussian War after the French garrison is withdrawn. Rome becomes the capital of Italy. The pope threatens Italian Catholics with excommunication if they participate in Italian political life.

1878

Italian explorer Romolo Gessi organizes a military expedition that defeats Arab slavers on the borders of Ethiopia and frees 10,000 slaves. He establishes an Italian presence in Ethiopia.

Cesare Correnti founds the Italian Geographical Society, which sponsors exhibitions to spread the idea that Italy is fated to become a great geographical power.

1881

March 12 France declares a protectorate over Tunis, frustrating Italian colonial ambitions in that region. A large population of Italian immigrants comes under French control.

1885

February 5 Following the massacre of Italians in what is to become Eritrea, Italian soldiers occupy the port of Massawa with British support. They begin probing expeditions into Ethiopian territory.

1887

January 26 An Italian force of 460 men is defeated by a much larger Ethiopian army at Dogali. Nearly all the Italians are killed.

1888

June 16 Italy formally annexes Massawa.

1889

March 12 Emperor John IV of Ethiopia defeats Mahdist forces at Metemma, but is killed during the battle. He is succeeded by Menelik II.

May 2 The Italian government signs a treaty with Menelik II at Ucciali. The Italian copy of the treaty establishes an Italian protectorate over Ethiopia; the Ethiopian copy differs in wording and does not indicate any protectorate.

1890

January 1 Prime Minister Francesco Crispi proclaims a new Italian colony on the Red Sea, named Eritrea, which combines all territory in Asmara occupied by Italian forces. Local leaders join Menelik II in opposing further Italian expansion in the region.

1892

April 15 The British government recognizes all of Ethiopia as being in the Italian sphere of influence. Other European nations gradually follow suit.

1893

Francesco Crispi returns to office as prime minister of Italy. He considers colonial expansion as an avenue to political success. He orders the occupation of the Tigre region in eastern Africa, forcing local rulers into an alliance with Menelik II.

December 20 Italian troops in Eritrea defeat an army of 10,000 Mahdists at Agordat, marking the first victory anywhere by soldiers of a united Italy.

1894

July 12 Italians capture Kassala, in the Sudan, from the Mahdists. In 1897, Great Britain cedes its claim to Kassala, thereby enlarging the Italian colony of Eritrea.

1895

December 17 Thanks to modern rifles supplied by Italy and other European countries, Menelik II wins a victory over a small Italian force at Amba Alagi. The Italian commander in Eritrea, Gen. Oreste Baratieri, recklessly advances into Ethiopia to rescue his reputation, as well as Italy's.

1896

March 1 At the Battle of Adwa, Italian forces are defeated by a much larger Ethiopian army, marking the worst defeat of a colonial power in Africa during the nineteenth century. Italian general Oreste Baratieri loses 7,000 dead, 1,400 wounded, and 1,700 captured. Italian forces withdraw from Ethiopia and renounce any claim to a protectorate. Italian commercial interests in Ethiopia, however, continue to grow.

1897

Italians conquer the Indian Ocean littoral from the sultan of Zanzibar, cutting Ethiopia off from access to the ocean and establishing Italian Somaliland.

1899

Mohammed ben Abdullah, "The Mad Mullah," begins a guerrilla war against Italian forces in Somalia. It lasts until his death in 1920.

1905

The Banco di Roma secures mining concessions in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, composing present-day Libya, and begins a propaganda campaign encouraging Italian economic penetration of that Ottoman territory.

1911

A book entitled *Our Promised Land*, extolling the benefits of colonizing Libya, is published in Italy and is popular among the learned classes.

September 29 Italy declares war on Turkey because of the supposed threat to Italians in Libya. The Italian fleet immediately bombards Preveza on the Epirus coast.

October 3–5 The Italian navy bombards Tripoli and occupies it after Turkish forces evacuate the city. The local population rejects the Italians and sides with the Turks as fellow Muslims against the Italians. After additional landings, Italian soldiers soon capture the other significant Libyan ports.

November Italian prime minister Giovanni Giolitti rejects a German compromise that would allow Italian

occupation of Libya under nominal Ottoman sovereignty. He proclaims Tripolitania and Cyrenaica as Italian protectorates.

Italy becomes the first nation in history to drop bombs from airplanes, during the fighting in Libya.

1912

April 16–19 The Italian fleet demonstrates off the Dardanelles, bombarding Turkish fortifications. The Turks close the straits to shipping.

May 6–17 Italian forces capture the island of Rhodes and other Dodecanese Islands from the Turks.

July–October Italian forces break the stalemate in Libya by pushing out from the coastal areas they occupy in a systematic offensive that defeats the outnumbered Turks.

October 15 In the Treaty of Ouchy, Turkey cedes Libya, Rhodes, and the Dodecanese Islands to Italy. The impending war with the Balkan League forces Turkey to make peace. In Libya, the local population continues a guerrilla resistance to Italian rule. Italian authority is largely limited to the coastal areas.

The Ministry of Colonies is established in the Italian government.

1914

August 3 Italy declares its neutrality at the outbreak of World War I. Italian leaders begin to negotiate with both Allies and Central Powers to get the best reward for intervening.

October 29 Italian troops occupy Valona, without resistance from local authorities, to prevent Greek troops from occupying Albania.

1915

May 23 Italy enters World War I on the Allied side. Italian goals include annexing territory along its northeastern border with Austria and establishing a sphere of influence over Albania in the Balkans. Italian expansionists also hope to receive a share of the Ottoman Empire. The Italian army performs poorly in the war, hampered by losses and debts incurred in the war in Libya. Most military operations consist of fruitless attacks along the Isonzo River.

1917

Italy signs the Treaty of Acroma, which acknowledges virtual Libyan independence.

June Italy proclaims a protectorate over Albania. A low-intensity guerrilla war begins.

1918

Leaders in Tripolitania, in Libya, establish an independent republican government and seek greater autonomy.

1920

The Italian government signs an agreement with Senussi leader Sayyid Idris, recognizing him as emir of Cyrenaica and granting that region autonomy under Italian rule.

August 2 Italian prime minister Giovanni Giolitti withdraws the remaining Italian troops from Albania and affirms its independence.

1922

April The leaders of Tripolitania offer the emirate to Sayyid Idris. He fails to accept before the Italian government begins a campaign of reconquest in Libya. Idris believes no peaceful solution is possible with the Italians and leaves for Egypt in self-imposed exile. Italian forces in Libya begin an eight-year campaign against Omar Mukhtar, seeking to conquer the interior of Libya. They use summary executions, deportations, and concentration camps. Nearly 50,000 Senussi, mostly civilians, are killed.

October 26 Fascist Blackshirts begin their march on Rome to seize power.

October 31 Benito Mussolini takes power as Italian prime minister.

1923

Benito Mussolini orders the Italian fleet to bombard the Ionian island of Corfu after Italian officials helping determine Albania's borders are murdered, presumably by Greek assassins. His efforts to occupy Corfu permanently are blocked by Great Britain and France.

1927

November 22 The Treaty of Tirana establishes a virtual Italian protectorate over Albania.

1931

Italian forces in Libya capture and execute Omar Mukhtar, ending the war with the Senussi.

1934

December 5 Italian and Ethiopian forces clash at Walwal, an oasis on the border between Ethiopia and Somalia.

1935

October 3 Italian troops under Gen. Emilio De Bono invade Ethiopia. Benito Mussolini hopes to gain additional colonial territory and to avenge the Italian defeat at Adwa. After initial setbacks, the Italians under Marshal Pietro Badoglio, De Bono's replacement, use tanks, terror bombing, and poison gas against the poorly equipped Ethiopians and make rapid gains. Sanctions imposed by the League of Nations against Italy are halfhearted and do not include oil, coal, and steel.

1936

May 5 The Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa falls to Italian forces. Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie goes into exile.

May 9 Italy annexes Ethiopia and adds it to Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, to make up Italian East Africa. Benito Mussolini proclaims the restoration of the Roman Empire and announces that King Victor Emanuel III is also emperor of Ethiopia. When Ethiopian unrest continues, Italians execute the archbishop of the Ethiopian Coptic Church, along with many monks and much of the population of Addis Ababa.

1939

April 7 Italian forces invade Albania, encountering minimal resistance. Benito Mussolini annexes Albania to the Italian Empire.

1940

June 10 Benito Mussolini declares war on France and Great Britain, hoping to ensure that Italy receives compensation in the general peace settlement. He ignores advice that Italy is not prepared for a major war.

September 13 After prodding by Benito Mussolini, Italian forces in Libya begin an invasion of Egypt.

October 28 Italian forces in Albania launch a surprise invasion on Greece. After initial gains, they are repelled and parts of Albania are lost.

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December 9 British forces in Egypt launch a surprise attack on Italian forces at Sidi Barrani. Over 38,000 prisoners are taken and the British continue their assault. By February 7, 1941, the British have conquered much of Libya and taken over 130,000 Italians prisoner.

1941

The British attack Italian forces in Eritrea, Somaliland, and Ethiopia. By early April, Massawa is captured.

March German forces under Gen. Erwin Rommel begin to arrive in Tripoli to support the Italians. On March 24, Rommel launches an offensive and pushes the British out of most of Libya. The Italians are reduced to playing a subordinate role to the Germans in defending their North African empire.

April 4 Addis Ababa falls to the British.

April 6 Germany launches an invasion of Greece and Yugoslavia to help its Italian ally. Both countries are quickly conquered. Italy receives the province of Slovenia, and Croatia becomes an Italian satellite state. Italian troops occupy much of the Balkans.

May 18 Italian forces in East Africa surrender to the British, putting an end to the Italian Empire in that region. Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie returns to his throne. Somaliland and Eritrea come under British military rule.

1942

October 23–November 4 German-Italian forces are decisively defeated at the Battle of El Alamein. They are forced out of Egypt and eventually have to abandon Libya. The Italian colonies in North Africa are placed under British military administration.

November 8 American and British forces land in French North Africa. Italian and German soldiers occupy Tunisia.

1943

January 23 The last Italian soldiers leave Libya, marking the end of the North African part of the Italian Empire.

May 12 The last Italian and German soldiers in North Africa surrender at Tunis.

July 24 Benito Mussolini is overthrown by the Fascist Grand Council. His successor, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, seeks peace with the Allies.

September 8 The Italian government signs an armistice with the Allies. Italian forces in Albania and Greece are disarmed and interned by the Germans. All overseas possessions of Italy are now occupied by other forces.

1947

April Rhodes and the Dodecanese Islands are annexed by Greece.

1948

Discussion of Libya's future is referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

1949

The United Nations approves a motion that Libya become an independent nation. Anticolonial rioting follows until independence.

1950

Italian Somaliland becomes a United Nations trust territory as Somalia, with Italy as the administering country.

1951

December 24 Libya becomes an independent state with Sayyid Idris as king and head of state.

1952

September 11 Following a recommendation from the United Nations, Eritrea is federated with Ethiopia as an autonomous region.

1960

July 1 British and Italian regions of Somalia are joined and Somalia becomes an independent nation. Border clashes with neighboring Ethiopia begin almost immediately and continue for years.

December 13–17 Ethiopian Imperial Guards stage a coup to replace Haile Selassie with his son while the emperor is abroad. Government forces defeat the rebels and restore Haile Selassie.

1962

November 14 Eritrea's assembly, composed of Ethiopian appointees, votes to surrender its autonomy.

A guerrilla war breaks out in the province and continues until 1991.

1964

February 8 War breaks out between Somalia and Ethiopia over disputed borders.

1968

January 31 Ethiopia and Somalia sign a peace accord.

1969

September 1 Muammar al-Gadhafi seizes power in Libya by coup. He establishes a one-party dictatorship and proclaims a “natural socialism.”

October 21 Muhammed Siad Barre leads a military coup in Somalia and rules the nation until January 1991.

1974

September 12 A coup staged by the army deposes Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. The new Soviet-backed government continues the war against Eritrean rebels.

1977

January–August Eritrean rebels capture most of northern Eritrea from the Ethiopian government and its Cuban and Soviet allies. They besiege Massawa unsuccessfully. Although driven back by Cuban and Soviet forces, the rebellion continues, with over a million victims.

Somali forces invade the disputed province of Ogaden in July and clash with Ethiopian troops, backed by Cuban and Soviet allies.

1978

March 8 The Somali government sues for peace after being defeated in Ogaden. They withdraw and leave the region under Ethiopian control.

1979

April 20 Libyan forces invade Chad. They are driven out by Chadian and French troops.

1981

Libyan forces again invade Chad. Although most are later withdrawn, Libyan forces continue to intervene over the next six years in the civil war being waged in

Chad. Tensions between Libya and the United States grow over alleged Libyan support for terrorists; two Libyan planes are shot down over the Gulf of Sidra on August 19.

Eritrean rebels form the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front to fight against the Ethiopian government.

1986

April 16 American planes bomb Libya in response to terrorist attacks in Europe.

1989

January 4 Two Libyan fighter jets are shot down over the Mediterranean Sea by U.S. Navy fighters.

1991

January 29 Revolutionary forces in Somalia overthrow the government. No viable national government is able to establish control over the country.

May 21 The Ethiopian army breaks under attacks by Eritrean rebels, allied with the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Oromo Liberation Front. Dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam flees Ethiopia and the new government makes peace with Eritrea.

1992

December 9 American and United Nations forces enter Somalia in an attempt to restore order.

1993

May 24 Eritrea declares its independence from Ethiopia. A transitional government under Isaias Afwerki works toward a multiparty democracy.

October 3–4 Eighteen American soldiers are killed by rebels in Mogadishu, Somalia. The American government withdraws its forces soon afterward.

1995

March 3 The last United Nations troops leave Somalia. Fighting between different factions and widespread famine continue.

2000

June 6 A provisional Islamic republic is established in Somalia.

JAPANESE EMPIRE

DON SHIN

1868

January 3 Led by samurai from the Satsuma and Choshu provinces, rebels overthrow the shogunate and reestablish the emperor as the indisputable divine head of Japan, in what is commonly referred to as the Meiji Restoration. Young Western-educated samurai from Satsuma and Choshu such as Okubo Toshimichi, Kido Koin, Inoue Kaoru, and Ito Hirobumi form the nucleus of the new Meiji government.

1869

The new Japanese government eliminates the samurai class, and encourages former samurai officials to formally relinquish land to the emperor. The imperial capital is moved from Kyoto to the former shogun's castle in Tokyo (which is also renamed from Edo).

1871

Japan launches the Iwakura Mission, in which such leaders as Iwakura Tomomi and Ito Hirobumi embark on a two-year trip to Europe and the United States to observe Western practices and technology. Subsequently, the Japanese government hires foreign advisers in an assortment of fields, including education and the military, for further Western-style self-strengthening.

Japan concludes a commercial treaty with a waning China, in which international diplomatic standards replace those previously based on Chinese hegemony.

August The Meiji government officially disbands all armies not loyal to the emperor.

1872

Japan obtains administrative control of the Ryukyu Islands.

1873

January 10 The Meiji government enacts the Conscription Act, stating that all men over the age of twenty must serve three years in the army and four additional years in the reserves.

1876

January In an effort to further separate Korea from Chinese influence, Japanese “gunboat diplomacy” opens Korea for trade in an agreement between China and Japan.

1877

Loyalists pacify the last true threat to Meiji hegemony, thwarting an uprising by disgruntled ex-samurai in Satsuma.

1879

April Japan formally annexes the Ryukyu Islands, a kingdom formerly under Chinese influence.

1880

The Meiji government establishes a permanent Japanese legation in Seoul, Korea.

1882

August 30 Japan earns the right to place military and other diplomatic personnel in Korea with the signing of the Treaty of Chemulpo (Inchon).

1884

December 4 Japanese assassins murder Korean cabinet members, and armed conflict between China and Japan ensues in Korea.

1885

April 18 Signed by China and Japan, the Treaty of Tientsin results in a temporary cessation of Sino-Japanese conflict in Korea and the withdrawal of Chinese and Japanese troops from the peninsula.

December The Meiji government establishes a Western-style cabinet.

1888

April The Meiji government forms a Privy Council.

1889

February 11 The Meiji government enacts the Meiji Constitution, largely drawn up from Ito Hirobumi's research of contemporary European constitutions. The Meiji Constitution specifically asserts that the emperor is of divine descent, and therefore “sacred and inviolable.”

1894

July 23 With both Chinese and Japanese troops again present in Korea because of peasant uprisings, the First Sino-Japanese War erupts in Korea.

1895

April 17 The signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki concludes the First Sino-Japanese War. A defeated

China is forced to pay Japan an indemnity, recognize Korea as an independent entity, relinquish Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, lease to Japan the Liaotung Peninsula in southern Manchuria (a lease that is soon overturned by the intervention of France, Germany, and Russia, who are mindful of their own interests in the area), and acknowledge Japan as equal to other European powers in terms of commercial treaties. The balance of power among East Asian kingdoms is now emphatically shifted from China to a people long considered by Chinese to be “barbarians.”

October 8 Japanese assassins murder Korea’s Queen Min in Seoul, presumably in an effort to curb pro-Russian sentiment in the Korean court.

1900

August Japanese and European forces enter China to subdue the Boxer Rebellion. Order is restored, but the ordeal provides Russia with the opportunity to increase its presence in Manchuria, to the dismay of Japan.

1902

January 30 With its pro-Russian faction waning, the Meiji government signs the Anglo-Japanese Alliance with Britain, largely in an attempt to curb Russian interests in China and Korea. The alliance promises mutual aid in the event of an attack from a third party, and neutrality in the event of other military affairs.

1904

February 8 Failing to reach an understanding with Russia with regard to the future of Korea and Manchuria, Japan attacks Russia at Port Arthur (Manchuria) and Inchon (Korea). Japan officially declares war three days later, beginning the Russo-Japanese War.

1905

August Russia formally concedes victory to Japan in the Russo-Japanese War and signs the Treaty of Portsmouth on August 28. Japan gains full rights to activity in Korea, the Liaotung Peninsula, the southern half of Sakhalin Island (Karafuto), and mining and railroad privileges in Manchuria.

August 12 Japan and Britain officially renew and augment the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to include protection of India and Korea as a whole.

September 21 President Theodore Roosevelt endorses the secret Taft-Katsura Agreement between the United

States and Japan, which allows for Japanese domination over Korea in return for American control of the Philippines.

November 17 Japan forces the Korean government to sign a treaty making Korea a protectorate of Japan.

1907

June 10 France and Japan sign an agreement in Paris in which both sides recognize an Open Door policy in an independent China, as well as French interests in Indochina and Japanese interests in southern Manchuria.

July The Russo-Japanese Conference in St. Petersburg results in the secret recognition of Japanese interests in Korea and Russian interests in Outer Mongolia, and the division of Manchuria into Russian- and Japanese-controlled zones.

Emperor Kojong of Korea is forced by the Japanese to abdicate his throne in favor of his son, the mentally challenged Sunjong.

1909

October 26 Ito Hirobumi, the recently retired resident-general in Korea, is assassinated by a Korean youth in Harbin, Manchuria, resulting in increased military presence in Korea and talks of annexation.

1910

August 29 After days of “negotiations” with Korean officials in Seoul, Japan forces Emperor Sunjong to abdicate his throne and formally annex Korea, claiming that doing so is essential for preserving “the peace of the Far East.”

1911

Amid the impending collapse of the Qing dynasty in China, Japan tries in vain to support both imperial China and Chinese rebels in hopes of gaining Chinese concessions.

1912

July 30 The Meiji emperor dies at the age of sixty, and the Taisho reign begins.

1914

August 23 Japan enters World War I by declaring war on Germany, whose military presence in China is considered a threat to Japan and its allies.

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1915

January China requests the removal of Japanese troops from a now quiet Shandong war zone. Japan not only refuses, but issues to Chinese president Yuan Shih-k'ai the overwhelming Twenty-One Demands, which include the extension of Japanese leases in Manchuria for ninety-nine years and additional mining concessions. After much negotiation, revisions, and an ultimatum issued by Japan, China reluctantly accepts most of the demands on May 25.

1916

July 3 The signing of a fourth Russo-Japanese Agreement includes secret clauses that promise Japanese weaponry to Russia and the recognition of respective Japanese and Russian territorial rights within China.

1919

January During post-World War I negotiations in Versailles, Japan threatens to refuse membership in the League of Nations if wartime concessions are not met. Japan emerges from Versailles with de facto control over Qingdao and the Pacific islands north of the equator, as well as a clean financial slate.

1921

November The Washington Conference on naval disarmament begins. Japan is forced to evacuate most of Siberia, but maintains its economic interests in Manchuria.

1925

January 20 Japan signs a treaty with the Soviet Union to withdraw from northern Sakhalin Island (which Japan had occupied since 1919) in return for oil and mineral concessions, primarily due to financial restraints. This gesture pleases Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and serves to warm relations between the two countries.

1926

December 25 With his mentally disturbed father Taisho suffering a fatal stroke, Hirohito officially assumes the Japanese throne, and the Showa era begins.

1927

June 27 Top Japanese war and Foreign Ministry officials meet in an Eastern Regions Conference, and

conclude that Japan is willing to fight a world war to defend and extend Japanese hegemony in Manchuria and beyond. These beliefs are publicized to China and the West four years later.

1928

May Fighting erupts between Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army and Japanese soldiers sent to protect Japanese interests on the Shandong Peninsula on May 2. The United States then requests that Japan alert them in advance of any further action taken in Manchuria. The Eastern Regions Conference is reconvened on May 20, and its members vote to forcibly take Manchuria, but this decision is vetoed by Prime Minister Giichi Tanaka, who balks at the idea of war against the United States.

June 4 Convinced that Manchurian warlord Chang Cuo-lin is impeding Japan's progress in Manchuria, the Japanese military murders Chang with a train bomb. The plan backfires, however, as Chang's son learns of the plot and is determined to keep Manchuria a part of Nationalist China.

1931

September 18 In what would become known as the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese Kwantung Army stationed in Manchuria attacks the city of Mukden, and slowly proceeds to occupy the rest of Manchuria. On the surface, this move seems to be a reckless effort by overzealous Kwantung generals, but it is actually supported in secret by higher government officials.

October 17 Japanese officials thwart a plan by militant Japanese radicals that includes the bombing of the prime minister's residence, the rogue independence of the Kwantung Army, and the overthrow of capitalism in favor of a socialist-based society while "restoring" the emperor as the absolute sovereign.

1932

March 1 With the last Qing emperor Pu-yi as its new "chief executive" figurehead, the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo is proclaimed in former Manchuria. The League of Nations and most powers refuse to recognize the new state.

May 15 In an attack designed to facilitate a military takeover, a group of radical young Japanese army and navy officers kill Premier Inukai Tsuyoshi and attack the Tokyo police headquarters, the National Bank, and

the home of the Lord Keeper Privy and the Seal Nobuaki Makino. The coup does not materialize; however, the events serve to strengthen the military presence within the government.

1933

March 27 After further fighting and seizing of territories in Manchuria, Japan's Privy Council votes to withdraw from the League of Nations.

1934

Japan issues the Amai Statement (or the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine"), in which it proclaims to take full responsibility for maintaining peace in East Asia—thus overtly expressing its dominance in the region.

1936

February 26 Another military national crisis occurs, as the Japanese army's First Division in Tokyo refuses an order to relocate to Manchuria and mutinies. The rebels occupy the Diet building for three days and demand administrative changes within the government, until they are forced to surrender.

October 23 Japan and Germany sign the Anti-Comintern Pact, which vaguely proclaims action against subversive communist activity, but in actuality contains secret clauses that promise to safeguard "common interests" if attacked by the Soviet Union. The pact is formally announced on November 25.

1937

July 7 The presence of Japanese troops in Manchuria and their encroachment into Chiang Kai-shek's now-united China results in a border skirmish between the two forces that quickly escalates into the Second Sino-Japanese War.

October 6 Citing hostile military activities by Japan, the League of Nations accuses Japan of violating the 1922 Washington Conference Treaty and the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact (a renouncement of war as an instrument of national policy, signed by fourteen nations including Japan), and proposes a meeting in Brussels to discuss the cessation of hostilities. Japan refuses to participate.

December Arriving at Chiang Kai-shek's capital of Nanking (Nanjing) by a series of "slaughter battles,"

the Japanese army demands that the Chinese surrender. Japanese troops proceed to open fire on civilians and refugees, and do not stop after Nanking eventually falls, as they brutally murder and rape an estimated 300,000 military and civilian Chinese in two months. This "rape of Nanking" is intended to intimidate the Chinese into total surrender, but instead attracts the attention of a shocked global community.

1938

July Border skirmishes occur between army members in the Soviet Maritime Province and Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria. The display of Soviet military might during these battles further convinces Japan of the need for an alliance with Germany.

September The League of Nations votes in favor of implementing economic sanctions against Japan.

1939

September 1 Upon the invasion of Poland by Germany, the Japanese prime minister Abe Nobuyuki announces that Japan will not take part in the war in Europe.

1940

Japan begins the replacement of political parties with a new Imperial Rule Assistance Association, partly based on the Nazi Party, in order to promote unity in the face of war and the need for self-defense.

Refusing to interact with Chiang Kai-shek's government, Japan persuades Wang Jing-wei, a high-ranking Guomindang (Kuomintang) official, to attempt usurping power and creating a Chinese government favorable toward Japan. Wang proclaims a new National Government in the Japanese-occupied areas centered on Nanjing (Nanking) on March 30, and this puppet regime is formally recognized by Japan on November 30.

June Days after Germany declares war on the Netherlands, Japan begins making demands on Dutch Indonesia, including a stern request for oil. Japan similarly threatens French-controlled Indochina and the British colonies of Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Burma.

July Japanese prime minister Konoe Fumimaro first introduces the notion of a Greater East Asia Co-

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Prosperity Sphere, in which Japan would be the center of a united Asian front against Western aggression.

August 30 With the signing of the Matsuoka-Henry Agreement, France secretly acquiesces to Japan's demands to allow a limited Japanese military presence in Indochina. At Japan's insistence, this presence steadily increases.

September 27 Japan joins Germany and Italy in signing the Tripartite Pact, in which each country pledges mutual military assistance if attacked. Emperor Hirohito proclaims that doing so is to "enhance justice on Earth and make of the World one household."

1941

January In battling French forces in Indochina, Thailand requests Japanese aid, and the latter's presence leads to an armistice between Thailand and France, mediated by Japan. Both sides secretly agree not to form alliances with parties hostile to Japan.

Rumors of planned attacks on Pearl Harbor and Singapore by the Japanese are largely ignored by the United States.

April Japan and the Soviet Union sign a Nonaggression Pact, which further allows the former to concentrate on efforts in Southeast Asia.

October With the option of entering the war against the United States already a foregone conclusion to Japanese leaders, Japanese prime minister Konoe Fumimaro invites U.S. Ambassador Joseph Grew to a secret meeting to discuss a possible summit with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

December 7 Japan launches a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the Philippines, Guam, Malaya, Midway, Shanghai, and Wake Island. The attacks decimate the U.S. Navy's Pacific fleet in Pearl Harbor.

December 8 The United States and Britain declare war on Japan.

December 9 China officially declares war on Japan.

December 11 Japan invades Burma.

December 16 Japan invades British Borneo.

December 18 Japan invades Hong Kong, and captures it a week later.

December 23 Japan captures Wake Island. U.S. general Douglas MacArthur is forced to retreat from Manila in the Philippines.

1942

January 2 Japan captures Manila.

January 11 Japan occupies the Malay Peninsula after conquering Kuala Lumpur. Japan also begins its invasion of the Dutch East Indies and Dutch Borneo.

February 2 Japan invades the Indonesian island of Java, then invades neighboring Sumatra twelve days later.

February 15 Japan captures Singapore, the site of Britain's mighty naval base.

February 19 Japan launches a massive air strike on Darwin, Australia, and begins its invasion of Bali.

March 7 Japan occupies Rangoon, and begins its invasion of New Guinea.

March 8 Japan forces the Dutch in Java into submission.

March 23 Japan invades the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal.

April 9 Japan conquers Bataan. The infamous Bataan Death March ensues the following day, as thousands of Allied prisoners of war are forced to march sixty miles in searing and brutal conditions.

May 6 The last American soldiers in the Philippines surrender to Japanese forces, handing the United States its greatest military defeat.

May 20 Japan captures the whole of Burma, and proceeds toward India.

June 4–5 Japan experiences its first major setback in the Battle of Midway.

December 20–24 Japanese planes bomb Calcutta.

1943

February 1 Japan begins its withdrawal from Guadalcanal, and surrenders the Pacific island eight days later.

May 31 Japan withdraws from the Aleutian Islands.

November 23 Japan surrenders Makin and Tarawa in the Gilbert Islands.

1944

April 17 Japan redirects its focus toward China, launching an offensive there against Allied air bases.

July 27 Japan surrenders Guam.

August 8 Japan surrenders the Mariana Islands.

October 25 Japan initiates its kamikaze attacks, in which pilots fly suicide missions by using their planes as bombs.

November 11 The U.S. Navy attacks Iwo Jima.

November 24 Allied airplanes bomb a major Japanese aircraft factory near Tokyo.

1945

March 3 Japan surrenders Manila.

March 9–10 Allied aircraft bomb Tokyo.

March 20 Japan surrenders Mandalay.

May 20 Japan begins its withdrawal from China.

June 9 Prime Minister Suzuki Kantaro declares that Japan will never surrender and will fight to the very end.

June 22 Japan surrenders Okinawa.

July 5 The Philippines is declared liberated from Japanese control.

August 6 The United States drops the first of two atomic bombs on Japan, in Hiroshima.

August 8 The Soviet Union declares war on Japan, and begins taking over Manchuria.

August 9 The United States drops the second atomic bomb on Japan, in Nagasaki.

August 14 Japan accepts the Potsdam Conference Agreements, which state that Japan would remain a sovereign nation but would lose its empire and be subject to military occupation. Emperor Hirohito broadcasts the announcement to his people in a recorded message.

September 2 Two Japanese officials representing the army and the government sign an official surrender aboard the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay.

September 4 Japanese troops on Wake Island surrender.

September 9 Japanese troops in Korea surrender.

September 13 Japanese troops in Burma surrender.

1946

May 3 The International Military Tribunal for the Far East commences in Tokyo, and lasts until November 1948. The tribunal convicts all twenty-five top Japanese government and military officials accused of war crimes, with seven condemned to death and sixteen others sentenced to life terms. The decision to absolve Emperor Hirohito from direct responsibility is made prior to the trials by the U.S. occupation forces who cite the symbolic importance of an infallible emperor to his people.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

MISTY K. PEÑUELAS

1071

Turks defeat the Byzantine Greeks at the Battle of Manzikert, opening all Anatolia to Turkish conquest and the establishment of the Rum Seljuk Empire.

1072

The great sultan and leader of the Turks at Manzikert, Alp Arslan dies.

1097

European armies of the First Crusade defeat the Seljuk commander Kiliç Arslan at Eskishehir (Dorylaeum).

1107–1155

Kiliç Arslan II finally subdues the independent beys of the remnant Seljuk Empire in Anatolia.

1176

Kiliç Arslan II unifies Rum Seljuks and drives the Greeks out of Anatolia at the Battle of Myriocephalon.

1204

European armies of the Fourth Crusade sack Constantinople and establish a “Latin Empire.”

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1243

The Mongol invasions, led by Genghis Khan, bring an end to the Rum Seljuk Empire at the Battle of Kösdag, near Sivas in Asia Minor.

1261

The Greeks reestablish their dynasty in Constantinople, thus ending the “Latin Empire.”

1293

The last Seljuk armies fall to invading Mongols.

1301

Osman I wins the Battle at Baphaeon and founds the Ottoman Empire in western Anatolia.

1326

Orhan inherits the sultanate from his father, Osman I.

Orhan captures Bursa, creating the first military and administrative infrastructure of the Ottoman state.

1327

The first Ottoman coinage is minted at Bursa.

1331

The Ottomans capture Nicaea.

1337

The Ottomans conquer Nicomedia (Izmit).

1344

Crusaders capture Izmir from the Ottomans.

1346

Orhan marries the Byzantine princess Theodora, the daughter of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus.

1352

Orhan grants capitulations to the Genoese; capitulations were trade agreements giving fiscal privileges to foreign merchants, but denied to local ones.

1353–1356

Genoese and Venetians fight a war for commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean.

1354

Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus abdicates the Byzantine throne. John V Palaeologus becomes the new Byzantine emperor.

The Ottomans occupy Ankara and Gallipoli.

1355

Stefan Dusan dies and the Ottomans dismember the Serbian Empire.

1357

Peace reigns temporarily between the Ottomans and Byzantium upon the death of Orhan’s son, Suleiman.

1360

Murad I becomes sultan of the Ottoman Empire when his father, Orhan, dies.

1366

Pope Urban V proclaims a Crusade against the Ottoman Empire.

Amadeo VI of Savoy occupies Gallipoli.

1371

Louis I of Hungary and Ivan Shishman of Bulgaria finally organize the first European Crusade against Ottoman armies.

1376

Andronicus IV cedes Gallipoli to the Ottomans in exchange for support in reclaiming the Byzantine throne.

1379

John V Palaeologus deposes Andronicus IV in Constantinople, also with Ottoman support.

1383–1387

Ottoman sultans begin to levy Christian boys from conquered lands to serve in the devshirme, or conscripted pool of Christian army recruits, from which the Janissary Corps is selected.

1388

August 27 Serbia and Bosnia unite against the Ottomans and defeat them at the Battle of Ploshnik.

Ottoman armies occupy northern Bulgaria.

1389

Murad I leads a retaliatory attack on combined Serb and Bosnian armies in the Battle of Kosovo. His victory on June 15 firmly establishes Ottoman rule in the Balkans.

Murad I dies on the plain of Kosovo and his son, Bayezid I, replaces him as sultan.

1391

Ottoman armies begin territorial designs on northern Albania.

1393

Bayezid I reestablishes Ottoman control in the Balkans and annexes part of Bulgaria.

1394–1402

The Ottomans blockade Constantinople.

1394

The Ottomans move into Thessaly and raid the Morea.

1395

May 17 Bayezid I brings Wallachia under Ottoman suzerainty as a vassal state following the Battle of Argesh.

June 3 Shishman, the king of Bulgaria, is executed by Ottoman sultan Murad.

Venice, Hungary, and the Byzantine Empire form an alliance against the Ottomans.

1396

At the Battle of Nicopolis, Bayezid I routes the Crusader army called out against the Ottomans in 1395.

1402

Bayezid I commits suicide while in captivity after the Battle of Ankara. The Ottoman Empire succumbs to a period of civil war, the interregnum, as his sons—Suleiman, Mehmed, and Musa—battle for the sultanate.

1406

Suleiman and Mehmed fight inconclusively for political preeminence in the Ottoman Empire.

1410

Suleiman defeats Musa at a battle in Rumelia.

1411

Musa, in turn, defeats Suleiman in Wallachia, thus eliminating him from the contest for the Ottoman throne.

Musa besieges Constantinople, but fails to take the city.

1412

Mehmed enters an alliance with Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus in order to defeat Musa.

1413

Mehmed I finally defeats his brother Musa at Camurlu and reunifies the Ottoman Empire, torn by eleven years of civil war.

1414

Mehmed I gains control of Konya and makes it his capital.

1415

Mehmed I consolidates control over western Anatolia.

1416

Mustafa, another son of Bayezid I, quietly consolidates his power in Rumelia.

The Ottoman fleet is defeated by the Venetian captain Pietro Lorendan off Gallipoli.

1421

Upon the death of Mehmed I, Murad II becomes sultan in Bursa, but is challenged by his uncle, Mustafa, now in open revolt in Rumelia.

1422

Murad II catches his uncle, Mustafa, in Edirne and executes him.

Another Mustafa, the brother of Murad II, rebels in Anatolia.

1422–1423

Murad II lays siege to Constantinople, also without success.

1423

Murad II finally defeats his brother, Mustafa, and executes him.

1423–1430

Ottomans fight the first Venetian War for naval and commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean.

1424

The Ottoman and Byzantine Empires agree to a peace settlement.

1428

The Ottomans make peace with Hungary.

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1434

Murad II creates an elite fighting corps called the Janissaries, who, in their time, will bring the Ottoman Empire to the brink of both greatness and destruction.

Murad II revives Hungarian conflict in Wallachia, Serbia, and Bosnia.

1437

Ottoman armies occupy Serbia.

1439

The Ottomans annex Serbia, thus ending all show of Serbian independence.

Bosnia agrees to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire.

1440

The Ottomans lay siege to Belgrade, without success.

1441–1442

John Hunyadi routes the Ottomans in Transylvania.

1443

John Hunyadi invades the Balkans.

Iskender Beg rebels in northern Albania.

1444

June 12 The Ottomans agree to peace with Hungary at Edirne.

Murad II abdicates in favor of his son Mehmed II.

1446

Murad II is recalled to the sultanate when Mehmed II clashes with his advisers over the conquest of Constantinople.

1451

Mehmed II becomes sultan of the Ottoman Empire for the second time when Murad II dies.

1452

Mehmed II completes construction of a fortress, the Rumeli Hisari, overlooking the Bosphorus, and declares war on the Byzantine Empire.

1453

April 6 Mehmed II surrounds the city of Constantinople.

May 29 Constantinople falls to Ottoman forces after a six-week siege.

Mehmed II brings Jews to Istanbul, formerly Constantinople, and organizes religious minorities into millets, or self-governing communities.

1454

The Ottomans make peace with Venice.

1454–1455

Mehmed II completely subdues Serbia, making it an integral part of the empire.

1455

Moldavia is forced to pay tribute to the Ottoman Empire.

1456

Trebizond follows Moldavia in paying tribute to the Ottomans.

1458–1460

Mahmud Pasha, an Ottoman commander, campaigns in Serbia and Mehmed II sets out to conquer the Morea.

1459

Pope Pius II calls another Crusade against the Ottoman Empire.

1460

Mehmed II finally subdues the Morea.

1461

Mehmed II annexes Trebizond.

1463

Mehmed II invades Bosnia.

1463–1479

The Ottomans fight the second Venetian War, temporarily losing the Morea to Venice.

1464

The Ottomans reconquer the Morea from Venice.

1466–1468

Mehmed II campaigns against Iskender Beg until Beg's death in 1468.

1468

Mehmed II finally subdues the “White Sheep” Turkmen of Iran after the death of Iskender Beg.

1474

The Ottomans resume aggression toward Transylvania.

1475

The Ottomans gain suzerainty over the Crimea.

1476

Mehmed II campaigns in Moldavia and against Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus.

1479

The Ottomans make peace with Venice, while conducting raids into Transylvania and Hungary.

1481

Mehmed II dies, leaving the throne to his son, Bayezid II.

Cem, brother of Bayezid II, challenges Bayezid II for the throne.

1482

Cem flees to Rhodes for protection from the Knights of St. John, but they make a deal with Bayezid II and hold Cem prisoner at his request.

1483

Ottoman emperor Bayezid II takes Herzegovina.

1484

Bayezid II makes peace with the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, after the first siege of Belgrade fails. Bayezid II resumes aggression toward Moldavia.

1485–1491

Ottomans wage intermittent war with the Egyptian Mamluks in a struggle to gain control of the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina.

1492

Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand II expel the Jews from Spain. Bayezid II invites them to settle in the Ottoman Empire.

Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand II of Spain sponsor and finance the expedition of Christopher Columbus, who, seeking a new sea route to India, “discovers” the “New World”; Columbus’s voyages inaugurate the

European age of exploration and discovery of sea routes to the East Indies and China, thus bypassing Ottoman holdings in the Middle East.

1495

February 25 Cem, the brother of the Ottoman emperor Bayezid II, dies a prisoner in Rhodes.

1496–1499

Albert of Poland invades Moldavia and the Ottomans go to war with Poland.

1499

The Ottomans win a great naval battle over the Venetians at Navarino and conquer Lepanto.

1499–1503

The Ottomans go to war with Venice for naval and commercial hegemony in the Mediterranean.

1500

Hungary declares war on the Ottoman Empire.

1501–1503

Ismail I defeats the tribal federation Ak Koyunlu of northwestern Persia (Iran) and unites Persia under Shiite Islam.

1502–1503

Ismail I sends Shiite missionaries into eastern Anatolia, seducing Turkish loyalty to the sultan and ultimately inciting the Kizilbash (Red Heads) revolt.

1511

Safavids incite a second Turkish rebellion in eastern Anatolia.

1512

Selim I assumes the Ottoman sultanate when he forces his father, Bayezid II, to abdicate. He then kills his brothers and their sons, and four out of five of his own sons, to eliminate dynastic strife in the empire.

1514

August 23 Selim I defeats the Safavids at Caldiran, temporarily neutralizing the Safavid threat in Persia (Iran).

Selim I occupies Tabriz.

1515

February The Janissaries mutiny for the first time.

762 Chronologies

1516

August 24 Selim I defeats the Syrian Mamluks at Marj Dabik, joining Syria to the Ottoman Empire.

1517

January 22 Selim I defeats the Egyptian Mamluks at Ridaniyye, adding Egypt to the Ottoman Empire.

The sharif of Mecca submits to Ottoman authority.

1519–1522

Magellan circumnavigates the world, opening up a new European trade route through the Cape of Good Hope. The trade diverted from the overland route eventually does irreparable damage to the Ottoman economy.

1520

Selim I dies, leaving the throne to his one remaining son, Suleiman I, the Magnificent, inaugurating the Ottoman Classical Age.

1522

The Ottomans expel the Knights of St. John from the island of Rhodes.

1524

Ahmed Pasha rebels in Egypt.

1525

Ottoman Grand Vizier Ibrahim quells the Egyptian rebellion.

1526

August 29 Suleiman I defeats the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohacs and prevents Austrian hegemony in Hungary.

Suleiman I supports John Zapolya's claim to the throne in Hungary.

1527

Ferdinand of Austria occupies Buda in Hungary.

1529

September Suleiman I captures Buda on September 8, and there crowns his candidate, John Zapolya, king of Hungary on September 14.

September–October Suleiman I besieges Vienna but withdraws on October 16 because of the coming winter.

1530

Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire builds a new fortress for the Knights of St. John on the island of Malta.

1531

December The Austrians try to recapture Buda from the Ottomans.

1532

Suleiman I campaigns against Austria in retaliation for the Austrian siege of Buda.

1533

June 22 Suleiman I makes peace with Ferdinand of Austria.

Suleiman I's new grand admiral of the Ottoman navy, Barbarossa, conquers Tunis for the Ottomans.

1533–1534

Suleiman I campaigns against the Safavids and joins Iraq to the Ottoman Empire, bringing the Arab Middle East under Ottoman control.

1535

The Ottoman Empire grants the first capitulations, or privileges to foreign merchants, to France.

The Knights of St. John take Tunis from the Ottomans.

1538

October 4 Suleiman I annexes Moldavia.

1540

The Ottomans make peace with Venice.

Hungarian king John Zapolya dies and the Austrians lay siege to Buda once again, hoping to profit from the death of the pro-Ottoman leader.

1541

Suleiman I annexes Hungary to the Ottoman Empire.

1545

Suleiman I and Ferdinand of Austria agree to an armistice.

1547

August 1 The Ottoman Empire makes peace with Austria, Pope Paul III, Venice, and France.

1548

Suleiman I conducts a military campaign against the Safavids in Persia (Iran), but can only impose his will as far as Van.

1549

Suleiman I campaigns in Georgia conquering more territory for the Ottoman Empire.

1551

The Ottomans resume aggression in Transylvania, reviving the Ottoman-Austrian rivalry in Hungary.

August 14 The Ottomans capture Tripoli.

1552

The Portuguese defeat the Ottoman navy at Hormuz, while the Russians defeat an Ottoman army at Erlau in October.

1553

Suleiman I conducts a third campaign against the Persian Safavids. He finally realizes the futility of further Persian conquest and abandons the policy.

Suleiman I suspects his son, Mustafa, of treachery and executes him.

1554

The Russians continue their expansionist policies by occupying Astrakhan.

1555

Suleiman I signs the Treaty of Amasya, setting the boundary between the Ottoman Empire and Persia (Turkey and Iran).

1556–1559

The Ottomans wage war with the Austrians in Hungary.

1559

The sons of Suleiman I, Selim and Bayezid, plunge the Ottoman Empire into civil war as they battle for the throne.

1560

July 31 The Ottomans take Djerba from the Spaniards.

1561

September 25 Suleiman I executes his son, Bayezid, at the request of his favorite wife, and in doing so,

inaugurates a new period of interference and influence by the harem in Ottoman politics.

1562

July 1 The Ottomans again make peace with Ferdinand of Austria, who now also rules the Holy Roman Empire.

1565

May 20 The Ottomans lay siege to Malta.

September 11 The island fortress of Malta surrenders to the Ottomans.

1566

Suleiman I dies and his only remaining son, Selim II, becomes sultan.

1567

Yemen revolts against Ottoman authority.

1568

February 17 The Ottomans again make peace with the Emperor Ferdinand.

1569

The Ottomans begin an expansionist policy in Russia by laying siege to Astrakhan. The Ottomans begin the Volga canal project to support military and later administrative operations in the area.

1570

The Ottomans enter peace negotiations with the Russians, and at the same time, conquer Tunis, Cyprus, and Nicosia.

1571

Pope Paul IV forms an alliance with Venice and Austria, the Holy League, to halt Ottoman aggression in the Mediterranean.

August 1 The Ottomans conquer Famagusta on Cyprus.

October 7 The Holy League defeats the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto. Lepanto is the first major European military victory since the advent of the Ottoman Empire and destroys the European image of Ottoman invincibility.

1572

The Ottomans support the claims of Henry of Valois to the Polish throne.

764 Chronologies

Don John of Austria recaptures Tunis in October.

1573

March 7 Venice sues for peace with the Ottoman Empire upon observing that the Ottomans had rebuilt their navy after the devastating defeat at Lepanto in 1571.

October 3 The Emperor Ferdinand follows suit and makes peace with the Ottomans.

1574

The Ottomans reconquer Tunis.

Selim II dies and his son, Murad III, becomes the new sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

1578

The Ottomans resume hostilities against Persia (Iran).

1585

The Ottomans capture Tabriz in their Persian campaign.

1588

Abbas I, the Great, is proclaimed shah in Persia.

1589

April 3 The Janissaries revolt a second time in Istanbul.

1590

The Ottomans make peace with Persia, after having taken Azerbaijan and Georgia.

1591–1592

The Janissaries revolt a third time, causing the most serious disruption of the Ottoman government to date.

1593

January 27 The Sipahis revolt in Istanbul.

The Ottomans resume their warfare with Austria.

1594

Wallachia rebels with Austrian support.

1595

Europeans form an anti-Ottoman alliance that includes Austria, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania.

Murad III dies and his son, Mehmed III, succeeds him as the sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

1596

Mehmed III campaigns in Hungary and captures Erlau. This is the last time an Ottoman sultan leads his troops to battle.

Celali revolts flare up in Anatolia.

1599

Sekban rebellions begin in Anatolia. The rebel leaders later become commanders in the Ottoman army as a way of quelling the revolts.

1603

The Sipahis revolt for a second time in Istanbul.

Shah Abbas I reconquers Tabriz for Persia.

Mehmed III dies and his son, Ahmed I, assumes control of the Ottoman Empire.

1604

The Austrians again lay siege to Buda without success.

1606

The Ottomans sign a peace treaty with the Austrians at Zsitva-Torok.

1617

Mustafa I, also a son of Mehmed III, is elevated to the sultanate after the death of Ahmed I.

1618

Shah Abbas I takes Azerbaijan and Georgia from the Ottomans; Osman II becomes sultan.

1622

The Janissary Corps revolts for the second time and deposes and kills Sultan Osman II.

Mustafa I is recalled from the harem and becomes sultan once again.

1623

Murad IV, also a son of Ahmed I, is raised to the sultanate in place of Mustafa I.

1624

Shah Abbas I reconquers Baghdad, expelling the Ottomans.

1638

The Ottomans retake Baghdad from the Persians.

1640

Murad IV dies and another son of Ahmed I, Ibrahim, becomes sultan.

1648

Mehmed IV, son of Ibrahim, becomes sultan.

1683

The Ottomans besiege Vienna a second time without success. The Ottomans lose the ensuing war.

1687

Suleiman II, another son of Ibrahim, becomes the new Ottoman sultan.

1691

Ahmed II, yet another son of Ibrahim, assumes the Ottoman throne.

1695

The brief reign of Ahmed II ends and Mustafa II, son of Mehmed IV, takes the throne.

1699

The Treaty of Karlowitz restricts Ottoman control over Hungary, Serbia, and the Balkans in favor of Austria.

1703

The Janissary Corps revolts a third time, deposing Sultan Mustafa II.

Ahmed III, son of Mehmed IV, replaces Mustafa II as Ottoman sultan.

The reign of Ahmed III inaugurates the “Tulip Period” of Western-style reform in the Ottoman capital.

1710

The First Russo-Turkish War begins.

1711

The Ottomans retake Azov from the Russians and end the First Russo-Turkish War.

1725–1727

Nadir Shah defeats the final Ottoman campaign against Persia (Iran).

1730

A popular revolt against the “Tulip Period” deposes Sultan Ahmed III.

Mahmud I becomes sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

Nadir Shah expels the remainder of the Ottoman army from Persia (Iran).

1736

Nadir Shah deposes the last Safavid ruler, bringing the Safavid dynasty to an end.

1736–1739

The Russians attack the Ottomans and begin the Second Russo-Turkish War.

1754

Osman III, son of Mustafa II, becomes the new Ottoman sultan.

1757

Mustafa III, son of Ahmed III, becomes sultan.

1768

The Russo-Ottoman War begins.

1774

The Russians defeat the Ottomans, ending the Russo-Ottoman War. The Ottomans sign the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kairnarji and lose the Crimea.

Abdülhamid I, another son of Ahmed III, becomes sultan.

1783

Catherine the Great of Russia annexes the Crimea.

1787–1792

The Russians attack the Ottomans, beginning the Third Russo-Turkish War.

1789

Selim III, son of Mustafa III, ascends the Ottoman throne and implements a new reform program. Selim creates an experimental army, the Nizam-I Cedid (New Order army).

1791

Negotiations at Jassy force Catherine the Great to return Bessarabia to the Ottomans.

766 Chronologies

1798–1801

Napoleon Bonaparte invades and occupies Egypt.

1801

Combined Ottoman and British forces expel French forces from Egypt.

1801–1805

Ottoman governors of Egypt fight the Tripolitan War with the United States.

1805

Muhammad Ali becomes viceroy of Egypt, securing Egyptian autonomy from the Ottoman Empire.

1807

The Janissary Corps revolt for the fourth time and depose Selim III in favor of Mustafa IV, son of Abdülhamid I.

France and Russia sign a secret agreement outlining the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

1808

Supporters of Selim III murder Mustafa IV and Mahmud II, another son of Abdülhamid I, ascends the Ottoman throne.

1809

The Ottoman Empire declares war on Russia in reprisal for the 1807 Franco-Russian agreement.

1812

Russia, expecting a French invasion, sues for peace with the Ottomans. The Treaty of Bucharest awards Bessarabia to the Russians.

1821

January 27 Greeks in the Morea rebel against the Ottoman Empire and declare Greek independence.

1822

The Greeks proclaim a constitution, but infighting among the rebels leads to civil war.

The British denounce the Greek constitution as “revolutionary.”

1825

Mahmud II calls on Muhammad Ali, viceroy of Egypt, to quell rebellion and civil war in Greece.

1826

Mahmud II massacres the Janissary Corps in their barracks. The West calls it the “Auspicious Incident.”

1827

Muhammad Ali captures Athens in the War of Greek Independence. British intervention prevents the Ottomans from pressing their victory.

1830

Discrimination against Christians in the Balkans leads the European powers to support Greek independence against the Ottomans.

1832

Egyptian armies defeat the Ottomans at Konya, threatening Istanbul. Syria falls under Egyptian suzerainty.

1833

Mahmud II opens the Translation Office, facilitating Westernization in the Ottoman Empire.

1835

Ottoman forces regain control of Tripoli.

1838

Muhammad Ali declares Egyptian independence.

1839

Muhammad Ali completely defeats the Ottomans at the Battle of Nizip in southeastern Anatolia, leading to the desertion of the Ottoman fleet to Ali and threatening the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

Sultan Abdülmecid I, son of Mahmud II, takes the throne and inaugurates the era of Tanzimat. The “Noble Reorganization” promises liberal reforms and the end of religious discrimination.

1840

Britain intervenes in the war between Egypt and the Ottoman Empire and negotiates the Treaty of London, returning Syria to the Ottomans and making Muhammad Ali the hereditary ruler of Egypt.

1853–1856

The Crimean War begins when a Russian army invades the Ottoman Empire.

1855

The fall of Sevastopol secures the victory of the Allied forces of the Ottomans, French, and British in the Crimean War.

1856

The Treaty of Paris, negotiated after the Crimean War, returns Bessarabia to the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire is admitted to the Concert of Europe, an informal group of conservative monarchies, and the European powers promise to uphold Ottoman territorial integrity.

1861

Abdülaziz becomes Ottoman sultan.

Moldavia and Wallachia unite to become Romania.

1864

The Ottoman Empire takes out its first European loan.

1865

The American Civil War ends. American cotton reenters the world economy, bringing financial crisis to Egypt.

Middle-class intelligentsia form the Young Ottomans, the first political party in the Ottoman Empire. The organization's founding marks the beginning of a specifically Turkish nationalism.

European creditors establish the Caisse de la Dette Publique (Commission of the Public Debt) to administer the Egyptian financial crisis.

1867

Bulgaria revolts against Ottoman rule. Serbia and Montenegro join with Bulgaria and all three declare war on the Ottoman Empire.

1869

The French complete construction of the Suez Canal in Egypt.

1874

Sultan Abdülaziz deposes Ismail, the Egyptian viceroy, for refusing to cooperate with the Caisse de la Dette Publique.

1875

The Ottoman Empire declares bankruptcy and defaults on European loans. Herzegovina revolts against Ottoman rule.

Tawfiq Pasha, the future viceroy of Egypt, is forced to sell Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal because of financial insolvency. British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli buys the Egyptian shares for Britain.

1876

Murad V, son of Abdülmecid I, rules the Ottoman Empire briefly.

Abdülhamid II, another son of Abdülmecid I, follows Murad V and inaugurates a pan-Islamic revival.

1878

February 14 Abdülhamid II dissolves parliament and ignites protests among the Turkish nationalist group, Young Ottomans.

March Russia intervenes in the Bulgarian war, quickly defeating the Ottomans and threatening Istanbul. The Ottomans sign the Treaty of San Stefano, relinquishing all of the Ottoman provinces in Europe.

June–July The European powers protest the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano and call the Congress of Berlin, depriving Russia of its conquest but returning little territory to the Ottomans. The Congress of Berlin awards Bessarabia to the Russians. The congress declares independence for Serbia, Montenegro, and Romania, and grants Bulgarian autonomy under the Ottomans. It also places Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austrian administration.

The British occupy Cyprus, denying Russia access to the Mediterranean Sea.

1882

The British bombard Alexandria and defeat a revolt by Egyptian nationalists. The British occupation of Egypt begins.

1885

Bulgaria unites with Eastern Rumelia.

Austria-Hungary annexes Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Greece annexes Thessaly and parts of Epirus.

1890

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation seeks to establish an independent Armenian state.

768 Chronologies

1894

The Ottomans begin a systematic massacre of Armenians.

1906

The Qajar dynasty declares Persia (Iran) a constitutional monarchy.

1907

The Anglo-Russian Convention divides Persia (Iran) into British and Russian “spheres of influence.”

1908

Bulgaria declares its independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Abdülhamid II restores the constitution and calls for elections.

The Committee of Union and Progress incites the Young Turk revolution. The sultan becomes a figurehead while the Ottoman Empire is governed by a military dictatorship.

1909

Abdülhamid II, the last autonomously reigning Ottoman sultan, is removed from the sultanate in favor of Mehmed V.

1910

The Potsdam Conference extends Russia’s influence in Persia (Iran). The British lose support of the Persian nationalists because of alliances with Russia.

1911–1912

The Italo-Turkish War takes place when the Italians invade Tripoli and expel the Ottomans in 1912.

1912

Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia form the Balkan League and declare war on the Ottoman Empire. The First Balkan War ends in defeat for the Ottomans.

The Balkan League creates the independent state of Albania. Greece annexes the remainder of Epirus, Crete, and the Aegean Islands.

1913

Members of the Balkan League—including Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria—quarrel over the partition of Macedonia after the First Balkan War. The League, accompanied by the Ottomans, then breaks

apart, and the first three members rout their former Bulgarian ally.

August 10 The Treaty of Bucharest restores eastern Thrace, with Adrianople, to the Ottomans.

1914

June 28 Serb nationalists assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, at Sarajevo as a protest against Austrian annexation. World War I begins.

October The Ottoman Empire enters World War I on the German side.

The British depose the Ottoman khedive, Abbas II, and declare Egypt a British protectorate.

1915

The Ottoman policy of Armenian massacre culminates in a mass “relocation” of Armenians to the Syrian desert.

1915–1916

In the so-called McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the British promise to support the creation of a united Arab state in Syria in exchange for an Arab rebellion against the Ottomans.

1916

Britain and France secretly negotiate the Sykes-Picot Agreement, promising to partition Syria between them in the event of an Allied victory in World War I.

Arabs rebel against the Ottoman Empire in accordance with the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915–1916.

1917

The Bolshevik Revolution forces Russian withdrawal from World War I, relieving the Ottoman army in the north and east.

The British publish the Balfour Declaration, declaring support for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

The Bolsheviks publish the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement in Syria, inciting Arab nationalism.

1918

Germany’s defeat ends World War I.

Combined British and Arab forces occupy Damascus.

The British “Declaration to the Seven” promises that the new Jewish homeland will not displace indigenous Arab populations in Palestine.

The Committee of Union and Progress falls from power at the end of World War I.

Mehmed VI is proclaimed the new Ottoman sultan.

October 5 Faisal I establishes Arab governmental control over “Greater Syria,” including Palestine and Iraq.

October 30 The Treaty of Mudros dismantles the Ottoman Empire. By November, Allied troops occupy Istanbul.

1919

Nationalist protest against British interference breaks out in Egypt.

The first clashes between Arabs and Jewish settlers begin in Palestine.

May Mustafa Kemal consolidates Ottoman resistance to the Allied occupation.

May 5 The Greeks land at Izmir under British protection and begin annexing western Anatolia.

1920

Communists incite a Persian nationalist revolt known as the Jangali movement. The revolt is crushed within the year.

March 7 The General Syrian Congress declares full independence for united Syria, ignoring Jewish demands for territory in Palestine.

March 8 Faisal I assumes the throne of the United Kingdom of Syria.

April At the Conference of San Remo, the League of Nations creates a mandate system to administer the conquered Ottoman territory of “Greater Syria.” France receives the mandate territories of Lebanon and northern Syria. Britain administers the mandates of Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan.

April 23 Mustafa Kemal convenes the Grand National Assembly in Ankara, severing relations with Istanbul.

April 25 The British government repudiates Faisal I’s Syrian government.

July 25 French troops occupy Damascus. Faisal I flees to London, inciting full-blown insurrection in Iraq.

August The Treaty of Sèvres reduces the Ottoman Empire to Istanbul and northern Anatolia. The Allies are awarded the remainder of the former Ottoman territory.

November 1 The Turkish Grand National Assembly abolishes the Ottoman sultanate.

1921

Reza Khan seizes the Persian (Iranian) throne in a coup after putting down a second Communist-inspired revolt in Gilan.

August 23 The British quell the Iraqi revolt and place Faisal I on the Iraqi throne.

1922

The Turks defeat the Greeks and sign the Armistice of Mudanya, expelling the Allied occupation forces from Anatolia.

Abdülmecid II fills what would have been the sultanate, but is now solely the religious office of the caliphate.

Egypt emerges from British protectorate status.

July 24 British mandate takes effect in Iraq, severely curbing Faisal I’s autonomy.

1923

The Treaty of Lausanne, involving most of the Allied powers of World War I, returns all of Anatolia to the Turks.

Egypt proclaims a constitution and establishes a hereditary monarchy under King Fuad I. The British remain influential in Egyptian affairs until the 1950s.

October 29 The Turkish Grand National Assembly declares the Turkish Republic and elects Mustafa Kemal as president.

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1924

Turkish president Mustafa Kemal abolishes the caliphate.

July 10 Iraq declares its independence from Britain, but is still under mandate government.

1925

Reza Khan becomes hereditary shah of Iran and changes his name to Reza Shah Pahlavi.

1925–1927

Syrians rebel against the French in Jabal al-Druze. The French bomb Damascus.

1927

The Saud family conquers the Hejaz from the Hashemite family of Sharif Hussein. The Treaty of Jiddah proclaims Ibn Saud king of Arabia.

1930

May 14 Syria creates a republican constitution and establishes a parliament.

1932

The Jewish population of Istanbul is reduced by half as a result of late-nineteenth-century Jewish emigration to Palestine.

Ibn Saud changes his country's name from Arabia to Saudi Arabia.

The Iraqi mandate expires and Iraq is admitted to the League of Nations on October 10.

1935

Turkish president Mustafa Kemal enacts the Surname Law and changes his name to Atatürk, "father of Turks."

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

RONALD E. YOUNG

1128

Afonso Henriques decisively defeats his mother and her Galician lover at the Battle of São Mamede, and assumes the title of king of Portugal.

1139

Christian Portuguese are victorious over Muslim forces at the Battle of Ourique.

1143

Afonso Henriques requests protection from Pope Innocent II and establishes Portugal as a vassal state of the Vatican. This effectively makes Portugal an independent state free from neighboring Castile.

1179

Title of king formally bestowed upon Afonso Henriques by Alfonso VI, emperor of León, establishing full Portuguese independence from León.

1415

Led by the three oldest sons of King João I, the Portuguese capture the Muslim-held fortress-port of Ceuta in Morocco. In subsequent years, the Portuguese take additional coastal towns in Morocco.

1418

The Portuguese send dyestuffs, fish, and timber from

the Madeira Islands to the mainland. Later, they produce wheat, sugar, and wine on the island. This plantation agriculture led to the importation of slave labor.

1424

A Portuguese expedition is sent to the Canary Islands. Fierce resistance from the indigenous population on the island of Gran Canaria forces the Portuguese to abandon the island. European powers compete for control of the islands.

1427

The Azores are discovered by the Portuguese explorer Diogo de Senill.

1434

Gil Eanes becomes the first Portuguese to sail past Cape Bojador on the coast of Morocco. For many years the cape had served as both a physical and psychological barrier for Portuguese voyages to Africa. Once rounded, Portuguese progress down the coast of West Africa is more rapid.

1436

Gil Eanes and Gonçalves Balaia reach Río de Oro off the coast of western Africa.

1437

The Portuguese make an unsuccessful attack on Tangier in Morocco. The Moors led by Sala-bin-Sala defeat the Portuguese and demand the return of Ceuta. Prince Henry the Navigator returns to Lisbon, while his younger brother, Fernando, is left as a hostage. The Portuguese refuse to surrender Ceuta and Fernando dies in prison at Fez in 1443.

1439

Portuguese arrive in the Azores after Henry the Navigator obtains a royal charter to settle the islands. The major export items sent to the mainland are cattle and wheat.

1441

A Portuguese expedition led by Nuño Tristão and Antão Gonçalves reaches Cape Blanco.

The first African slaves from the Río de Oro region are captured.

1443

Henry the Navigator is granted a monopoly on the trade and conquest of the region beyond Cape Bojador.

1444

Portuguese explorer Dinís Dias reaches Cape Verde.

1445

The Portuguese establish the first factory, or trading post, at Arguin to tap into the trans-Saharan trade. They build a castle on the site ten years later. This would serve as a prototype for a long chain of fortified factories in coastal areas of both Africa and Asia.

1446

Portuguese explorers reach the Senegal River.

1455

The Roman Catholic Church issues the papal bull *Romanus Pontifex*. This document is sometimes considered the “charter” of Portuguese imperialism. After summarizing Portuguese explorations to date, it authorizes Portugal to subdue and convert pagans from Morocco to the Indies. It also grants the Portuguese the right to trade in these regions. The document prohibits other nations from infringing on this monopoly of conquest and commerce.

1456

The Portuguese start colonizing Cape Verde Islands.

1458

A Portuguese force of 25,000 men captures the town of Alcácer-Ceguer, located between Tangier and Ceuta in Morocco. Under governor Duarte de Meneses, the Portuguese defend the town against two long sieges by the emir of Fez.

1460

Henry the Navigator dies.

1471

Afonso V, known as Afonso the African, leads an army of 30,000 to Morocco. Taking advantage of the decline of the Merinid dynasty, the Portuguese capture Fez and gain control of the western tip of the African continent.

Portuguese navigators discover the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe.

1479

Portugal and Castile sign the Treaty of Alcaçovas. Under the terms of the treaty, Portuguese king Afonso V renounces his claim to Castile and transfers the Canary Islands to Spain. In exchange, Castile recognizes the Portuguese monopoly over trade along the African coast and exploration south of the Canary Islands.

1482

The Portuguese establish a factory at São Jorge da Mina.

1483

Diogo Cão leads an expedition that reaches the mouth of the Congo River.

1487

King João II selects Pêro da Corvilhã and Afonso de Paiva to carry out expeditions in Africa and Asia. Corvilhã is to travel overland to India and find out what he can about Muslim traders in the region. Paiva is to penetrate Africa and investigate the legendary Prester John.

1488

Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias rounds the Cape of Good Hope.

1491

The Portuguese introduce Christianity to the Congo.

1494

Portugal and Spain sign the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divides the world along a line of demarcation about

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320 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands. Lands lying west of the line belong to the Spanish, giving them control of most of the Americas. The Portuguese receive lands to the east of the line.

1497

The first Portuguese voyage to India, led by Vasco da Gama, leaves Lisbon.

1498

Vasco da Gama's expedition arrives on the east coast of Africa, stopping in Mozambique, Mombasa, and Malindi.

Vasco da Gama arrives at the Indian port of Calicut.

1499

Vasco da Gama returns to Lisbon, completing a voyage of 24,000 nautical miles. Of the 168 men who left in 1497, only 44 make it back to Portugal. Da Gama brings back specimens of a number of spices, which leads to his expedition being deemed a success.

1500

The second Portuguese expedition to India, commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral, sails too far out into the Atlantic Ocean and lands on the coast of Brazil. Believing it to be just another Atlantic island, Cabral names the place the Island of the True Cross. While Cabral continues on to India, he sends a ship back to Lisbon to report the finding, which leads to further Portuguese exploration of Brazil the following year. Cabral also visits Kilwa and Malindi in East Africa on his way to India.

1500–1506

The Portuguese reach Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.

1501–1502

Florentine merchant and geographer Amerigo Vespucci leads further Portuguese exploration of the Brazilian coast. The Portuguese Crown soon sets up a royal monopoly over the trade of Brazil wood, a red dyewood. The Portuguese government profits by licensing traders to obtain logs from the indigenous inhabitants and sell them in Europe.

1502

Vasco da Gama, now admiral of India, leads a second voyage. On his way to India, da Gama stops in East Africa, visiting Sofala and Mozambique, where a factory is established. During this second voyage, da

Gama attacks the city of Calicut and attacks vessels on the Indian Ocean.

The king of Mombasa writes to the king of Malindi urging unity against the Portuguese.

Kilwa begins to pay a tribute of gold and jewels to the Portuguese.

In the service of Portugal, Spanish navigator João da Nova discovers the island of St. Helena off the southwestern coast of Africa.

1503

The Casa da India is granted a royal monopoly over the eastern trade. With its office and warehouse on the waterfront of Lisbon, the Casa da India can supervise exports, the disembarkation of imports, and the distribution of products.

1504

The first French ships arrive on coast of Brazil. Due to European demand for quality red dyes, French merchants soon begin to obtain Brazil wood. The French presence leads to competition and hostility between France and Portugal along the Brazilian coast.

The Portuguese forbid trade south of the Congo River.

1505

Francisco de Almeida is named the first Portuguese viceroy of India. He arrives in India with 2,500 men, including 1,500 soldiers. He builds forts along the East African coast at Kilwa and Mozambique. At Kilwa, a garrison is installed and two Franciscan friars begin missionary work. In addition, Almeida makes an alliance with the sultan of Malindi and burns Mombasa. In India, he constructs forts at Cannanore and Cochin. Under Almeida, the Portuguese largely control commerce in the Indian Ocean.

In North Africa, Banu Saad, a Berber tribal leader begins a holy war against the Portuguese. The Portuguese take Agadir.

The island of St. Helena is occupied by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese build and establish a factory at Sofala in East Africa. The local inhabitants later attack the fort and kill many Portuguese. Portugal also bans trade between Sofala and Swahili ports.

1506

Mbemba-a-Nzinga becomes Afonso I, king of the Kongo. During his rule until 1543, he requested priests, teachers, and artisans from Portugal, while sending his son Henrique from west-central Africa to Portugal for education.

In East Africa, the Portuguese make Muhammad Rukn al-Din al Dabuli the puppet sultan in Kilwa. Many residents of Kilwa leave for Malindi. Against the wishes of the sultan, forty people at Kilwa convert to Christianity. Lamu and Pate surrender to the Portuguese. The trade ban with Sofala is lifted.

Portuguese admiral Tristão da Cunha discovers the island in the South Atlantic Ocean subsequently named after him.

1507

Portuguese military leader Afonso de Albuquerque captures Hormuz, a strategic island in a strait connecting the Persian Gulf with the Gulf of Oman. Despite being outnumbered, Albuquerque attacks this important trading site until it submits to Portuguese control. The construction of a Portuguese fort soon begins.

Haji Hasan becomes sultan of Kilwa after his father, Muhammed Rukn al-Din al Dabuli, put in place by the Portuguese, is assassinated.

At Mozambique, a hospital, church, factory, warehouse, and fort are constructed.

1508

In a surprise attack on Chaul, an Egyptian-Turkish fleet traps a group of Portuguese ships. Portuguese captain Lourenço de Almeida, the son of the viceroy of India, is mortally wounded.

In North Africa, the Portuguese take Safi.

The annual trade expedition from Portugal to Kongo begins.

1509

The Portuguese, led by Francisco de Almeida, destroy an Egyptian-Gujarati fleet off of Diu, thus eliminating the only significant Muslim naval threat.

Afonso de Albuquerque becomes viceroy of India. He serves in this post until 1515.

The Portuguese set up a factory at Malindi.

Ethiopia sends Matthew, an Armenian, to Lisbon as its ambassador.

1510

Afonso de Albuquerque leads Portuguese forces in taking the city of Goa from the sultan of Bijapur. Albuquerque eventually makes Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire in Asia and the city becomes a key trading port.

Francisco de Almeida is killed in a skirmish at Table Bay in southern Africa.

The manikongo (king of the Kongo) requests that Portugal send representatives to the Kongo kingdom to control Portuguese residents there.

1511

The Portuguese seize the port of Malacca, the major distributing center of spices from southeast Asia.

Portuguese forces abandon Socotra, an island in the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese dismantle their fort at Kilwa. The garrison is abandoned and the Franciscan missionaries leave.

1513

Portuguese ships destroy a Javanese fleet off Malacca.

In North Africa, Portuguese forces take the seaport of Azemmour.

The Portuguese fail in an attempt to take Aden.

1514

The Portuguese expand the slave trade to and from Cape Verde.

In Kongo, the manikongo complains about the extent of the slave trade to Portugal.

Portuguese forces take Mazagan in North Africa.

The Portuguese arrive in China.

1515

Portugal seizes the island of Hormuz, giving it control of the Persian Gulf.

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1516

The Portuguese Crown makes the first serious attempt at providing defense for Brazil. Lisbon dispatches ships to patrol the coast and establishes a factory at Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil.

Sugar production occurs for the first time in Brazil.

Portuguese merchants in Cape Verde are prohibited from trading in Sierra Leone.

1517

The Portuguese launch expeditions to China.

In eastern Africa, the Portuguese burn Zaila.

1518

Portuguese burn the port of Berbera in eastern Africa.

1519

The export of goods from Kongo is only allowed on royal Portuguese ships.

Portuguese forces take Agouz in North Africa.

1520

Portuguese ambassador Dom Rodrigo de Lima arrives in Ethiopia.

The Portuguese send an embassy to Ngola.

1521

The Portuguese navy is defeated by the Chinese in the South China Sea.

Tristão da Cunha forces Lamu to pay tribute to Portugal.

Henrique, son of Afonso I of Kongo, returns from Portugal. He is now the bishop of Utica and vicar apostolic of Kongo.

1526

In Kongo, the manikongo again complains about the extent of the slave trade there. An attempt to expel the Portuguese fails and there is a period of general unrest in Kongo.

The Portuguese reach Canton in China.

1528

Mombasa, Mtangata, and Utondwe revolt against the Portuguese in East Africa.

1529

Portugal and Spain sign the Treaty of Zaragoza, which expands the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) to encompass the entire world.

1530

The Portuguese Crown decides to establish more permanent settlements in Brazil. By the mid-1530s, the king makes grants to captains who would oversee the settlement of fourteen captaincies in Brazil.

1532

Portuguese admiral Martim Afonso de Sousa founds the settlement of São Vicente in Brazil. He had been sent by the king to patrol the Brazilian coast, explore the mouths of the Amazon and the Río de la Plata, and set up a royal colony.

Portugal forbids direct trade with Angola. All trade must go through Kongo.

1533

The diocese of Cape Verde and Guinea is created with Dom Braz Neto as its first bishop.

The bishopric of Goa is established.

1535

The island-city of Diu is ceded to the Portuguese.

1536

The Inquisition is instituted in Portugal.

1538

This marks the probable date of the first shipment of African slaves to Brazil.

Egypt launches an expedition against the Portuguese at Diu.

1540

The Portuguese implement a mass destruction of Hindu temples in Goa.

In Brazil, Spanish soldier Francisco de Orellana begins to explore the Amazon River.

The Portuguese attempt to murder Afonso I in Kongo.

The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) is established in Portugal.

1541

Cristovão da Gama leads 400 Portuguese in support of Ethiopia against its Muslim enemies.

Portuguese forces destroy shipping in Mogadishu.

Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier visits in Malindi, Socotra, and Mozambique, where he stays for six months.

1542

Cristovão da Gama is captured and killed in Ethiopia.

Francis Xavier arrives in India, then continues to Indonesia.

1543

The Portuguese arrive in Japan, introducing European firearms to the country. Within a decade, Japanese daimyos were using imported firearms in their armies.

1544

Lourenço Marques travels the southeastern African coast from Sofala to Delagoa Bay trading for ivory. The Portuguese arrive at and settle Delagoa Bay.

1549

The Portuguese Crown buys captaincy of Bahia in Brazil from its owners.

Tomé de Sousa is appointed as the first governor-general of Brazil. Sousa founds the city of Salvador as the Portuguese colony's capital.

The first six Jesuit priests arrive in Bahia to convert the indigenous population to Christianity as well as protect them from Portuguese settlers.

Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier arrives in Japan.

1551

A Turkish fleet sacks Muscat and then besieges Hormuz.

The bishopric of Brazil is established.

1555–1557

French settlers start a colony in Brazil named Antarctic France.

1557

Sebastião becomes king of Portugal at the age of three.

Mem de Sa becomes governor-general of Brazil.

The Portuguese secure control of Macao in exchange for an annual payment. Macao remains officially under Chinese jurisdiction.

Ngola Inene sends an embassy to Portugal to request missionaries.

1558

Mozambique becomes the capital of Portuguese East African possessions. Construction begins on the massive fortress São Sebastião.

The Portuguese expel British traders from Gold Coast.

1560

Portugal establishes the Inquisition at Goa.

Jesuit missionaries arrive in Angola and Mozambique.

1562

The Portuguese resist an attempt by local sultans to expel them from Mazagan in North Africa.

1565

Rio de Janeiro is founded.

The Ndongo send an embassy to Portugal.

1567

An ecclesiastical council is held at Goa.

In Brazil, Portuguese governor-general Mem de Sa expels the French and occupies Guanabara Bay.

1569

Due to “interlopers” in West Africa, all English property in Portugal is confiscated.

Construction begins on the Portuguese fort at Mombasa.

Portuguese explorer and soldier Francisco Barreto carries out a failed expedition against the kingdom of Monomotapa in southeastern Africa.

1570

Indians in Portuguese possessions in the Americas are declared free by Portuguese king Sebastião.

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1571

Portuguese forces successfully defend Goa and Chaul.

Francisco de Gouveia leads Portuguese forces in Kongo against Jaga, who had invaded Kongo several years earlier. The authority of the king of Kongo is soon restored.

1572

Portuguese Augustinians open a school at Elmina on the Gold Coast.

1574

Portugal founds colony of Angola.

The Portuguese garrison at Mozambique is destroyed by local African forces.

1575

The Portuguese abandon Ternate in the Moluccas. This loss leads to a decline in the Portuguese role in the Spice Islands.

Paulo Dias de Novais and some 400 Portuguese men arrive at Luanda Island in Angola.

1576

São Paulo de Luanda is founded on the mainland of Angola; settlers build a fort, church, and hospital.

In West Africa, local inhabitants destroy the Portuguese fort at Accra.

1577

The first Dominican mission is established in Mozambique.

1578

King Sebastião dies at the Battle of Al Kasr al-Kabir, when Portuguese forces are crushed by a Moroccan army. This marks the decline of Portuguese control of Morocco. Henrique, a Roman Catholic cardinal, becomes king of Portugal.

An Anglo-Portuguese treaty admits English traders to Madeira and the Azores.

1579

War breaks out in Angola between the Portuguese and the local peoples led by the Ngola.

1580

Portugal and its empire come under Spanish rule when King Philip II seizes the Portuguese throne.

1581

Embargo on Dutch trade at Lisbon begins.

1584

Portuguese forces led by Tomé de Sousa Couthino defeat a Turkish attempt to take the Zanzibar coast.

1585–1586

A Turkish fleet captures numerous Portuguese possessions along the east coast of Africa.

1587

Captaincy system of granting to local appointees of the king the right to use forced indigenous labor is replaced by direct royal administration in Cape Verde.

The Japanese emperor's chief minister, Hideyoshi, issues an order expelling Christian missionaries from Japan, although the order is not generally enforced.

1588

A captaincy is established at Cacheu in Guinea-Bissau to control the slave trade there.

1590

The combined forces of Ndongo, Kongo, Matamba, and Jaga defeat the Portuguese in west-central Africa.

1592

Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese royal governor in Angola, arrives in Luanda. The local Portuguese population resists this imposition of royal authority and forces Almeida to leave Angola in 1593.

The Zimba defeat Portuguese forces from Sena and Tete in Mozambique.

1593

Jerónimo de Almeida becomes governor of Angola.

1594

A new Portuguese governor, João Furtado de Mendonça, arrives in Angola along with a large army.

1595

A bishopric is created at Salvador.

1596

Angolan governor João Furtado de Mendonça leads a campaign up the Bungo River with 400 Portuguese and 15,000 Africans.

1598

The Portuguese make the sultan of Malindi the sultan of Mombasa.

1599

In Brazil, the Portuguese establish the town of Natal.

1600

Slave-raiding bandeiras from São Paulo begin operating in Brazil's interior.

1602

João Rodrigues Coutinho becomes governor of Angola. His instructions are to supply more than 4,000 slaves per year and to exploit the supposed silver mines at Cambambe, located at the limit of navigation on the Kwanza River. In 1603, Coutinho dies from malaria.

1603

Manuel Cerveira Pereira becomes acting governor of Angola. He reaches Cambambe and builds a fort, but finds no productive mines.

The Dutch blockade Mozambique.

1604

The India Council is created to oversee the administration of the Portuguese Empire.

1605

The Dutch, led by Steven van der Hagen, capture the island of Amboina in Indonesia.

1606

Portuguese, Flemish, and Dutch traders arrive in Sierra Leone.

Christianity is declared illegal in Japan.

1607

The Dutch take the Moluccas and the Dutch East India Company gains control of the spice trade there.

Manuel Pereira Forjaz becomes the new governor of Angola. He arrests acting governor Manuel Cerveira Pereira and sends him back to Portugal to stand trial. Forjaz places local African chiefs and their people

under the protection of the Portuguese Crown. In exchange, the Africans are forced to pay heavy new taxes that will enrich Forjaz.

The governor sends Baltasar Rebelo de Aragão across Africa starting from Angola. Aragão penetrates 400 miles into the interior before he has to return to assist the Portuguese defense of the fort at Cambambe.

1608

The Dutch besiege Mozambique.

1612

The Portuguese-Imbangala alliance begins in central Angola. For the next decade, their joint forces attack the sedentary Mbundu people.

1613

Diogo Simões Madeira is placed in charge of operations against the kingdom of Monomotapa in southeastern Africa.

1614

Japan begins persecuting Christians and starts a campaign to expel missionaries from the country.

1615

The French are driven from Brazil.

Portuguese forces conquer the Maranhão region in Brazil.

Manuel Cerveira Pereira begins his second term as governor of Angola, with a commission to prepare for the conquest of Benguela.

1616

The city of Belém is established in Brazil.

1617

The Portuguese, led by Manuel Cerveira Pereira, take control of Benguela as part of their southern expansion from Luanda. Later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Benguela would become a key port for the slave trade.

Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos becomes governor of Angola.

1618

The Portuguese launch a military campaign against Ndongo. Ninety-four Ngola chiefs are executed.

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1619

Nuno Alvares Pereira takes Portuguese reinforcements from Goa to Mozambique. They fail to find silver mines at Chico.

1620

The Portuguese leave Madagascar, driven out by disease and attacks from indigenous forces.

1621

Maranhão is declared a separate state in Portuguese America.

João Correira de Souza becomes governor of Angola and leads campaigns against Kasanje and Nambu a Ngongo.

Ngola Mbandi sends his sister, Nzinga, as a representative to the Portuguese in Luanda. The Portuguese recognize Mbandi as holding equal status. Nzinga is baptized as Dona Ana de Souza.

1622

An allied Persian and English force capture Hormuz.

Anglo-Dutch forces attempt to blockade Mozambique.

1623

Simão de Mascarenhas becomes governor of Angola.

The Portuguese fend off a Dutch attack on Luanda, but Benguela is temporarily occupied.

The Portuguese engage in a campaign against the Jaga.

1624

The Dutch, led by Piet Heyn, attack Salvador. Most of the inhabitants flee and the Dutch capture the city.

Nzinga becomes ruler of Matamba. In the 1630s and 1640s, she forges an alliance with Dutch slave traders. She later concludes a treaty with the Portuguese.

Fernão de Souza becomes governor of Angola.

A typhoon destroys shipping in the Mozambique harbor.

Another Dutch attack on Luanda is unsuccessful.

1625

A fleet of Spanish and Portuguese ships retake Salvador from the Dutch.

The Dutch fail to take Elmina from the Portuguese.

1630

A large Dutch force of 67 ships and 7,000 men attacks Recife in northern Brazil. Despite stiff Portuguese resistance, the Dutch capture the city, marking the beginning of a Dutch presence in northeastern Brazil that will last until 1654.

Cacheu is separated from Cape Verde under a captain-general.

1635

An Anglo-Portuguese truce is agreed upon at Goa in response to the growing Dutch presence in Asia.

1637

The Dutch replace the Portuguese at Elmina.

A rebellion begins in Japan against taxation and the suppression of Christianity. It is fought under banners of Christian slogans written in Portuguese. The revolt results in the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan.

Pedro Teixeira leads some 70 Portuguese and more than 1,000 Native Americans on an expedition from northern Brazil to Quito. Teixeira's goal is to prevent the Spanish from claiming territory in the Amazon region. With the founding of the settlement of Tabatinga, the Portuguese push the old limit of the Treaty of Tordesillas 2,500 miles west.

Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen starts his administration as governor-general of Dutch Brazil.

1638

The Dutch begin their conquest of Portuguese settlements in coastal Ceylon.

1640

The members of a Portuguese embassy sent to Japan are executed.

Portugal revolts against Spanish rule and achieves independence. The duke of Bragança becomes King João IV.

1641

The Dutch take Malacca and Angola.

Dutch forces occupy Luanda.

The French and Portuguese fail in their attack on the Spanish port of Cádiz.

1642

The Overseas Council is created to help run the empire.

1648

The Portuguese reconquer Luanda.

1649

The General Brazil Trading Company is created for trading goods with Portugal's holdings in South America.

1654

The Portuguese recover northern Brazil, forcing the Dutch to leave.

1655

The Dutch start their conquest of Ceylon and Malabar.

1656

Portugal and England sign a treaty of friendship allowing England to trade with Portuguese-controlled ports in Brazil.

The Portuguese agree to a treaty with Nzinga, queen of Matamba.

1661

Citizens of São Luís revolt against the Jesuits.

1662

Portugal cedes Tangier to Great Britain.

1663

Nzinga, the queen of Matamba, dies.

1665

The Portuguese defeat Kongo at the Battle of Mbwila. The manikongo Antonio I is killed in the battle. The defeat leads to a long period of civil war among claimants to the position of manikongo.

1668

Spain recognizes the independence of Portugal.

Portugal cedes Ceuta to Spain. The Spanish had controlled Ceuta since 1580.

1669

The Portuguese build a fortress at São Jose de Rio Negro in southern Brazil.

1671

The Portuguese attack Pungo Andongo in Angola. They build a fort at the site.

1680

In southern Brazil, the Portuguese establish Colonia del Sacramento to ensure their access to the Río de la Plata.

The Portuguese build a fort at Caconda in west-central Angola.

1694

Portuguese forces in Brazil destroy Palmares, a collection of communities (known as *quilombos*) of fugitive black slaves.

1695

Gold is found in Minas Gerais in Brazil.

1698

Arabs finish driving the Portuguese out of possessions north of Mozambique.

1703

The Methuen Treaty between Portugal and England gives preferential tariff treatment for certain goods from each nation. The agreement discourages Portuguese industry and makes the country dependent upon British manufactured goods.

1704

The Antonian Movement, a Kongo Christian sect founded by a young aristocratic woman named Beatrice who claims to be the reincarnation of St. Anthony of Padua, begins to spread in west-central Africa. Preaching a syncretic Christianity, she attacks Catholic missionaries.

1706

Beatrice is burned at the stake by rival groups who triumphed in the civil strife of the Kongo.

João V becomes king of Portugal.

1708

The War of the Emboabas begins in Brazil, pitting the Paulistas, the original settlers of São Paulo, against new settlers attempting to prospect for gold in the interior.

1709

The captaincies of São Paulo and Minas de Ouro are established in Brazil.

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1710

The War of the Mascates, a conflict between the planter class of Olinda and the merchant class of Recife, starts in Brazil.

An Arab fort is completed at Zanzibar over the ruins of the Portuguese church.

1711

The sultan and other prominent citizens of Kilwa send letters to Goa asking the Portuguese to return.

1714

The Portuguese set up a trading post at Zumbo, situated at the confluence of the Luangwa and Zambezi Rivers.

1716

War breaks out between the Portuguese and the Hanha (Kakonda) in Angola, and lasts until 1722.

1719

Under pressure from Arab forces, many Dominicans withdraw from Mozambique.

1720

The captaincy of Minas Gerais is founded.

As a result of economic problems, the General Brazil Trading Company is abolished.

In Brazil, the position of governor-general changes to viceroy. There is a brief revolt in Minas Gerais against the viceroy.

1723

Sultan Ibrahim asks the Portuguese governor of Mozambique for help in expelling Omani Arabs from eastern Africa.

1724

The sultan of Kilwa repeats his request that the Portuguese return.

The Academy of the Forgotten, the first European-type Enlightenment academy for intellectuals, is founded in Brazil.

1727

The Portuguese construct a fortress at Whydah (Ouidah) in West Africa.

The sultan of Pate asks the Portuguese viceroy at Goa for help in expelling the Omani Arabs from eastern Africa.

João Manuel de Noronha, the governor of Angola, complains about the miserable state of the missions there.

Coffee is introduced to Brazil.

1728

The Portuguese reoccupy Pate and Mombasa. They later agree to a treaty with Pate.

1729

Diamonds are discovered in Minas Gerais, Brazil.

An Omani fleet besieges the Portuguese at Fort Jesus in Mombasa. The Portuguese are forced to evacuate Mombasa and Pate.

1730

The Portuguese temporarily lose Mombasa to the Arabs.

1739

After retaking Mombasa, Portugal refuses a request by the French East India Company for a base there.

1741

Pope Benedict XIV condemns slavery in Brazil.

1744

The captaincy of Goiás is created in Brazil.

The queen of Matamba attacks the Portuguese in Ndongo.

Portugal again refuses a request by the French East India Company for a base at Mombasa.

1745

The governor of Mozambique reports that the civil war in Oman has spread to the coast of East Africa.

1748

The captaincy of Mato Grosso is created in Brazil.

1750

The Treaty of Madrid calls for an exchange of territory in Portuguese and Spanish America. Portugal gives up Colonia del Sacramento and lands along the Río de la

Plata, while Spain relinquishes territory between the Uruguay and Ibicuí Rivers. The treaty ends up being ineffective and the two countries eventually go to war over disputed territories.

1752

The *relação* of Rio de Janeiro is created.

Portugal recognizes the Masakat Imamate on the Zanzibar coast and decrees that the limits of East African possessions are Cape Delgado in the north and the Bay of Lourenço Marques to the south.

Francisco de Melo e Castro is named the first governor of Mozambique, Zambezia, and Sofala.

1753

Portugal reestablishes a post at Bissau.

Antonio Alvares de Cunha becomes governor of Angola, which he describes as rotten, vicious, and corrupt.

1755

An earthquake in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon kills thousands of people.

Influential Portuguese minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello starts implementing administrative reforms.

Portugal creates the Board of Trade.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello establishes the Para and Maranhão Company, which is intended to monopolize the trade of the Amazon region.

1759

The Pernambuco and Paraíba Company is created in Brazil for trade purposes.

The Portuguese fight the Ndembu in south-central Africa. The Portuguese build a fort at Nkoje.

Kilwa sends an embassy to Mozambique to ask for Portuguese aid in expelling the Omani Arabs from East Africa.

1760

Kilwa is allowed unrestricted trade with Mozambique, as the governor allows the sultan of Kilwa the right to buy grain from Mozambique.

The Portuguese fail in their attempt to reestablish a trading post at Dambarare in southern Africa.

1761

Slavery is abolished in Portugal.

The Treaty of Madrid is annulled by the Treaty of El Pardo.

1763

The capital of Brazil shifts from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro.

1765

Kilwa sends a request to Mozambique asking the Portuguese to retake Mombasa.

1767

The Jesuits are expelled from Portuguese territories by royal decree as a result of conflicts between royal authority and Jesuit allegiances to the pope.

1769

Mulai Muhammad, an Arab leader, forces the Portuguese to abandon Mazagan, the last Portuguese foothold in Morocco. The inhabitants leave for Brazil and found a town with the same name.

A Portuguese expedition leaves Mozambique to take Mombasa. However, it bypasses Mombasa and goes to Malindi. It returns to Mozambique in 1770.

1770

Internal troubles lead to the independence of Mombasa. Kilwa expels the Omani governor.

1772

Maranhão is formally made part of Brazil.

1774

Warfare begins between the Portuguese and the states of Mbailundu, Ndulu, and Bihe (Bié) in Angola.

1777

King José of Portugal dies and his chief minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Marquês de Pombal, falls from power. Maria I becomes queen of Portugal.

The Treaty of San Ildefonso remakes the Portuguese-Spanish frontiers in South America. It confirms Spain's possession of the Banda Oriental (the eastern side of

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the Rio de la Plata, or Urugum) and Portugal's possession of the Amazon basin.

The Dominicans are expelled from Mozambique because of government suspicion of their undermining of authority.

1778

Portugal cedes Fernando Po in the Gulf of Guinea to Spain.

1778–1779

A rebellion called the *Inconfidência Mineira* (or Minas disloyalty) breaks out in Minas Gerais in an attempt to establish a republic. Members of the elite revolt against Portuguese rule in reaction to efforts to collect back taxes. Among the leaders of the plot are Tiradentes (the nickname of Joaquim José da Silva Xavier). The rebellion fails and the leaders are arrested. Tiradentes is executed.

1781

Portugal gains Delagoa Bay from Austria.

1782

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Marquês de Pombal, dies.

1783

The Portuguese attempt to build a fortress north of the Congo River at Cabinda. The French soon demolish the fort.

A famine occurs in Luanda.

The Portuguese begin military operations against the Dembo in Angola.

1784

Dissension starts among the Portuguese in Guinea and lasts until 1789.

1788

Warfare breaks out between Portugal and the marquis of Mosul.

1790

The Portuguese build a fort at Ambriz in Angola to counteract French and British slave trading in the area.

The marquis of Mosul tries to seize Luanda.

1791

The Portuguese abandon the fort at Ambriz.

1792

The marquis of Mosul is defeated by Portuguese troops brought from Brazil and the Azores.

Prince João becomes regent of Portugal.

1793

Portugal signs a peace treaty with Algiers.

1796

The Portuguese build a fort at Espírito Santo on the east coast of Brazil. It is soon destroyed by the French.

1798

Participants in the so-called Tailors' Plot in Salvador call for social and racial equality as well as the declaration of an independent republic. Many of the plotters are blacks or mulattos who have been inspired by the French Revolution. Most of the thirty-two men arrested in the uprising are city-born, manual workers, including ten tailors. Four of the plotters are hanged, drawn, and quartered.

1801

Portugal engages in a brief conflict with France and Spain called the War of the Oranges. A Spanish army under French influence seizes the town of Olivenza in Portugal. According to the treaty ending the war, the region around Olivenza remains in Spanish hands and Portugal is required to pay an indemnity to Spain and make commercial concessions to France.

1807

France invades Portugal when the Portuguese do not meet Napoleon Bonaparte's demand to close their ports to trade with Britain. The Portuguese prince regent João leaves the country and sails for Brazil. The French set up a military government to rule the nation.

1808

The Portuguese royal family arrives in Rio de Janeiro.

The first printing press is established in Brazil.

1810

The Treaty of Navigation and Commerce is signed by Great Britain and the Portuguese government in Brazil.

Portugal is liberated from French control after British forces drive out Napoleonic forces at the Battle of Bussaco.

1811

A mutiny occurs in Bissau when the governor is accused of trading on his own account.

1815

Prince regent João elevates Brazil to the status of kingdom, ending its classification as a colony and making it constitutionally equal to Portugal.

1816

Prince regent João is declared king of Portugal upon the death of his mother.

A famine takes place in Luanda.

Luso-Brazilian troops occupy Uruguay.

1817

Rebels attempt to create the republic of Pernambuco. The republic is short-lived due to local opposition and the actions of troops loyal to the Portuguese king.

Portugal restricts slave trading to areas south of the equator.

1818

Land grants are given to Swiss and German settlers in Brazil.

1819

The cultivation of cotton is introduced in Angola.

The first steamship in Brazil begins operating at Bahia.

1820

Great Britain sends ships to survey the East African coast north of Algoa Bay. The expedition lasts until 1825, making important scientific contributions as well as having significant political consequences when the British consider taking over Delagoa Bay. In 1875, an arbitrator sides with Portuguese claims over the area.

The Portuguese military garrison in Oporto revolts when its pay falls behind by several months, marking the start of a constitutionalist revolution. The garrison at Lisbon overthrows the king's regents and sets up a provisional government. The Portuguese military pressures the government into adopting the Spanish

constitution of 1812, making Portugal a constitutional monarchy.

1821

King João VI returns to Portugal from Brazil under pressure from the Cortes, the Portuguese parliament. His older son, Pedro, remains in Brazil to govern that country.

A new constitution is implemented in Portugal.

Portugal abolishes the Ministry for Marine and Overseas.

Brazil annexes Uruguay as the Cisplatine province.

1822

Portugal adopts its second new constitution in two years.

King João VI's son, Pedro, declares Brazil's independence and becomes Emperor Pedro I.

A popular uprising and mutiny occurs in Luanda. The governor is replaced by a junta headed by the bishop.

To protect its ties with West Africa, Brazil proposes a federation with Angola and Mozambique.

1823

The Portuguese constitution is suspended by King João VI with the support of the traditional elite, in opposition to the liberal Cortes.

Portugal restores the Ministry for Marine and Overseas.

1824

Miguel, King João VI's second son, leads an unsuccessful revolt against his father and is sent into exile.

A constitution is promulgated in Brazil.

1825

Muslims from Sierra Leone attack Guinea.

Portugal recognizes the independence of Brazil.

1826

Upon the death of King João VI, Pedro IV, still in Brazil, abdicates the throne of Portugal in favor of his daughter Maria.

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A Liberal Party-written constitution takes effect in Portugal.

1827

The Portuguese establish a port at Boloma in the Bijagós Islands of Guinea-Bissau.

1828

Miguel returns from exile to seize power in Portugal.

1830

Coffee production begins in Angola. It quickly becomes an important cash crop. It serves as Angola's main export until the 1970s, when it is surpassed by petroleum.

The Portuguese occupy Galinhas Island off the west coast of Africa.

1831

Pedro I abdicates the Brazilian throne in favor of his son, Pedro II. Now known as the duke of Bragança, he returns to the Azores to proclaim the rights of his daughter to the throne of Portugal.

1832

Civil war begins in Portugal between supporters of Pedro I and his daughter on one side and Miguel on the other.

Portuguese colonies are reorganized under a democratic administration.

The prazo system of granting political power to large landholders in Mozambique is abolished.

1833

Miguel is exiled after being defeated in the Portuguese civil war.

A junta controls Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau.

1834

Maria II assumes the throne of Portugal.

The Portuguese royal monopoly on ivory exports from Angola is abolished. An important item since the earliest contact with the Portuguese, ivory becomes more significant with the abolition of the slave trade in 1836. The Portuguese merge the captaincies of Cacheu and Bissau.

Portugal again abolishes the Ministry for Marine and Overseas.

1835

Portugal again restores the Ministry for Marine and Overseas.

1836

The September revolution occurs in Portugal. The 1822 constitution is restored.

The Portuguese government makes illegal the export of slaves from Portuguese possessions. Illegal trade from Angola and Mozambique continues as long as demand exists in Brazil and São Tomé.

The Portuguese create the position of governor-general of Cape Verde, which governs Guinea-Bissau as well.

1838

The third constitution since the 1820s goes into effect. The governor of Angola is removed for slave trading.

1840

Mossamedes (now Namibe) is founded by the Portuguese in southern Angola. The settlement later expands with the arrival of immigrants from Brazil. The town serves as a port, a center for the fishing industry, and a point of departure for further penetration of southern Angola by the Portuguese.

1842

The internal slave trade under the Portuguese flag is abolished.

1843

Lobito is founded in Angola.

1844

Court of Mixed Commission is established at Luanda, allowing for multinational jurists to try Portuguese involved in illegal slave trading.

1845

The Portuguese build a fort at Caconda on the Huíla peninsula. Already an important site for the trading of ivory, wax, and cattle, the climate and farming potential of this spot attract European settlers.

1850

The Chokwe expansion into Angola begins. Exploiting their skills as hunter-gatherers, they begin to trade in

ivory, wax, and rubber. The Chokwe use the profits from this trade to acquire guns, which in turn contributes to their rapid expansion.

1855

The Portuguese begin to administer Ambriz in Angola as the site to impose imperial custom duties on rubber, ivory, and palm oil.

1857

The Portuguese seize a French ship carrying slaves off the coast of Madagascar. The French claim that the Africans on board are volunteer workers going to Réunion. Portugal is forced to return the ship and pay an indemnity. The incident contributes to the downfall of the Portuguese government headed by the Duke of Loulé.

1858

Portuguese King Pedro V decrees that slavery, and not just the slave trade that was banned in 1836, will be abolished in the Portuguese colonies within twenty years.

1869

A commercial treaty between Portugal and the Transvaal establishes the southern limit of Mozambique and allows the Boers to use the port at Lourenço Marques.

1877

The Brussels Conference forms the Association Internationale du Congo (International Association of the Congo). Portugal is only belatedly invited to the conference by other European powers.

1878

Slavery is prohibited in Angola.

1879

Boer refugees arrive in Angola as a result of British expansion in South Africa. The Boers prove useful as mercenaries employed by the Portuguese to put down African rebellions. However, by the 1920s, most Boers have left for Namibia.

Guinea-Bissau gains separate administrative status from Cape Verde.

1880

A rubber boom begins in Angola.

1884

Anglo-Portuguese Treaty grants Portugal's claim to the mouth of the Congo River, thereby blocking access to the sea for Belgian King Leopold's Congo Free State.

The Conference of Berlin begins with a series of negotiations concerning central Africa. The resulting Berlin Agreement in 1885 establishes the borders of Portuguese colonies in the region.

1885

The Chokwe sack the Lunda capital at Mussumba in Angola.

A settlement is established at Sá da Bandeira in southwestern Angola.

The International Association of the Congo recognizes the Portuguese claim to the Cabinda enclave.

1886

Portugal and France reach agreement on the frontier between Angola and French Equatorial Africa.

A boundary convention between Portugal and Germany settles the frontier between Angola and South West Africa. Great Britain protests these boundaries the following year.

1887

China recognizes Portuguese Macao.

Construction begins on a railway between Delagoa Bay and the Transvaal. The work is carried out by a group of capitalists from Britain and the United States. In 1889, the Portuguese seize and extend the railway.

1890

Portugal abandons the territory between Angola and Mozambique under a British ultimatum. The conflict arises because Portugal wants to link its two colonies while the British hope to construct a railroad from Cairo to Cape Town.

A revolt takes place in Bié, which had been a prosperous Ovimbundu state due to its control of long-distance trade in Angola. By the late-nineteenth century, the strategic importance of the region attracts European traders, resulting in the Portuguese defeat of Ndunduma, the leader of Bié.

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1891

A republican revolt in Oporto, Portugal, fails. The rebellion is partially in response to the humiliation of surrendering territorial claims in Africa.

An Anglo-Portuguese treaty includes the Bartose kingdom and the Manica in the British sphere and fixes the frontier with British South Africa.

1898

A secret Anglo-German agreement proposes the division of the Portuguese colonies between the two countries, but it is never carried out.

1902

Portugal gains control over the interior of Angola by conquering the Mbundu kingdom.

1906

Portugal and Great Britain agree on the boundary between Mozambique and British Nyasaland.

1907

Portugal grants Mozambique partial autonomy.

1908

King Carlos I of Portugal and his oldest son, Luís Felipe, are assassinated in Lisbon. Carlos's son, Manuel, becomes king.

1910

King Manuel II of Portugal abdicates under pressure from a republican revolt. He goes into exile in Britain. A republic is proclaimed, ending nearly eight centuries of monarchical rule.

The status of Mozambique is changed from province to colony.

The Portuguese minister of foreign affairs assures the British Anti-Slavery Society that the new Portuguese government will end abuses in Angola in regard to supplying labor to plantations.

1911

A liberal constitution creating a Portuguese republic goes into effect.

Manuel José de Arriaga becomes the first elected president of Portugal.

1914

In Mozambique, a decree authorizes the government to place Africans who are not otherwise employed at the disposal of colonists or merchants.

Portugal grants a measure of autonomy to Angola.

1915

The dictatorship of Pimenta de Castro starts in Portugal.

1916

Portugal enters World War I on the side of the Allies.

1917

Revolution in Portugal overthrows the liberal government and imposes the authoritarian "New Republic" regime.

German forces from German East Africa attack and defeat the Portuguese at Ngomano, Mozambique.

1919

As part of the Treaty of Versailles, the Kionga triangle portion of German East Africa is allotted to Portugal.

1926

Military revolt occurs, leading to a dictatorship in Portugal by economics professor and finance minister Antonio Salazar, who will rule over the country until he is incapacitated by a stroke in 1968.

In Mozambique, a decree abolishes compulsory private labor except when indispensable for the public good.

An agreement is signed specifying the boundary between Angola and the Union of South Africa.

1927

Portugal and Belgium exchange territory, with Portugal receiving 480 square miles in the southwestern Belgian Congo in exchange for 1 square mile of Angolan territory needed for the Matadi-Stanley railroad.

1932

António de Oliveira Salazar becomes prime minister and virtual dictator of Portugal.

1933

António de Oliveira Salazar initiates his Estado Novo (New State), marked by an authoritarian political system and governmental control of the economy.

1936

The Spanish Civil War starts. Portugal sides with and provides aid to the forces of Nationalist leader Francisco Franco.

1939

Portugal signs the Treaty of Friendship and Peace with Spain.

1941

Bissau replaces Boloma as the capital of Guinea-Bissau.

1942

Portugal loses Timor in Indonesia to Japanese forces.

1943

While remaining officially neutral, Portugal makes a secret agreement with the Allies for an air base in the Azores.

1949

Portugal enters the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

1951

Mozambique and Angola are made Portuguese overseas provinces.

1954

India requests that Portugal enter into negotiations to decolonize Goa, Damião, and Diu.

1955

Portugal joins the United Nations.

1956

The leftist Angolan nationalist group Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA; Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) forms. The MPLA develops mainly as an urban-based Marxist movement in such cities as Luanda and Benguela, with an ethnic following mainly from the Mbundu areas. The movement also attracts some mestizos and Portuguese Marxists.

The nationalist group Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC; African Independence Party of Guinea [Bissau] and Cape Verde [Islands]) forms in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

1961

Indian forces occupy Goa, Damião, and Diu, ending four centuries of Portuguese rule.

Various groups start guerrilla warfare and form governments in exile as Angolan nationalist resistance to colonial rule begins. In part, this is a reaction to a crackdown on African nationalism in Angola by the PIDE (Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado; International Police for the Defense of the State), Portugal's political police force during the Estado Novo.

The "official" beginning of Angolan resistance is often dated to the February 1961 attack by the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola on the Luanda prison.

1962

The nationalist group Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (National Liberation Front of Angola; FNLA) is founded. The FNLA, an alliance between two earlier nationalist groups, is dominated by Holden Roberto, an ally of Congolese strongman Joseph Mobutu. The FNLA depends largely on its traditional Kongo mass following. It also receives covert aid from the United States through the Central Intelligence Agency in Zaire. FNLA guerrillas are active in northern Angola, operating from bases in Zaire.

1963

The Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO; Liberation Front of Mozambique) is formed.

A rebellion breaks out in Guinea.

1964

A revolt in Mozambique begins the struggle for independence. FRELIMO guerrillas gain control of much of the colony's territory over the next decade.

1966

The nationalist group União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA; National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is formed by Jonas Savimbi after he breaks with Holden Roberto and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) in 1964. UNITA never achieves the strength of the MPLA or the FNLA in the Angolan struggle for independence.

1968

Marcello Caetano replaces António de Oliveira Salazar as prime minister of Portugal.

1970

Former Portuguese prime minister António de Oliveira Salazar dies.

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1972

Angola is made an autonomous state under Portuguese supervision.

1973

Angola holds legislative elections for a new government.

1974

A military coup in Portugal overthrows the government of President Américo Tomás and Prime Minister Marcello Caetano. Among the complaints of the military officers is the situation in Portugal's African colonies. The new Portuguese government arranges cease-fires in Mozambique and Angola and agrees to grant independence to both.

Guinea-Bissau becomes independent from Portugal.

1975

Portugal grants independence to Mozambique. Samora Machel, leader of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO; Liberation Front of Mozambique) becomes president. His Marxist government rules until 1986, when he is killed in an airplane crash. Many Portuguese leave the country, abandoning businesses and shops.

Portugal grants independence to Angola. A power struggle for control of the country develops between the dominant Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA; Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba; the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA; Union for the Total Independence of Angola), backed by South Africa; and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA; National Liberation Front of Angola), backed by the United States and Zaire. The MPLA's Agostinho Neto becomes president and proclaims the People's Republic of Angola.

Cape Verde becomes independent from Portugal.

São Tomé and Príncipe become independent from Portugal.

1976

The Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (National Mozambique Resistance; Renamo) is created with help from Rhodesia. Renamo later begins guerrilla operations against the government of Mozambique. Mozambique closes its border with white-ruled Rhodesia. Rhodesian troops raid Mozambique on numerous occasions over the next several years.

East Timor is annexed by Indonesia.

1986

Portugal enters the European Community.

1987

Portugal agrees to turn Macao over to China in 1999. China pledges to maintain the capitalist system there.

1990

Portuguese-brokered peace talks start in Lisbon between the government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA; Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

1991

A peace agreement and cease-fire ending the Angolan civil war is signed in Lisbon.

Talks begin between Portugal and the United States on renewing the lease for a U.S. military base in the Azores.

1999

Macao reverts to China.

RUSSIAN EMPIRE

DAVID I. BURROW

1240–1380

Russia is under the control of the Mongols. The influence of the Mongols on Russian development is a matter of great scholarly controversy.

1480

Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow renounces the overlordship of the Mongols. Effective Muscovite

independence comes soon after and Moscow begins to expand, absorbing other Slavic territories.

c. 1500

Cossacks originate in the no-man's land of the Black Sea steppes when runaway peasants, pirates, and other refugees flee to border areas that are only loosely controlled. They evolve a militaristic culture and are

gradually absorbed into the empire and used as explorers and colonizers. Originally apart from the state and proud of their independence, they become symbols of Russia and often of Russian repression of indigenous peoples.

1552

Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible) conquers the khanate of Kazan, one of the regions from which the Mongols had ruled Russia. Russia formally becomes an empire by incorporating non-Slavic peoples, the Turkic Tatars and Bashkirs, and the Finnish Mari and Mordva. Tatar nobles are absorbed into the imperial social system, and become “service Tatars,” owing service to the state in return for maintaining their noble privileges. The cooptation of indigenous elites is one of the patterns of Russian colonialism. Ivan attempts to expand his empire to the west (the Livonian War, 1558–1583), but fails to do so.

1582

October Cossack leader Yermak’s defeat of Kuchum of the khanate of Sibir in battle at the Irtysh River opens Siberia to Russian conquest. The Stroganov family, which has been granted a commercial monopoly by the Russian government, funds Yermak’s expedition. Yermak is subsequently valorized as a folk hero.

1598–1613

The Russian Empire falls apart under the pressures of dynastic turmoil, civil war, and foreign invasion, but is reconstituted by the middle of the seventeenth century under the Romanov dynasty.

1605

Russian fur traders and Cossack bands reach the Enisei River in Siberia. They extract *yasak*, or tribute, in furs from the Siberian peoples. Expansion into Siberia is motivated by the fur trade and backed by the empire.

1649

Anadyrsk Fort is founded on the Anadyr River on the Kolyma Plateau. The fort becomes the base for the conquest of northeastern Siberia.

1654

January 8 Ukrainian Cossack leader Bohdan Khmelnytsky subordinates Ukrainian Cossacks to Moscow. Khmelnytsky hopes to establish an independent Ukrainian Cossack state, but is drawn into the ongoing conflict between Russia and Poland. Until 1764, Ukraine and Ukrainian Cossacks are largely autonomous.

1689–1725

Czar Peter the Great expands Russia westward to the Baltic Sea, and founds the city of St. Petersburg as the new imperial capital in 1703. He also engages in war with Persia and seizes territory along the Caspian Sea. A dynamic ruler, Peter modernizes the armed forces and the lifestyle of the Russian elite.

1717

The Uzbek khan of Khiva massacres Russian forces under Prince Bekovich-Cherkassky. Russian expansion into Central Asia is temporarily checked.

1721

August 30 The Treaty of Nystad ends the Great Northern War between Russia and Sweden. Russia formally obtains Livonia, Estonia, Ingermanland, and part of Karelia. Baltic Germans, Finns, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians are incorporated into the empire. Livonia and Estonia enjoy self-rule until 1783.

1728

Local autonomy is granted to the Buriat peoples, to guard Russia’s borders with China and Mongolia. Empress Elizabeth recognizes the Buriat religion of Buddhism in 1741.

1731

October 10 The Kazak Little Horde (clan) accepts Russian suzerainty, as an appeal for protection against the Mongols. It is the first of the nomadic Kazak hordes to do so. By 1781 all the hordes have sworn allegiance. The hordes are to provide troops and tribute, protect trade, and help secure imperial borders. In the course of the nineteenth century, administration of the hordes switches from foreign to domestic political agencies, reflecting, from the government’s point of view, the domestication of the Kazaks.

1735–1740

The Orenburg expedition moves into the southern Urals, digging mines and bringing Russian settlers. The indigenous Bashkir people rise up in protest. At the end of the five-year war, a third of the Bashkir population has been killed or forcibly relocated. Population transfers within the empire become a means of pacification and internal colonization, by settling Slavic populations in the evacuated territory.

1741

Vitus Bering’s second expedition reaches the Aleutian Islands and the Alaskan coast. Bering himself dies of scurvy during the trip. Russian influence and

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commercial exploration reach into the northern Pacific.

1744–1747

An exterminating war against the Chukchi in northeastern Siberia ends with the death of commander Dmitri Pavlutskiy, who conducted the campaign. It is the culmination of earlier smaller-scale wars in Siberia brought about by exploitation of the *yasak*, or tribute, paid by Siberian tribes to the Russian government, and forcible containment of once nomadic peoples.

1762

Empress Catherine the Great takes power in a coup d'état against her husband Peter III. The great highway from the Urals to Irkutsk is begun; it supercedes river routes and promotes colonization.

1764

The Anadyrsk Fort is abandoned, along with the war on the northeastern Siberian peoples.

1764–1774

As part of Catherine the Great's policy of encouraging foreign settlement in Russia, Mennonite Germans settle along the Volga River. They become known as the Volga Germans, and they prosper. Catherine encourages settlement along the Volga and in newly taken southern Russian lands, at the same time pursuing imperial expansion through warfare and repressing dissent within the empire.

1774

The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kairnarji between Russia and the Ottoman Empire gains Russia the Crimean Peninsula and the Black Sea littoral, and their Tatar and Cossack populations.

1781

October 26 Cossacks are made equivalent to state peasants in the imperial social system. The independent status of Cossacks is abrogated.

1783

July 24 Under the Treaty of Georgievsk, the Kingdom of Georgia is transferred from the Ottoman Empire to Russia; Russia recognizes the Georgian dynasty and incorporates the Georgian nobility.

1795

October The third and final partition of Poland takes place, following the earlier partitions of 1772 and 1793.

As many as 5.5 million Poles now live in the Russian Empire. Russia also gains a substantial Jewish population for the first time in its history. Russia also obtains Courland (present-day Latvia) and Kovno and Vilna provinces (Lithuania).

1801

March Catherine's successor in 1796, her son Paul, is assassinated. His son, Alexander I, assumes the throne. The early years of Alexander's reign bring the possibility of broad changes, but after victory in the wars against Napoleon (1804–1807, 1812), Alexander becomes religiously introverted and withdrawn.

September 12 Russia annexes Georgia directly, installs a new administration, and the Georgian Orthodox Church is subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Synod.

1809

Russia and Sweden sign the Treaty of Frederikshavn, in which Russia obtains the grand duchy of Finland and the Åland islands. Alexander extends a constitution to the Finns (a step he declines for Russia itself) and the grand duchy retains its own laws and social system.

1810

Russia annexes Sukhumi in the Caucasus. The taking of this city crushes a yearlong rebellion by King Solomon of the Caucasian Imereti people.

1812

The Russian colony at Fort Ross, California, is founded.

May Russia takes Bessarabia and its Moldovan population from the Ottoman Empire. The Congress of Vienna approves this action in 1815. Bessarabia enjoys wide autonomy until 1828.

1815

Following Russia's defeat of Napoleon, the Treaty of Vienna establishes the Congress Kingdom of Poland; it enjoys autonomy from 1815 to 1831. The Pale of Settlement is established in the westernmost territories of Ukraine, Poland, and White Russia (Belarus); the Jewish population of the empire is confined therein. Ukraine is now divided between the Russian and Austrian Empires.

1816–1827

General Alexsei Ermolov launches punitive expeditions to subdue the Caucasus. In 1818 he founds the fort of Grozny in Chechnya as a base for these expeditions.

1825

December Emperor Alexander I dies unexpectedly in the south of Russia. A military revolt by noble officers against his successor, younger brother Nicholas I, is swiftly put down. Nicholas's reign is marked by domestic repression, continued expansion, and the promotion of the slogan "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality" as the official ideology of the Russian Empire.

1827

Kazi Mulla proclaims a jihad against the Russians in Dagestan in the Caucasus.

1829

September The Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and the Ottoman Empire is signed. The treaty confirms the seizure of Armenia and Azerbaijan from Persia in 1813. There has been a steady Russian advancement into these territories since 1826.

1830–1831

Russia faces a Polish uprising. The Congress Kingdom of Poland is abrogated in 1832, and Poland falls under more direct control of the central government.

1834

Kazi Mulla's successor, Shamil, begins his resistance to the Russians in the Caucasus.

1837–1847

Kenesary Kazymov leads the Kazaks in an unsuccessful revolt against Russian rule.

1841

Fort Ross is sold to Capt. John Sutter, a Swiss immigrant to the region. Russia abandons her California colony.

1842

October The Sixth Section of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery is established to deal with affairs in the Caucasus. Caucasian matters now go directly to Nicholas I.

1846

January The Kiev Brotherhood of the St. Cyril and Methodius Society is founded. It advocates the emancipation of serfs, a federated Slav republic, and Ukrainian nationalism. In March 1847 the brotherhood is broken up and its members exiled.

1854

Alma-Ata is founded in present-day Kazakstan to advance the Russian colonization of Central Asia.

1854–1856

Russia fights Great Britain, France, and Turkey in the Crimean War. After losing the conflict, Russia temporarily (until 1878) loses part of Bessarabia to the Ottomans.

1855

Nicholas I dies. He is succeeded by his son, Alexander II.

1857

General Nikolay Evdokimov begins the systematic deforestation of the Caucasus to flush out Shamil.

1859

August 25 Shamil is captured by Prince Bariatinsky, bringing to an end his twenty-five-year resistance.

1860s–1870s

Russian laws and institutions replace Islamic courts in Azerbaijan.

1861

Serfdom is abolished under the Emancipation Act, the centerpiece of Alexander II's "great reforms" program, which also overhauls the military and judiciary. He implements the great reforms to modernize Russia after her humiliating defeat in the Crimean War.

1862

The Bishkek fortress is captured from the khanate of Kokand. In the same year, Russia implements a policy of deliberate population transfer of the Caucasian Circassian people out of the mountains and into the steppe. This policy is designed to pacify the Circassians by turning them into agriculturists.

1863

A second Polish uprising occurs, but is put down more rapidly than the first one in 1830–1831. The rebellion achieves only measures intended to repress the Polish language and culture, and breeds more discontent.

1864

Russia annexes Abkhazia in the Caucasus.

May Some 400,000 Circassians flee to Turkey. The former Circassian territory is repopulated with Russian settlers.

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1865

June 15 Tashkent surrenders to Russian forces. The systematic conquest of Central Asia begins, a process that is completed in 1884.

1867

March The United States buys Alaska from the Russians.

July The governor-generalship of Russian Turkestan is created to oversee Tajik groups and coordinate Russian advancement into Central Asia.

1868

June 30 The khanate of Bukhara surrenders. Russia annexes its capital, Samarkand, and Bukhara becomes a protectorate of the empire.

1872

A new system of granting oil leases in Azerbaijan leads to an oil boom in Baku, peaking in 1901.

1873

August 12 Russia defeats the khanate of Khiva. Khiva becomes a protectorate of the empire.

1876

February 19 Russia defeats the khanate of Kokand, leading to an influx of Russian settlers into what will become Kyrgyzstan.

1881

Russia annexes the city of Ashkhabad, in Turkmen-controlled territory.

February Russian general Mikhail Skobelev massacres Turkmen of the Tekke tribe at the fort of Geok-Tepe. Russia annexes the Trans-Caspian region.

March 13 Russian revolutionaries assassinate Alexander II. Pogroms against the Jews follow the assassination. The more conservative Alexander III succeeds his father. Alexander III's reign sees the enactment of measures generally classified as Russification, the attempt to promote ethnic Russians and Russian culture to shore up support for the regime. These policies see the curtailing of Baltic privileges and self-rule and an emphasis on teaching the Russian language.

1882

May The so-called May Laws, directed against and restricting Jews in the Pale of Settlement, are passed.

The May Laws provoke a wave of Jewish emigration to the United States and elsewhere.

1883–1884

Ismail Gasprinski founds the Turkish-language newspaper *Interpreter* in Crimea. He also promotes educational reform, out of which grows the *jadidist* school system. Jadidism stimulates Muslim consciousness in the Russian Empire.

1885–1887

The “Great Game” creates tension between Britain and Russia over Russian advancement in Central Asia to the Afghan border. Russia seems poised to threaten British colonial possessions in India.

1887

The Armenian socialist political party Hunchak (“bell”) is founded in Switzerland. Hunchak is one of the first parties that will struggle for both political and national emancipation.

1891

May Construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway begins. Mostly completed by 1903, it is finally finished in the Lake Baikal region around 1914. The railway serves to link Russia to Manchuria, China, and Russia's Asian-Pacific territories.

1895

Russia and Great Britain agree on a delimitation of the Pamir Mountains frontier. This ends Russian expansion into Central Asia.

1896

Alexander III dies. His son, Nicholas II, who continues his Russification policies, succeeds him.

1896–1912

About 4.5 million Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians emigrate to Russian-held Central Asia.

1897

The first imperial Russian census takes place. Disturbingly to the government, the “Great Russian” population is an ethnic minority, constituting only 40 percent of the whole. This information leads to intensified Russification measures.

1899

Additional Russification measures are implemented in Finland, including the curtailing of Finnish autonomy, the suspension of the legislative powers of the Seim

(legislature), the introduction of the compulsory study of the Russian language, and the subordination of Finnish bureaucratic/regulatory bodies to Russian ones.

One million Russian peasants settle in Kazak territory.

1904

January 27 The Japanese attack on Port Arthur in Manchuria begins the Russo-Japanese War. Russian commercial ventures (timber, trade with China) and interest in Manchuria help provoke the conflict. The Russians suffer several humiliating defeats at the hands of the Japanese, and cede territory and influence in Korea and China to Japan in 1905.

1914

July 30 Russia declares general mobilization and enters World War I. Russia does not fare well on the military front, and the strain of participation in the war disrupts domestic life.

1917

March Mass demonstrations in the capital of Petrograd lead to the February Revolution. The authority of the central government dissolves, and Nicholas abdicates on March 15. A provisional government shares power with the socialist Petrograd Soviet (council).

November 7–8 The Russian Social-Democratic Workers's Party (Bolsheviks) under Vladimir Lenin seizes power from the provisional government in the October Revolution.

1918–1921

The Russian Civil War pits opposing political factions in a violent conflict. It ends with the Bolsheviks in control of all of the territory that had constituted the Russian Empire, with the exception of the Baltic states and Finland (which become independent in 1920), and Poland. During the civil war, the Bolsheviks defeat movements for national independence in Central Asia, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Siberia, the Volga region, and elsewhere. The Bolsheviks implement their own communist ideology that promotes class over national identity.

1924

January 31 A new constitution is ratified and Bolshevik Russia officially becomes the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, linking twelve union republics, all of which are centered on titular nationalities. Although

nominally equal, Russia dominates the other union republics. Nonetheless, the borders and political structures established in the union republics grant a cohesive identity to these former Russian colonies.

1928

Joseph Stalin rises to power. Stalin wages ruthless war on his own people to attain his goals of making the Soviet Union an industrial and world power.

1932–1934

The second collectivization campaign successfully implements the collectivization of agriculture through force and coercion. Coupled with this second campaign is the deliberate instigation of famine in Ukraine, killing 3 million Ukrainians.

1939

August 23 The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact is signed. The pact provides for mutual nonaggression between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, and contains secret territorial protocols.

September 1 German leader Adolf Hitler begins World War II by invading Poland.

September 17–22 In accordance with the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, Soviet troops seize territory in eastern Poland that had previously belonged to the Russian Empire.

November 30 The Russo-Finnish War, or Winter War, begins and lasts until March 12, 1940. Joseph Stalin unsuccessfully attempts to reincorporate Finland.

1940

June 12–August 6 The Soviet Union annexes the Baltic republics (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) under a secret provision of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact.

1941

June 22 Adolf Hitler invades the Soviet Union.

August 28 Joseph Stalin orders the 3 million Volga Germans living along the Volga River to move to various locations in Central Asia on the grounds that they are potential collaborators. They are never repatriated, and many eventually emigrate.

1944

As the war turns in favor of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin accuses several nationalities of collaboration and

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treason—Tatars from the Crimean Peninsula, Kalmyks from the Caspian Sea region, and the Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, and Karachai from the Caucasus—and has them deported from their homelands to Central Asia and Siberia. They are not returned until 1955, under Nikita Khrushchev.

September 9 A coup d'état in Bulgaria establishes a pro-Soviet government.

September 12 Romania signs an armistice and surrenders unconditionally to the Soviet Union.

October 9–11 British prime minister Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin meet in Moscow. According to Churchill's memoirs, he and Stalin casually discuss future "zones of influence" in the Balkans, with some countries in the western zone (Greece), some in the Soviet (Bulgaria, Romania), and some essentially up for grabs (Yugoslavia, Hungary).

1945

February 4–11 At the Yalta Conference, Joseph Stalin agrees to allow free elections in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe—a promise he does not keep. The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France agree to occupy Berlin and maintain separate zones of control.

February 13 Budapest falls to the Red Army, bringing Hungary under the Soviet Union's control.

May 9 Germany surrenders and ends World War II in Europe. Germany is divided between the forces of the Soviet Union and the other Allies. On the same day, Soviet armies link up in Prague, putting Czechoslovakia under the Soviet Union's control.

July 5 The Allies recognize a Polish government dominated by communists chosen by Joseph Stalin.

1949

April 4 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is formed as a military alliance to resist the Soviet Union in the event of an attack on any member nation. The initial members are the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Canada.

October 7 The Soviet Union establishes the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in the German territory it controls.

1953

March 5 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin dies.

1954

The Virgin Lands campaign begins. New Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev initiates this program to improve Soviet agricultural production and renew ideological enthusiasm by opening new agricultural settlements in the Central Asian republic of Kazakstan.

1955

May 14 The Warsaw Pact, the Soviet response to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, provides for military assistance and mutual consultation among its signatories. Importantly, it allows the Soviet Union to place troops in member countries. The Warsaw Pact consists initially of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Albania, and later East Germany. Albania withdraws in 1968.

1956

October 24–November 11 The Hungarian Revolution occurs in opposition to Soviet rule. Following popular demonstrations, Imre Nagy is appointed prime minister on October 24 and proclaims the People's Patriotic Government. He subsequently announces that Hungary will leave the Warsaw Pact. Soviet troops respond by crushing the Hungarians, and Nagy's government is replaced with one formed by the Soviet Union.

1961

August 13 Construction begins on the Berlin Wall, intended to halt the flow of East Germans into West Germany through West Berlin. The Berlin Wall, a symbol of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, is built in conjunction with Nikita Khrushchev's campaign demanding a neutral Berlin and Western recognition of the legitimacy of East Germany.

1968

The Prague Spring occurs in Czechoslovakia. Reform leader Alexander Dubcek implements a period of liberalization, which ends with the August 20 invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops.

1979

December 25–27 The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan and installs a pro-Soviet government. A prolonged war ensues between the Soviet Union, Soviet-backed Communists, and the mujahedeen (holy warriors).

1985

March 11 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev is determined to reform the Soviet system and retain party control of the Soviet Union. He implements domestic reform policies that allow limited opposition, and to his chagrin unleashes opposition to the Communist Party for its economic incompetence, corruption, and repression of nationalities within the Soviet Union.

1989

February 15 The last Soviet troops leave Afghanistan. The pro-Soviet Mohammad Najibullah regime, in place since May 1986, lasts until 1992 as Afghanistan gradually collapses during a prolonged civil war following the Soviet pullout.

August 23 A demonstration by Baltic Way, an organization pushing for independence of the Baltic states, takes place on the fiftieth anniversary of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Between 1.5 and 2 million people in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania form a human chain across all three Baltic states to call attention to their forced incorporation in 1940.

November 10 The Berlin Wall is torn down in Berlin, and East Germany's communist regime collapses. In Bulgaria, a coup replaces long-time leader Todor Zhivkov.

November 17 Mass antigovernment demonstrations in Czechoslovakia begin the Velvet Revolution, so called because it advocated nonviolent reform.

December 25 Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu is executed after a hasty trial.

December 29 Former dissident Vaclav Havel is elected president of Czechoslovakia and reformers come to power in the culmination of the Velvet Revolution.

1990

Mikhail Gorbachev wins the Nobel Peace Prize for allowing Eastern Europe to peacefully leave the Soviet orbit.

March 11 Lithuania declares the restoration of its independence, and elects pro-independence leaders. Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev imposes an economic blockade in retaliation.

June 8 The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, under the leadership of former Communist Party member Boris Yeltsin, declares its sovereignty and says its laws have precedence over those passed by the central Soviet government.

July 16 Ukraine follows Russia's June 8 declaration and asserts its own sovereignty, leading to similar declarations by Belarus, Armenia, and most of the Central Asian republics.

October 3 Germany is unified.

1991

January 13 Soviet Interior Ministry troops attack the Lithuanian television tower in Vilnius. The attack follows a several-day standoff between Lithuanian demonstrators and Soviet troops. Fourteen Lithuanians are killed.

January 20 Soviet forces storm the Interior Ministry in Riga, Latvia. Four Latvians are killed.

April 9 Georgia declares its independence, and former dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia becomes president.

April 23 Mikhail Gorbachev brokers an agreement on a new union treaty. The Novo-Ogarevo or 9+1 agreement aims to redefine the relationship between the Russian republic and the other union republics.

June 12 Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in free elections. Yeltsin challenges Mikhail Gorbachev's legitimacy as an elected leader.

August 19–21 Members of Mikhail Gorbachev's government, acting as the State Committee for the State of Emergency, mount a coup against him. The coup fails when the Defense Ministry withdraws troops. The coup fatally undermines Gorbachev's authority and shifts initiative to the republics.

August 24 Ukraine declares its independence, pending a December referendum.

September 6 The Soviet Union formally recognizes the independence of the Baltics. The three Baltic nations join the United Nations eleven days later.

December 1 A referendum overwhelmingly supports Ukrainian independence and confirms Ukrainian support for leaving the Soviet Union.

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December 31 The Soviet Union legally ceases to exist. It is replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent States (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Armenia, and Azerbaijan) and the independent states of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Georgia. The CIS is an umbrella organization whose importance gradually fades.

1993

October 15 Georgia, now led by former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, joins the Commonwealth of Independent States. Georgia has been wracked by civil war and independence movements in Abkhazia and elsewhere.

1994

December 11 Russia invades Chechnya. Russia had refused to recognize Chechnya's October 1991 declaration of independence and opposed its efforts to leave the Russian Federation.

1995

June 13–19 Chechen rebel leader Shamil Basayev humiliates the Russian army by penetrating Russian territory and holding hostages for six days in the town of Budennovsk.

1996

August 22 A cease-fire takes hold in Chechnya. Chechnya begins a period of de facto independence from Russia.

1997

May 23 Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Alexander Lukashenko of Russia and Belarus, respectively, sign a union treaty. It promises cooperation between the two countries but not full integration.

1999

August 7 Chechen rebels under Shamil Basayev invade the neighboring republic of Dagestan in an unsuccessful effort to install an Islamic government there.

September 13 An apartment bombing in Moscow kills 116 people. Another bomb 4 days earlier had killed 93 people. The Russian government blames both explosions on Chechen terrorists.

September 23 Russia begins air strikes against Chechnya. Ground troops follow a few days later as a second Russian invasion begins.

2000

March 26 Acting president Vladimir Putin wins the Russian presidential election. Putin's victory with 53 percent of the vote is attributed in part to approval of his conduct of the Chechen war.

June 8 Vladimir Putin imposes direct presidential rule over Chechnya. His government declares that the war is in effect over, but troops remain in Chechnya to combat terrorists.

SPANISH EMPIRE

RONALD E. YOUNG

1248

Castilians seize Seville from Muslims, leaving only Granada under Islamic domination.

1402

Castile, along with France, makes a tentative effort to colonize the Canary Islands.

1415

The Spanish take Tenerife in the Canary Islands.

1418

The Canary Islands are ceded to Castile by a local monarch of Spanish descent.

1435

Pope Eugene IV orders the liberation of slaves in the Canary Islands.

Alfonso V, king of Aragon, takes control of Naples and Sicily.

1462

A private Spanish expedition seizes Gibraltar, which has been controlled by the Moors since 1333.

1464

The indigenous chiefs of the Canary Islands accept Spanish rule.

1468

Henry IV of Castile reluctantly recognizes his half-sister, Isabella, as the heir to the throne.

1469

Isabella of Castile marries Ferdinand of Aragon.

1474

Henry IV of Castile dies. His half-sister, Isabella I, assumes the throne.

1475

Juana, the daughter of the late Henry IV, claims the throne of Castile with support from Portugal and an anti-Aragonese faction in Castile. Her claim to the throne marks the beginning of a civil war fought between her supporters and those of Isabella I.

1476

The Spanish build a fort at Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, north of Cape Bojador on the West African coast.

1477

A revolt in the Canary Islands is put down.

1479

The Treaty of Alcaçovas between Spain and Portugal ends the dispute over the throne of Castile. Isabella I emerges victorious over Juana, the alleged daughter of the late King Henry IV. Juana had been supported by Portugal's King Afonso V. The treaty also establishes Spain's rights to the Canary Islands, but recognizes Portuguese control of the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and Madeira.

King John II of Aragon dies and his son, Ferdinand II, assumes the throne, beginning the "union of the crowns" of Aragon and Castile, ruled by Ferdinand's wife, Isabella I.

1481

The Inquisition is established in Spain.

1482

Ferdinand and Isabella launch the last phase of the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula in response to a Muslim attack on a Christian town.

1486

Christopher Columbus, a Genoa-based mariner, presents his plan for sailing west to Asia to Spain's Ferdinand and Isabella for the first time.

1490

The Spanish begin to settle Palma in the Canary Islands.

1492

The Spanish conquest of Granada brings to an end the Muslim domination of the Iberian Peninsula.

Jews are expelled from Spain. Many Spanish Jews settle in North Africa.

Christopher Columbus leaves Spain on his first voyage to the Americas with three ships and fewer than ninety men. After stopping in the Canary Islands, he arrives in what is now the Bahamas on October 12. On this first voyage he also encounters Hispaniola and Cuba, the two largest islands in the Caribbean Sea. On Hispaniola, he founds the settlement of Navidad. Columbus returns to Spain in early 1493.

1493

Ferdinand II signs the Treaty of Narbonne with France, whose king, Charles VIII, seeks the support of Ferdinand for an invasion of Italy. Ferdinand, however, later joins with Pope Alexander VI and others to frustrate French plans.

The Spanish begin to settle Tenerife in the Canary Islands.

Christopher Columbus leaves on his second voyage to the New World. He takes possession of Puerto Rico in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella. Upon his return to the settlement at Navidad, he finds no survivors.

1494

Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Tordesillas. According to this treaty, an imaginary line located 320 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands divides the world between the countries. Lands lying west of the line belong to the Spanish, giving them control of most of the Americas. Lands to the east of the line belong to the Portuguese.

While on his second voyage, Christopher Columbus establishes the town of Isabella on Hispaniola. On this trip he visits the islands of Cuba and Jamaica.

First indigenous revolt against Spanish rule occurs on Hispaniola.

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Foundation of *consulado* for the regulation of foreign trade at Burgos.

1496

Spain takes the Berber town of Melilla on the coast of North Africa.

Bartolomé Colón, the brother of Christopher Columbus, founds Santo Domingo on Hispaniola.

Christopher Columbus returns to Spain from his second voyage.

1497

Spaniards on Hispaniola led by Francisco Roldán challenge the authority of Christopher Columbus. They divide Native American labor, foreshadowing the *encomienda*, or forced labor system.

1498

Christopher Columbus embarks on his third voyage, in which he encounters the coast of Venezuela at the mouth of the Orinoco River.

1499

Spain opens the exploration of the New World to others besides Christopher Columbus. Peralonso Niño begins to exploit the pearl fisheries at the island of Cubagua off the coast of Venezuela. Alonso de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa explore the Venezuelan coast and later go to Hispaniola.

1500

Spain and France sign the Treaty of Granada, in which both countries again are to cooperate in Italian affairs. However, disagreements over Naples lead to hostilities.

Francisco de Bobadilla replaces Christopher Columbus as governor in the New World. Columbus and his two brothers are jailed and then sent back to Spain.

1502

Nicolás de Ovando arrives in Hispaniola as the new governor. He brings a large fleet carrying 2,500 settlers, including Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Christopher Columbus leaves Spain on his fourth and final voyage to the New World.

Montezuma II becomes the ruler of Tenochtitlán, the capital of the Aztec Empire in Mexico.

Muslims in Spain are given the choice of converting to Christianity or going into exile.

The Spanish government takes formal control of Gibraltar.

1503

The first sugar mill is constructed on Hispaniola.

Spain legalizes the *encomienda* in the New World. This system of forced indigenous labor is key to the early conquest and colonization of the Indies.

The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) in Seville is created to regulate and develop commerce between Spain and its colonies in the Americas.

1504

Isabella I of Castile dies.

1505

Spain takes Mers el-Kebir in North Africa as revenge for an attack on Alicante in southeastern Spain.

Spain gains control of Naples when King Louis XII of France cedes his rights there to his niece, Germaine de Foix, who had married Ferdinand II upon the death of Isabella.

1506

Vicente Yáñez Pinzón is granted the rights to colonize Puerto Rico.

1508

Juan Ponce de León begins his conquest of Puerto Rico, establishing a settlement named Villa de Caparra.

Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigates Cuba, proving that it is an island.

Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Juan Díaz de Solís travel along the South American coast as far as the Colorado River in present-day Argentina.

1509

Spain begins its African campaigns under the leadership of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Over the next several years Spanish forces take Oran, Bougie, and Tripoli, obligating the Muslim rulers to pay tribute.

Juan Ponce de León is authorized to colonize Puerto Rico.

Diego Colón, the oldest son of Christopher Columbus, becomes governor of Hispaniola.

1510

The first settlement in Venezuela is founded at Nueva Cádiz on the island of Cubagua.

1511

The Holy League, a pan-European alliance to counter French influence in Italy, is created, uniting Ferdinand II with Pope Julius II and pitting Venice against France and its empire.

The first *audiencia*, or court for administering royal justice, is established in Santo Domingo.

Diego Colón appoints Diego Velázquez as commander of the forces for conquering Cuba.

An uprising of Native Americans occurs in Puerto Rico.

In North Africa, Ténès, Delys, Cherchel, Mazagan, and Algiers become tributaries to Spain.

1512

Ferdinand II issues the Laws of Burgos. This is the first systematic attempt to regulate the treatment of Indians in the New World. The laws seek better working conditions, minimum standards for food and housing, and restrictions on punishment. They are largely unenforced.

Castile annexes the small kingdom of Navarre in the western Pyrenees.

Juan Díaz de Solís becomes the first European in present-day Uruguay.

Juan Ponce de León sails from Puerto Rico in search of the mythical fountain of youth. In the process, he encounters Florida.

The discovery of gold on Cuba attracts numerous Spanish settlers.

1513

The conquistador and explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa sights the Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Panama.

The Catholic see of Darién in Central America is created.

1514

Havana is founded on Cuba. It is moved to its present site in 1519.

1515

Santiago de Cuba is founded, serving as the capital of Cuba.

1516

Ferdinand II of Aragon dies. Charles I, the grandson of Ferdinand and the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain, becomes the new king.

Bartolomé de Las Casas is appointed head of a commission to investigate the status of the Indians under Spanish control.

On his second voyage to South America, Juan Díaz de Solís explores the estuary of the Río de la Plata, naming it Mar Dulce. Solís is killed by Charrúa Indians.

The Turk pirate Barbarossa seizes Algiers. A Spanish relief effort fails.

1517

Francisco Hernández de Córdoba sails from Cuba to the Yucatán, where he encounters the Maya. Córdoba is badly wounded in a confrontation with the Maya and dies shortly after returning to Cuba.

1518

The first bishopric on the island of Cuba is established at Baracoa.

Diego Velázquez is made governor of Cuba.

Juan de Grijalva leads the second expedition from Cuba to the Yucatán. He obtains evidence of an advanced and wealthy civilization on the mainland.

1519

Charles I of Spain is elected Holy Roman Emperor as Charles V.

Commissioned by Spain, Portuguese navigator Ferdinand Magellan starts an expedition to find a westward route to Asia.

Governor Diego Velázquez appoints Hernán Cortés to sail from Cuba to mainland Mexico. After the governor decides not to send him, Cortés begins his expedition anyway in defiance of Velázquez. His expedition consists

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of about 500 men, 16 horses, and 11 ships. He founds the city of Veracruz on the coast and marches inland. Along the way, the Spaniards battle various Indian groups, but also acquire Native American allies. By the end of the year, Cortés and his men reach the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán and take Montezuma II hostage.

The Spanish make an abortive attack on Algiers.

1520

Hernán Cortés leaves Tenochtitlán to fight Spanish forces sent against him from Cuba. While Cortés is away, Spaniards in Tenochtitlán massacre many Aztecs celebrating the festival of Toxcatl. Later, Montezuma II is killed and the Spaniards are forced from the city. Late in the year, a smallpox epidemic devastates the Aztec capital.

Ferdinand Magellan reaches present-day Argentina. He explores the estuary of the Río de la Plata in search of a passage to the East Indies. After wintering in Argentina, he rounds the southern tip of South America to the Pacific Ocean. He names the strait through which he passes Todos los Santos, but it is later named after Magellan.

1521

Hernán Cortés returns to Tenochtitlán and besieges the city. By August, the city surrenders.

Diego Velázquez is removed as governor only to be restored later the same year.

Bartolomé de Las Casas attempts to found a colony at Cumaná in Venezuela. Las Casas seeks to establish a settlement in accord with his theories of peaceful reduction, but he ultimately fails.

Ferdinand Magellan encounters the island of Guam in the Pacific. He later arrives in the Philippines, where he is killed by the indigenous inhabitants. Juan Sebastián de Elcano takes control of the expedition.

1522

Charles V appoints Hernán Cortés governor and captain-general of the lands he has conquered.

The remainder of the expedition started by Ferdinand Magellan returns to Spain.

In the first Spanish attempt to reach Peru, the governor of Panama sends Pascual de Andagoya to explore the

Pacific Coast of South America. However, Andagoya only reaches the Colombian Chocó before he falls ill.

The papal letter *Omnimoda* gives the duty of converting Native Americans to the regular clergy.

1523

Hernán Cortés becomes governor of New Spain, a post he will hold until 1526.

Diego Castellón founds the city of Cumaná, the first successful settlement on mainland Venezuela.

1524

Francisco Pizarro fails in his first expedition to Peru. He spends a year exploring the Colombian coast, but fails to reach Peru before returning to Panama.

Twelve Franciscan missionaries arrive in Mexico to begin an organized missionary effort there.

Arrival of the first royal treasury officials in New Spain.

Charles V creates the Council of the Indies to be in charge of Spain's imperial affairs in the Western Hemisphere.

Spanish forces invade France.

Diego Velázquez, the governor of Cuba, dies.

Pedro de Alvarado marches from Honduras and subdues Native Americans in El Salvador.

1525

Spain defeats France at the Battle of Pavia near Milan. Spanish forces destroy the French army and capture the French king Francis I. Held captive in Madrid, Francis I is forced to sign the Treaty of Madrid, in which he gives up claims on Italy and cedes Burgundy to Spain.

Rodrigo de Bastidas founds Santa Marta, the first permanent settlement in Colombia.

Charles V sends an expedition consisting of 7 ships and 450 men to the Philippines. After the loss of several ships and the death of its leader, the expedition arrives in the Philippines in 1526. It is hoped that the expedition can strengthen Spanish claims against Portugal, although no concrete results are obtained.

In El Salvador, Pedro de Alvarado captures the Indian capital at Cuscatlán. The city of San Salvador is founded.

Hernán Cortés executes Cuauhtemoc, the last Aztec emperor.

Margarita Island off the coast of Venezuela becomes an independent province.

1526

Francisco Pizarro sails with 160 men from Panama on his second attempt to make it to Peru. Upon reaching the San Juan River in Colombia, Pizarro takes gold from the Native Americans and has it sent back to Panama with Diego de Almagro to attract more participants in the Spanish expeditions. Pizarro continues on to Gallo Island off the Colombian coast. In the service of Pizarro, Bartolomé Ruiz becomes the first European in modern-day Ecuador.

The see of Tlaxcala is established.

In the service of Spain, English explorer Sebastian Cabot arrives in South America. He names the Río de la Plata (Silver River) and also explores the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers. He founds the first European settlement in Argentina, naming it Santo Espiritu.

Sebastian Cabot sends Juan Alvarez Ramon to explore the Uruguay River. Alvarez is attacked and killed by Native Americans.

1527

Francisco Pizarro reaches Peru. Most of his men have already returned to Panama by order of the governor. However, Pizarro and twelve others remain on the island of Gorgona waiting for supplies. Later, they go to Tumbes, trade with the local inhabitants, and explore the northern portion of Peru. Pizarro takes three Indian boys with him so they can learn Spanish and serve as future interpreters.

Juan de Ampíes founds Santa Ana de Coriana in Venezuela after being commissioned by the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo.

Under orders from Spain, Hernán Cortés sends his cousin Alvaro Saavedra Ceron from Mexico to the Philippines. The expedition disperses without accomplishing anything.

The first *audiencia* is established at Mexico City.

The see of Mexico City is created. The Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga becomes the first bishop of Mexico.

Sebastian Cabot oversees the building of a fort in the Banda Oriental (or east side of the Río de la Plata, now Uruguay). Native Americans destroy the fort in 1529.

1528

Hernán Cortés returns to Spain, where he remains until 1530. He is named marqués of the Valley of Oaxaca.

The first judges of the Mexican *audiencia* arrive in the colony. The members of the first *audiencia* become known for their corruption and mistreatment of the Indians.

When Francisco Pizarro fails to convince the governor of Panama to sponsor a third expedition to Peru, he goes to Spain to seek royal backing. He takes with him gold and silver from Peru, along with a number of Native Americans and llamas, to gain more support. Upon arriving in Spain, Pizarro is jailed for the debts of the colony at Panama. He is later released and meets with Emperor Charles V.

1529

Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Zaragoza, which expands the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) to encompass the entire world. The Philippines remain in Portuguese territory, although they never occupy the islands.

The Spanish Crown gives Francisco Pizarro permission to carry out a third expedition to Peru.

The first sugar mill is built in Mexico.

Ambrosio Alfínger becomes the first governor of Venezuela. From Coro, Alfínger leads an expedition into the interior in search of El Dorado, or the mythical city of gold.

1530

Antonio de Sedeño attempts to settle Trinidad.

The first silver strikes occur in Mexico.

Members of the second *audiencia* arrive in Mexico.

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1531

Francisco Pizarro leaves Panama for his third expedition to Peru. The force first lands at Puná Island off the coast of southern Ecuador, where the Spaniards suffer through several months of Native American attacks. Reinforcements led by Sebastián de Belalcázar and Hernando de Soto help Pizarro repel the Indians.

Diego de Ordaz explores the region around the Orinoco River.

At Santiago de Cuba, a Royal Cedula makes Indian slavery illegal. The law has little real effect on the actual practice.

The first bishopric in Venezuela is established at Coro.

The settlement of Puebla is founded in Mexico. Flooding destroys the initial settlement, which is reestablished nearby the following year.

According to legend, the Virgin Mary appears to an Indian named Juan Diego near Mexico City. The legend states that an image of the Virgin Mary was imprinted on Diego's cloak. The alleged cloak is preserved at the Basilica of Guadalupe. In 1754, the pope recognizes the Virgin of Guadalupe as the patron of New Spain. Diego is beatified in 1990.

Guadalajara, Mexico, is initially founded.

1532

Francisco Pizarro's expedition arrives in Peru in April. By the end of the year, Pizarro's small Spanish force defeats the much larger Inca army at Cajamarca and captures Atahualpa, the Inca ruler. The Spaniards demand a huge ransom for their prisoner, which is paid by his followers.

1533

In Peru, Francisco Pizarro and his followers distribute the treasure from the ransom paid for Atahualpa, making the Spaniards fabulously wealthy. They later execute the Inca leader. A force of 200 Spaniards under Diego de Almagro arrives from Panama, but they do not share in the treasure, which leads to a bitter rivalry between the followers of Pizarro and Almagro. By the end of the year, Pizarro enters the Inca capital of Cuzco, and installs a puppet ruler, Manco Inca.

Pedro de Heredia founds Cartagena in Colombia.

An uprising breaks out at the mines of Jobabo in Cuba.

1534

Cuzco, the former Inca capital, is chartered as a Spanish city.

A royal grant gives the territory south of Peru to Diego de Almagro.

1535

Francisco Pizarro formally founds the city of Lima as the Spanish capital of Peru. Located on the coast, it is accessible, more easily defended, and has a climate and altitude more suitable to Spanish tastes than the former Inca capital at Cuzco. Pizarro also founds the city of Trujillo farther north on the coast.

Francisco Pizarro divides Upper Peru (modern Bolivia) among his brothers, Hernando and Gonzalo.

Diego de Amigo leaves Cuzco to begin his exploration of the territory south of Peru.

Antonio de Mendoza arrives as the first viceroy of Mexico.

Hernán Cortés unsuccessfully attempts to start a colony in Baja California.

Pedro de Mendoza founds Buenos Aires. Hostile Native Americans prevent permanent settlement. Mendoza returns to Spain, leaving the colony to Juan de Ayolas.

Sebastián de Belalcázar founds the initial settlement of Guayaquil in Ecuador.

Charles V makes an expedition to Tunis, where thousands of Christian slaves are liberated.

1536

The Inca rebel in Peru. After realizing that the Spaniards consider him simply a puppet ruler, Manco Inca leads his followers against the conquerors. Some 200,000 Incans besiege Cuzco for ten months.

Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada starts an expedition up the Magdalena River. He leaves Santa Marta to explore the Magdalena River and subdue the Chibcha Indians.

Sebastián de Belalcázar founds Cali and Popayán in Colombia.

Diego de Almagro arrives in Chile, where he encounters stiff Native American resistance that forces him to return to Peru.

The Río de la Plata region is made part of the viceroyalty of Peru.

1537

The see of Cuzco is created, with the Dominican Vicente de Valverde as the first bishop.

Manco Inca and some of his forces withdraw from their siege of Cuzco. They proceed to the mountain fortress of Vilcabamba, where they continue an independent Inca state until 1571.

Diego de Almagro and his forces return from Chile and seize Cuzco from the Pizarro brothers and then claim southern Peru. Both Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro are jailed. Gonzalo escapes, while Hernando is freed on the condition that he return to Spain, a promise he does not keep.

Forces of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada defeat the Chibcha in a battle near Tunja, Colombia. The Spaniards take the Chibcha leader prisoner.

Hernando de Soto is appointed governor of Cuba and *adelanto*, or official explorer, of Florida.

Pedro de Ayolas moves colonists from Buenos Aires to Asunción in Paraguay. They establish friendly relations with the Guaraní Indians. By 1541, Buenos Aires is abandoned because of Indian attacks. On a later expedition into the interior, Ayolas is killed by Native Americans in Chaco, and is replaced by Domingo Martínez de Irala as governor.

Guayaquil is permanently settled.

1538

Francisco Pizarro defeats Diego de Almagro in the Battle of Salinas near Cuzco. Almagro is executed afterward.

The *audiencia* is created at Panama City.

La Plata (present-day Sucre, Bolivia) is founded on the site of the Native American town of Chuquisaca in Upper Peru. The city serves as the seat of the *audiencia* of Charcas.

Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada founds Santa Fé de Bogotá. He names the region New Granada.

1539

Don Carlos Chichimecatecuhti, lord of Texcoco, is executed after being found guilty of heresy and idolatry, charges he denied. His execution leads to much criticism in Spain and contributes to the decision that exempts Indians from the Inquisition after it is established in 1571.

Francisco Pizarro founds the city of Ayacucho in the highlands of Peru. Located between Cuzco and Lima, it serves as a stopover point as well as an important administrative center.

A dispute arises over control of Bogotá between Nikolaus Federmann, an agent of the Welsers, a German merchant family, and Sebastián de Belalcázar. When they discover that Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada had arrived at Bogotá earlier, the three men go to Spain to solve the dispute. The city is rechartered and the followers of all three men are allowed to stay.

Hernando de Soto leaves Cuba for Florida, leaving his wife as acting governor.

1540

Pedro de Valdivia is sent by Francisco Pizarro to pacify Chile as a reward for Valdivia's participation in the conquest of Peru.

The university in Santo Domingo is established.

The first sugar mills are built in Peru.

Arequipa is established, becoming Peru's most important city after Lima.

Hernán Cortés returns to Spain.

Construction of Havana's first fort is completed.

Francisco Pizarro appoints his brother, Gonzalo, as governor of Quito.

Francisco Coronado begins his search for the fabled Seven Golden Cities of Cibola. He spends the next two years traveling throughout present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, but never encounters the legendary riches.

The Mixtón War starts in Mexico. In the province of New Galicia, outraged Indians begin a major uprising that later includes *encomienda* Indians. The Indians

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win a number of victories against Spanish forces. Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza finally subdues the rebellion with several hundred Spanish horsemen and thousands of loyal Indians.

1541

Francisco Pizarro is assassinated in Lima by followers of Diego de Almagro's son. Pizarro's death allows royal officials to more completely assert their authority and redistribute wealth and power in Peru. These actions lead to full-scale rebellion against the Crown by many of the Spanish colonists.

Gonzalo Pizarro leads an expedition from Quito across the Andes in search of legendary El Dorado.

A bishopric is established at Lima.

Pedro de Valdivia founds Santiago, the first European settlement in Chile, and is elected governor.

Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca leads Spanish colonists from Santa Catarina in Brazil to Asunción in Paraguay. Cabeza de Vaca makes an unsuccessful attempt to reestablish Buenos Aires.

Charles V of Spain is decisively defeated in an attack on Algiers.

1542

The New Laws of the Indies are issued, reforming Spanish government in the Americas and controlling the *encomienda*. The laws also prohibit Indian slavery. In addition, they require those responsible for the civil war in Peru to be stripped of their *encomiendas*.

In the Battle of Chupas near Huamanga, Peru, Governor Cristóbal Vaca de Castro defeats the forces of Diego de Almagro's son.

Franciscans establish the first missions in Paraguay.

Francisco de Montejo founds the city of Mérida on a Mayan site in the Yucatán.

Guadalajara is founded at its present site. The city had been moved on several occasions since its initial founding in 1531.

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo explores the coast of Upper California.

Ruy López de Villalobos, the brother-in-law of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, leads an expedition from Mexico to the Philippines with instructions to colonize, establish trade, and spread Christianity.

1543

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is created at Seville. The guild regulates trade between Spain and the Americas.

Audiencias are established at Lima and Guatemala.

The expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos arrives in the Philippines, naming the islands after Prince Philip, later Philip II, the son of Charles V. The expedition fails in its goal to colonize the islands.

1544

Blasco Núñez de Vela becomes the first viceroy of Peru. He is charged with enforcing the New Laws of the Indies. This leads to a major revolt of Peruvian colonists led by Gonzalo Pizarro. The *audiencia* has the viceroy arrested, imprisoned, and sent back to Spain. However, the captain of the ship carrying the viceroy frees Núñez de Vela, who then begins to amass men and supplies to regain control of the colony.

Inspector Francisco Tello de Sandoval arrives in Mexico. He is authorized to conduct a review of all royal officials in the viceroyalty and to enforce the New Laws of the Indies. However, widespread opposition to the New Laws leads Sandoval to delay their enforcement.

Pedro de Valdivia founds the city of Valparaíso in Chile.

French pirate Roberto Val sacks Cartagena.

1545

Silver ore is discovered at Potosí, which becomes the site of the richest silver mine in the Spanish Empire. Half of all New World silver before 1650 comes from Potosí. Soon a city of 100,000 grows up around the mine.

Followers of Diego de Almagro's son murder Manco Inca in his stronghold of Vilcabamba.

A major epidemic, possibly typhus, breaks out in central Mexico, causing high rates of mortality among the Indians. The epidemic lasts until 1548.

Juan de Carvajal founds El Tocuyo in Venezuela.

1546

Silver mining starts in northern Mexico with the discovery of deposits at Zacatecas by Juan de Tolosa.

An archbishopric is created in Mexico that includes the dioceses of Mexico, Michoacán, Tlaxcala, Guatemala, and Chiapas.

A bishopric is created at Popayán.

Gonzalo Pizarro defeats the forces of Peruvian viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela in the Battle of Añaquito near Quito, Ecuador. Pizarro has the viceroy executed.

La Serena is founded in Chile.

1547

Hernán Cortés dies in Spain.

Pedro de la Gasca arrives in Peru to put down the *encomendero* rebellion in the colony.

A large-scale uprising by the Maya occurs in Yucatán.

The *audiencia* of Guadalajara is established.

Andrés de Olmos produces the first grammar of the Nahuatl language, the first Native American language to be written down.

1548

Pedro de la Gasca defeats rebel forces near Cuzco. The leader of the rebellion, Gonzalo Pizarro, is captured and executed.

An *audiencia* is established in the province of New Galicia in Mexico. Originally located in Compostela, its seat is later moved to Guadalajara.

The see of Guadalajara is created.

War starts between Spaniards and Araucanians in Chile.

Alonso de Mendoza founds La Paz in Bolivia as a way station between Potosí and Lima.

1549

The *audiencia* of New Granada is created.

The Spanish Crown bans the use of *encomienda* Indians for personal service labor. In many areas royal authority is weak and the regulation is not enforced.

1550

At the Council of Valladolid in Spain, Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda debate the treatment of Native Americans and whether they are fully human.

An *audiencia* is established at Bogotá.

State-imposed draft labor by Indians begins in Mexico.

Juan Romero leaves Asunción to start a settlement called San Juan Bautista along the San Juan River. This is the first settlement in present-day Uruguay. It is abandoned two years later.

Concepción and Chillán are founded in Chile.

1551

The Spanish Crown orders the establishment of a university in Mexico City. The institution is inaugurated in 1553. The Crown also orders that a university be built in Lima. It is instituted as San Marcos University.

1552

Sebastián de Castilla leads rebels who seize the mining areas of Upper Peru (Bolivia). His followers are mostly Spaniards unhappy with their inability to acquire *encomiendas*.

The discovery of gold in Chile attracts more Spanish settlers.

Valdivia is founded in Chile.

Barquisimeto is founded in Venezuela.

1553

The last major revolt takes place during the period of civil wars in Peru. Francisco Hernández Girón, an *encomendero*, organizes other Spanish colonists and even African slaves in a movement that dominates much of the Peruvian highlands for a year. His defeat in 1554 ends this turbulent period of early Peruvian history.

1554

Pedro de Valdivia, the governor of Chile, is defeated, captured, and killed by Araucanians led by Lautaro, a former groom in Valdivia's stables.

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1555

The amalgamation process for silver refining begins in Mexico.

The French take Havana on two occasions.

Valencia is founded in Venezuela.

1556

Charles V abdicates and his son, Philip II, assumes the throne in Spain. Philip II rules the country and its empire until 1598.

1557

Cuenca is founded on the site of an Indian town in Ecuador.

Lautaro, the Indian resistance leader in Chile, is killed in battle.

1558

Charles V dies.

Mérida is founded in Venezuela.

1559

An *audiencia* is established at Charcas in Upper Peru, which had been under the jurisdiction of the *audiencia* of Lima since 1542. The new *audiencia* is created due to problems associated with the distance from Lima. The seat of the *audiencia* is at La Plata (present-day Sucre, Bolivia), which the Spaniards prefer over the mining sites of Potosí and Porco.

The royally approved sale of offices begins in Spanish America.

The French sack Cartagena.

In North Africa, a Spanish fleet attacks the pirate Dragut at Jerba.

1560

Madrid is definitively established as the capital of Spain.

Mendoza is founded in Argentina.

The pirate Dragut retakes Jerba from the Spanish.

Morocco cedes Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera to Spain.

1561

Santiago del Estero is founded in Argentina.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra is founded in Upper Peru (modern-day Bolivia).

1562

Franciscan priest Diego de Landa leads an investigation into allegations of traditional religious practices and human sacrifice in the Yucatán Peninsula. Landa is criticized for his use of torture to get confessions. These actions contribute to the later exemption of Indians from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.

1563

Audiencias are established at Quito and Panama.

Mercury, a key element in the extraction of silver, is discovered at Huancavelica, Peru.

In Mexico, Francisco de Ibarra founds the town of Durango, which becomes the capital of the northern frontier region of New Vizcaya.

The Spanish discover the Juan Fernández Islands west of Chile.

1564

The kingdom of Quito is made a *presidencia* under the viceroy of New Granada. In judicial matters, Quito is subject to the *audiencia* at Lima.

New Granada is made a presidency and Andres Diaz Venero arrives as the first president and captain-general.

Miguel López de Legazpi leads an expedition from Mexico to the Philippines with instructions to colonize the islands.

A regular shipping system between Spain and its American holdings is instituted.

1565

A royal decree establishes an *audiencia* in Chile. It is dissolved in 1573.

Miguel López de Legazpi's expedition reaches Guam, taking possession of the island for Spain. Later, he arrives in the Philippines. After encountering initial resistance, he is able to make a treaty whereby the

islanders accept Spanish sovereignty and agree to pay tribute in return for protection from their enemies and the ability to trade with the Spaniards. Legazpi becomes the first governor-general of the Philippines.

1566

Bartolomé de Las Casas dies.

The Dutch begin their revolt against Spanish rule. Philip II, who had inherited the Netherlands from his father, had sought to gain tighter control of the country's Catholic Church, using the Inquisition and the Jesuits to combat any religious unorthodoxy. These actions provoke a violent reaction by Protestants in the Netherlands.

Martín Cortés, the son and heir of Hernán Cortés, is arrested for plotting to overthrow royal authorities in Mexico. While his coconspirators are executed, Cortés is sent to Spain and later pardoned.

1567

Diego de Losada founds Santiago de León de Caracas in Venezuela.

The French attack Coro, Venezuela.

Spanish explorers encounter the Hawaiian Islands.

1568

The first Jesuits in Spanish America arrive at Lima, Peru.

English slave trader John Hawkins captures Ríohacha, Colombia, and its pearl fisheries, forcing the residents to purchase his slaves. He also threatens to attack Santa Marta before selling additional slaves there.

John Hawkins is attacked by the Spanish fleet at Veracruz, Mexico, but escapes.

1569

Tribunals of the Inquisition are established in Mexico City and Lima.

Francisco de Toledo starts his term as viceroy of Peru.

The Moriscos (Muslims who converted to Christianity) revolt in Spain, but are brutally put down by 1571.

A conflict starts in the Philippines, pitting the Spanish and their Christian Filipino allies against the Muslims of the islands.

1570

A cargo of African slaves is freed after a shipwreck along the coast of Ecuador. They conquer and control much of the province of Esmeraldas, as do their *zambo* (or mixed Indian-African) descendants.

1571

Alonso Pacheco founds Maracaibo in Venezuela.

Spain, with the aid of a papal and Venetian fleet, defeats the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto. The victory helps slow the Ottoman advance in the Mediterranean. However, many of the Spanish ships had been brought from the Indies, weakening the defense of the colonies and allowing for attacks on many port cities in the New World.

The amalgamation process for silver refining is first used at Potosí.

Huancavelica, where mercury mines had been in operation since 1563, is established as Villa Rica de Oropesa. A key to the silver-mining industry in Peru, mercury is mined by Native Americans through the *mita* system that allows colonists favored by the crown to use forced Native American labor. Many workers die from mercury poisoning.

In the Philippines, the Spanish capture Manila and make it their capital.

The first Manila galleons carrying Chinese silk and ceramics leave for Mexico. This marks the beginning of the Manila trade across the Pacific, in which Mexican silver is traded for Asian goods.

1572

Inca ruler Tupac Amaru is executed in Cuzco. He had earlier been captured when Viceroy Francisco de Toledo deemed the Inca enclave at Vilcabamba a threat to Spanish authority in Peru.

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo leaves Cuzco for Upper Peru, where he remains until 1575. While there, he organizes the labor and mining systems for Potosí. He also has silver refineries built to use the amalgamation process and he constructs a royal mint.

An organized revolt against Spanish rule in the Netherlands starts under the leadership of William of Orange, when a group of Dutch seamen seize the town of Brill on the North Sea.

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1573

Ordinances for New Discovery and Settlement are passed to encourage Spanish citizens to develop new settlements in the Americas.

Córdoba and Santa Fe are founded in Argentina.

1574

Ordinance of Patronage divides Spain's West Indies possessions into several vice-regencies.

Spain loses Tunis to the Ottoman Empire.

Sebastián Barba de Padilla founds Villa de Oropeza (later renamed Cochabamba) in Bolivia. It serves as a defensive site for possible invasions by Native Americans in the highlands. Its temperate climate helps produce goods sold at Potosí.

Spanish troops fighting in the Netherlands stop twenty-five miles from Amsterdam when the Dutch open the dikes.

Chinese pirates fail in an attack on Manila.

1575

In Chile, an earthquake destroys the cities of Santiago and Concepción.

1576

Governor Juan de Pimental moves the capital of Venezuela from Coro to Caracas.

William of Orange drives the Spanish out of the Netherlands.

1578

English admiral Francis Drake captures and loots the port of Valparaíso in Chile.

The Moro Wars start in the Philippines. The Spanish send an expedition to attack the Muslim city of Jolo. They take the city, but cannot hold it due to stiff Muslim opposition.

1579

English seaman Francis Drake attacks Spanish shipping at Callo, Peru.

The United Provinces in the Netherlands forms.

1580

Juan de Garay and colonists from Asunción make the first permanent settlement at Buenos Aires.

Spain acquires Ceuta from Portugal. The North African port serves as an important Mediterranean location for goods coming from sub-Saharan Africa.

1581

The Spanish and Turks agree to peace in North Africa. Spain retains Melilla, Mers el-Kebir, and Oran.

Domingo de Salazar, first bishop of Manila, arrives in the Philippines.

1582

Salta is founded in Argentina.

1583

An *audiencia* is established at Manila, subordinate to that of New Spain.

1584

Juan de Garay is killed by Native Americans.

1585

Sir Francis Drake sacks and burns Santa Marta, Colombia.

1586

The first Jesuits arrive in Argentina.

Sir Francis Drake captures and loots Cartagena.

1587

Sir Francis Drake attacks Cádiz, Spain, destroying a Spanish fleet bound for the New World.

1588

The Spanish Armada is defeated in an attempt to invade England.

Corrientes is founded in Argentina.

1589

A royal decree abolishes the *audiencia* in the Philippines after citizens submit a petition.

La Guaira is founded as a port town for Caracas.

Spain cedes Arzila to Morocco.

1592

In Ecuador, a revolt springs up in opposition to the *alcabala* tax of 2 percent on all merchandise sold.

The *consulado* (merchants' guild), modeled on those in Spain, is established in Mexico City.

Juan Ramírez de Velasco founds Jujuy in Argentina.

The capital of Cuba is moved from Santiago de Cuba to Havana, although Santiago maintains administrative independence.

1593

Sir Richard Hawkins plunders Valparaíso, Chile.

The first *corregidores de Indios* are appointed in New Granada.

1594

Establishment of the *consulado* in New Spain.

1595

English pirate Amayas Preston captures and loots Caracas and Coro.

In his last expedition to the Caribbean, Sir Francis Drake captures Ríohacha and Santa Marta, but fails in an attempt to take San Juan, Puerto Rico.

1596

The *audiencia* is reestablished in the Philippines.

A large force of Spaniards and their Filipino allies attack Muslims on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines, meeting stiff resistance.

Diego de Montemayor founds Monterrey, Mexico.

1598

Philip II dies and his son, Philip III, assumes the throne.

An English expedition led by Lord George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, arrives in Puerto Rico, forcing the Spanish governor to surrender. The English deport Spanish authorities to Cartagena. Later in the year, the English leave the island.

Juan de Oñate takes formal possession of present-day New Mexico. Oñate and his followers explore the region over the next several years but find little wealth.

He resigns his governorship in 1607. The Spanish Crown retains the area and missionary work continues there.

1600

A series of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions begin to damage Arequipa, Peru. The natural disasters continue through 1604.

1603

A Chinese insurrection in the Philippines results in the massacre of many Chinese.

1604

Pedro Chirino publishes *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, the earliest account of the Philippines.

1605

A thousand Spanish soldiers arrive in Santiago, Chile, to help fight Native Americans.

Bishoprics are created at La Paz and Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Upper Peru.

Juan de Borja begins his term as captain-general of New Granada and president of the *audiencia* at Bogotá.

1606

A royal decree allows for the purchase of almost all offices in Spanish America.

Oruro is founded in Upper Peru and becomes the center of a silver boom.

1608

A royal decree allows for the enslavement of Araucanian Indians in Chile.

Borja's War starts in New Granada against the Pijao Indians.

1609

A truce begins between the Spanish and the Dutch; it lasts until 1621.

The Moriscos, or Spanish Muslims who converted to Christianity, are expelled from Spain. Many of them go to North Africa.

1610

The first Jesuit missions in Paraguay are established among the Guaraní.

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The Inquisition is established at Cartagena.

Spain cedes Larache to Morocco.

1612

Pijao resistance ends in New Granada.

1613

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is established in Peru.

1614

The University of Córdoba opens.

1616

The Dutch occupy Essequibo (modern-day Guyana).

1618

All settlements south of the confluence of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers are formed into the province of Río de la Plata under the viceroy of Peru. Buenos Aires becomes the capital and Diego de Gongora the first governor.

1620

Buenos Aires is made a Catholic bishopric, establishing the city as the key urban center of Argentina.

A royal mint begins operation at Bogotá.

1621

Philip III dies and his son, Philip IV, ascends to the Spanish throne.

A mint is established at Bogotá.

A royal decree establishes the University of Sucre, Bolivia, which opens in 1624.

Fighting renews in the Netherlands after the truce of 1609 expires.

1624

Rioting erupts in Mexico City over food shortages and a conflict between Viceroy Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel and Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Serna. The viceroy flees the city and never regains his position, as the Crown replaces him with Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio.

St. Francis Xavier University is founded at Sucre, Bolivia.

The English seize St. Kitts in the Leeward Islands.

In Uruguay, Jesuits under Bernardo de Guzman establish the first permanent settlement at Santo Domingo de Soriano along the Río Negro.

The English sack and burn Guayaquil, Ecuador.

1625

The Dutch launch an expedition against Puerto Rico.

1628

Dutch admiral Piet Heyn captures a Spanish treasure fleet off Cuba.

1629

Major flooding in Mexico City kills hundreds and forces many more to leave the city. Heavy rainfall and the failure of the government to control the waters of Lake Texcoco cause the flooding. The floodwater does not completely recede until 1634.

1630

The British settle Providence Island off the coast of Nicaragua and begin to challenge Spanish control of the Caribbean and Central America.

1633

Fiscal offices begin to be sold in Spanish America.

1634

The Dutch seize Curaçao in the Caribbean.

1635

The French take Martinique and Guadeloupe in the eastern Caribbean.

1639

The Chinese revolt in the Philippines.

1640

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza arrives in Mexico to serve as inspector-general of the viceroyalty and as bishop of Puebla. He clashes with the Franciscans and other religious orders over control of the Indians. He also fights with the viceroy, eventually forcing him to be removed. Palafox y Mendoza then temporarily takes control of the colony and launches a crusade against what he considers to be sinful behavior. A dispute with the Jesuits continues the controversy surrounding him, until he is removed by the Crown in 1649.

Portugal revolts against Spanish rule and achieves independence.

An uprising breaks out in Catalonia against Spanish control.

Despite Portuguese independence, Spain retains Tangier and Mazagan in North Africa.

1641

Spaniards and Native Americans sign a peace treaty in Chile. The agreement, which lasts until 1655, recognizes the Bío-Bío River as the boundary between Spanish and Indian territory.

1643

A Dutch fleet takes Valdivia in Chile. Plans for a Dutch colony are abandoned due to the failure of an alliance with Indians.

1645

The Pampangan revolt against Spanish rule in the Philippines.

1647

An earthquake partially destroys Santiago, killing more than 1,000 inhabitants.

Masaniello leads a popular uprising in Naples against Spanish rule.

1648

The Treaty of Westphalia recognizes the independence of the Netherlands from Spanish rule.

Under the Treaty of Munster, Spain recognizes the Dutch occupation of Guiana, east of the Essequibo River.

1652

The mission system is established in Venezuela.

1655

The British take Jamaica.

A Native American insurrection takes place in Chile.

1656

The bishopric of Coro is reestablished as the bishopric of Caracas.

1661

Antonio Gallardo leads a tax revolt in La Paz.

1665

Philip IV dies and his son, Charles II, becomes the new king of Spain.

1668

French pirates sack several Venezuelan cities.

1669

English pirate Henry Morgan sacks Maracaibo, Venezuela.

1670

Henry Morgan sacks Santa Marta and Ríohacha.

1673

The seminary of Santa Rosa is established at Caracas.

1675

Medellín is founded in Colombia.

1676

A royal decree allows the *cabildo* of Caracas to govern the province in the absence of the governor.

Spain authorizes establishment of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala, making it the first university in Central America.

1677

The sale of government posts, including *corregimientos* (tax collectors) and *alcaldias mayores* (mayoralties) starts.

The National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga opens in Ayacucho, Peru.

1679

Charles II of Spain issues a decree abolishing slavery in Chile.

1680

The Pueblo Rebellion starts in New Mexico. Unhappy over Spanish labor demands and the presence of missionaries, the Pueblo Indians kill hundreds of Spanish settlers. The survivors abandon the colony.

Portuguese from Rio de Janeiro construct a fort at Sacramento, across the river from Buenos Aires.

French pirates attack Santa Marta, Colombia.

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1683

French pirates led by Laurent Graff seize Veracruz, Mexico, looting the city, raping women, and holding the inhabitants hostage until a ransom is paid.

1687

Audiencia positions in the Spanish Empire are put up for sale.

The Jesuit Eusebio Kino begins his missionary work in the Pimería Alta region (present-day Sonora and Arizona). He converts thousands of Pima Indians, and remains in the area until his death in 1711.

An earthquake destroys Lima and its port, Callao. Many citizens leave the city in panic. Lima becomes dependent on food from Chile because the region's irrigation system is also ruined by the earthquake.

1692

A food shortage in Mexico City leads to rioting. The rioters burn the viceregal palace, destroy government buildings, and loot numerous shops. Many people are killed or wounded.

1695

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is created at Bogotá.

French forces sack Cartagena.

1697

A French expedition pillages Caracas.

A French fleet attacks and forces the surrender of Cartagena.

The Treaty of Ryswick cedes the western third of Hispaniola to the French.

1698

The British attempt to establish a colony with 1,200 settlers in Panama. The colony is abandoned in 1699. Some settlers return, but in 1700, repeated Spanish attacks lead to the final abandonment of the colony.

1700

Charles II, the last Hapsburg ruler of Spain, dies. Philip V becomes the first Bourbon king of Spain.

1701

The War of the Spanish Succession starts. It lasts until 1714.

1702

Philip V grants the slave *asiento* (contract or agreement) concession to the French Guinea Company in acknowledgment of French aid in his succession to the Spanish throne. The French would bring thousands of African slaves to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, particularly through Buenos Aires.

1704

The viceroy of Peru orders the seizure of Colonia del Sacramento from the Portuguese.

1709

Pirates sack Guayaquil, forcing the inhabitants to pay ransom.

1712

Mayan communities in Chiapas, Mexico, revolt against Spanish authorities in defense of a new cult of the Virgin Mary. Many Spanish and mestizo priests and settlers are killed before the insurrection is put down in 1713.

1713

The Treaty of Utrecht near the end of the War of the Spanish Succession grants the slave *asiento* concession to the British South Sea Company, which establishes a commercial base at Buenos Aires. The British bring some 18,000 slaves to the Spanish colonies between 1714 and 1739, about half of whom pass through the port of Buenos Aires. The same treaty also cedes Gibraltar to the British.

1714

The Ministry of the Indies is created by Spain.

1716

More permanent Spanish settlement starts in Texas. Some explorers and missionaries had been in Texas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but French incursions from Louisiana force the Spaniards to seek a more significant presence there. Capt. Domingo Ramón leads an expedition that results in the founding of six missions and a presidio.

1717

The viceroyalty of New Granada (Colombia) is established, with Bogotá as the capital.

Diego de los Reyes is appointed governor of Paraguay.

A rebellion by tobacco farmers in Cuba leads to the resignation of the governor and the suspension of the tobacco monopoly.

The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) transfers from Seville to Cádiz.

1718

The *audiencia* of Quito is suppressed and administrative authority is transferred to Bogotá.

Mission San Antonio de Valero and Presidio San Antonio de Béxar are established in Texas.

1720

The Marqués de Aguayo leads a 500-man expedition to Texas to reestablish missions that had been abandoned due to French incursions.

A thousand Spanish soldiers arrive in Havana to help restore the tobacco monopoly.

1721

In Caracas, the seminary of Santa Rosa is elevated to status of university. In 1725, it becomes the Real y Pontífica Universidad de Caracas (Royal and Pontifical University of Caracas).

José de Antequera is appointed to investigate charges of rebellious activities against Diego de los Reyes, the governor of Paraguay. Antequera is to assume the position of governor at the end of Reyes's term, or sooner, if Antequera finds that Reyes should be removed. Antequera deposes and imprisons Reyes five months before the end of his term.

1722

The *audiencia* of Quito is reestablished briefly under the jurisdiction of Peru.

The viceroy of Argentina orders that Governor Diego de los Reyes of Paraguay should complete his term. José de Antequera resists the order.

The *Gaceta de México*, the first newspaper published in Latin America, circulates in Mexico City. The paper contains official notices along with news about religion, trade, society, and new books.

1723

The viceroyalty of New Granada is abolished due to high administrative costs. The *audiencia* at Quito is reestablished once again.

The Portuguese fortify the heights around the Bay of Montevideo.

The viceroy of Argentina commands José de Antequera to comply with his order to restore Governor Diego de los Reyes to power. Gen. García Ros is charged with carrying out the viceroy's command.

The government at Asunción requests that the king banish the Jesuits from Paraguay.

A revolt by tobacco farmers in Cuba is put down, with many deaths and executions.

1724

At the Battle of Tebicuary in Paraguay, José de Antequera defeats Gen. García Ros.

1725

José de Antequera flees Paraguay due to the approach of troops sent by the viceroy and led by General Prado Zabala.

1726

Spaniards from Buenos Aires found Montevideo in present-day Uruguay.

José de Antequera of Paraguay is taken prisoner in Lima.

A royal decree separates thirteen Jesuit pueblos of the Misiones district in Paraguay and places them under jurisdiction of Buenos Aires.

1728

A royal decree grants special concessions in Venezuela to the Guipúzcoa Company in return for protection of the coast from foreigners. The company ends up dominating the cacao trade between Venezuela and Spain.

The University of Havana is established in Cuba.

1729

Gaceta de Guatemala becomes the first newspaper in Central America.

1730

Castas (people of mixed race) revolt in Cochabamba against Spanish attempts to collect tribute from mestizos, who had generally been exempt.

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1731

José de Antequera of Paraguay is publicly executed.

A mint is established in Guatemala.

1732

In Paraguay, Jesuits are expelled from their college at Asunción and their property is plundered.

1733

Governor Manuel Augustín de Ruiloba of Paraguay is assassinated.

1734

Don Carlos, the son of Philip V of Spain, becomes king of the Two Sicilies.

1735

The Spanish begin an unsuccessful attempt to besiege Colonia del Sacramento.

The viceroy of Argentina sends troops from Buenos Aires to restore order in Paraguay and reinstate the Jesuits in their college.

1736

In cooperation with the French Academy, Spaniards Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa embark on a mission to Peru to measure a degree of the meridian at the equator.

The Spanish reduce the tax on silver from Potosí from one-fifth to one-tenth in hopes of increasing production.

San José is founded in Costa Rica.

1738

The University of Santiago is established in Chile.

1739

The British slave *asiento* ends.

The British capture Portobelo in Panama.

The viceroyalty of New Granada is reestablished.

Juan Vélez de Córdoba leads a tax revolt in Oruro. The movement seeks to restore the Inca monarchy and to abolish tribute payments, the *mita* system (forced Indian labor), and the forced sale of merchandise to Indians.

1740

José Espinola leads an expedition from Asunción into the interior of the Chaco region.

The Havana Trading Company is chartered.

1741

During the War of Jenkins' Ear, Adm. Edward Vernon leads a major British attack on Cartagena. The Spanish successfully repel the attempted invasion.

1742

Juan Santos, who claims to be a direct descendant of the Inca ruler Atahualpa, leads an Indian rebellion in east-central Peru. The rebels destroy Franciscan missions and raid the Peruvian highlands until 1752.

1746

Philip V of Spain dies. He is succeeded by his son, Ferdinand VI.

1749

Francisco de León leads an uprising in Caracas protesting the domination of the Guipúzcoa Company. León and his son are later sent to jail in Spain.

1750

In the Treaty of Madrid, Spain cedes seven Jesuit missions and their 30,000 inhabitants to the Portuguese in exchange for Colonia del Sacramento in Uruguay. The Jesuits resist the exchange, leading to an armed revolt among the missions.

Montevideo is made a provincial government independent of Buenos Aires.

1751

The *audiencia* of Panama is abolished.

1752

A royal monopoly is established over the sale of liquor in Guatemala.

1755

The Barcelona Trading Company is chartered to trade with Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Margarita.

1756

The Seven Years' War starts.

In Peru, the forced sale of merchandise to Native American communities is legalized.

1759

Charles III becomes king of Spain, giving up the title of king of the Two Sicilies to his son, Ferdinand.

1761

Colonia del Sacramento surrenders to the Spanish.

The Indian Jacinto Uc, who took the name Canek, leads an anti-Spanish rebellion in the town of Quisteil in the Yucatán. He is soon captured and executed, becoming a symbol of Indian resistance.

1762

After a yearlong siege, Havana surrenders to the English during the Seven Years' War. The British open trade with Havana, which allows the economy of Cuba to prosper.

The British occupy Manila.

1763

Spain regains control of Cuba.

The Treaty of Paris restores Colonia del Sacramento to Portuguese rule.

1764

A royal decree creates the position of intendant in Cuba, the first in the New World. The intendency system is meant to improve government efficiency and centralization, as well as increase revenues from the colonies.

The British end their occupation of Manila.

1765

José de Gálvez arrives in Mexico to begin a six-year inspection. Gálvez travels extensively throughout the colony and makes many recommendations for reforms.

Riots break out in Quito in response to the establishment of the *aguardiente* (brandy) monopoly and the stricter collection of a sales tax. Both the elite and the masses join in opposition to the measures, which are subsequently suspended.

A number of ports in the Caribbean are allowed to trade with Spanish ports other than Cádiz.

1767

The Jesuits are expelled from Spain and its empire.

1769

Spain colonizes Upper California. In response to possible Russian encroachments in the region, José de Gálvez sends a large expedition from Mexico headed by Caspar de Portolá. The Spaniards found a settlement and mission at San Diego, visit San Francisco Bay, and build a presidio at Monterey. The religious leader of the expedition is Junípero Serra, who founds a total of nine missions in Upper California.

1773

A series of earthquakes destroys Santiago de Guatemala (present-day Antigua Guatemala).

1774

Spain removes all duties on Cuban imports.

1776

The viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, independent of Peru, is created.

In Mexico, a new administrative unit called the *provincia interna* is created, which includes the provinces of Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, New Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, and California. This change is in response to increased pressure on the region by both Indians and other Europeans. The new unit is headed by a commander-general who is largely independent of the viceroy and who concentrates on military matters.

Spain allows Cuban ports to trade directly with the British North American colonies in support of the war against Great Britain.

The capital of Guatemala is moved to the site of present-day Guatemala City.

1777

A royal decree appoints an intendant for Venezuela and organizes the colony as a captaincy-general independent of New Granada.

Portugal cedes Uruguay to Spain in the Treaty of San Ildefonso.

Pedro de Cevallos, the first viceroy of Río de la Plata, arrives with 9,000 Spanish soldiers at Montevideo. Cevallos forces the Portuguese in Colonia del Sacramento to surrender, and then formalizes the status of Río de la Plata as a viceroyalty.

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In Mexico, a royal decree establishes the *Real Cuerpo de Minería* (a guild of mine owners) to promote the colony's mining interests.

Inspector-general José Antonio de Areche arrives in Lima. He implements a program that includes tax increases and tighter administrative control over Peru. When he fails to end long-standing abuses in the region, a rebellion breaks out in the early 1780s.

1778

A decree of "free trade" allows trade between Spanish America (except for New Spain and Venezuela) and thirteen ports in Spain.

Spain receives from Portugal the islands of Fernando Po and Annobón off the coast of West Africa.

1779

Spain joins the American Revolution against Great Britain. It regains possession of Florida.

1780

Under the name Tupac Amaru II, the mestizo (mixed European-Indian heritage) José Gabriel Condorcanqui leads a revolt of Indians and mestizos in Peru directed at such abuses of the Spanish colonial system as forced labor and excessive taxation. The rebels execute the Spanish governor of the Tinta province and Tupac Amaru II declares himself Inca.

In the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, Carmen de Patagones is founded near the mouth of the Río Negro. It is the first permanent European settlement in Patagonia.

1781

Spanish authorities suppress the revolt in Peru and execute Tupac Amaru II.

The Comunero Revolt occurs in Colombia when Creoles and mestizos protest increased taxes and monopolies. After some initial success by the rebels, Spanish authorities meet several of their demands for economic reform. Once the rebels disperse, the viceroy arrests and executes the leaders.

In Venezuela, the Guipúzcoa Company loses its special privileges.

Andrés Tupac Amaru, the purported son of Tupac Amaru II, continues and expands the Indian revolt

against Spanish authority. He besieges and floods the city of Sorata, and is later joined by the Creole Jacinto Rodríguez in his rebellion. However, Argentine troops suppress the rebellion and execute the leaders.

Rebel leader Julián Apaza, known as Tupac Catari, leads a force of 80,000 Indians in a siege of La Paz. The siege is unsuccessful and troops from Argentina defeat and execute Tupac Catari.

1782

Antonio Caballero y Góngora begins his term as viceroy of New Granada.

1783

The intendant system is established in the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata.

1784

Francisco de Miranda visits the United States, giving him inspiration to seek independence from Spain.

The Guipúzcoa Company is abolished. A move toward free trade and the company's inability to carry out its obligation of supplying slaves and goods leads the Spanish government to end the company's monopoly over the cacao trade from Venezuela to Spain.

The intendant system is introduced in Peru.

1786

An *audiencia* is established at Caracas.

Intendancies are created for Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Chiapas.

A royal decree divides Mexico into twelve intendancies.

1787

An *audiencia* is established at Cuzco. It is the last one created in the Spanish colonies and is formed largely in response to the Andean rebellions that had taken place several years earlier.

In Quito, the intellectual publisher and advocate of mestizo rights, Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo is arrested as a subversive. He is acquitted at his trial in Bogotá.

1788

King Charles III dies and his son, Charles IV, ascends to the Spanish throne.

1789

The Crown extends free trade to New Spain and Venezuela, meaning these regions now can trade with Spanish ports other than Cádiz and that the fleet system has come to an end.

1790

Diario de Lima, the first daily newspaper in Latin America, is established. It is published until 1793.

The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) is abolished.

1792

A School of Mines is created in Mexico.

1793

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is established at Caracas.

In Bogotá, Antonio Nariño publishes a Spanish version of the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man*. Nariño is jailed and sent to Spain, but returns in 1797 and later participates in the wars of independence.

1794

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is established at Havana.

1795

Blacks and mulattos lead a revolt in Coro, Venezuela. Led by Leonardo Chirinos, a free *zambo*, or person of mixed African-Indian descent, and José Caridad González, a free black, some 300 slaves and free blacks attack haciendas in the Venezuelan sugar-growing region. The revolt is quickly put down by authorities.

The *consulado* (merchants' guild) is established at Cartagena.

Spain and France agree to the Peace of Basle, thus ending a brief invasion by revolutionary French forces.

The *consulados* (merchants' guilds) are established in Guadalajara and Veracruz.

1797

Authorities discover a plot in Venezuela to establish a republic. Led by Manuel Gual and José María España, the plotters also plan to abolish slavery and Indian tribute and call for free trade. However, many of the elite Creoles are wary of the calls for racial equality. The

two leaders flee Venezuela. Gual dies in 1800, perhaps of poison; España returns to Venezuela, but is hanged in 1799.

The British take Trinidad.

The British fail in an attack on Puerto Rico.

Spain allows its colonies to trade with neutral countries.

An earthquake devastates much of Colombia.

1799

Alexander von Humboldt, a German naturalist, arrives in Spanish America for a five-year scientific mission, visiting the Caribbean, Mexico, and northern South America. His visit brings more international attention to the region.

1801

Troops from Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti) conquer Spanish-controlled Santo Domingo, bringing the entire island under the control of Toussaint L'Ouverture. The following year, Spanish residents help French troops repel Toussaint's forces. As a result of the invasion, the *audiencia* is transferred to Cuba.

1804

A Spanish decree orders the sequestration of the charitable funds of the Roman Catholic Church in the colonies. The Spanish government issues the decree soon after it goes to war with Britain to help pay for the war effort. The measure is unpopular in the colonies because many colonists have to repay large sums of money they had borrowed from the church.

1806

Francisco de Miranda attempts to launch a rebellion in Venezuela. He raises a volunteer force of 150 men in the United States. The attempt fails.

A British force occupies Buenos Aires. Great Britain is at war with Spain and views the Spanish colonies as targets and as potential markets for British goods. The Spanish viceroy flees to Córdoba. A local Creole militia successfully repels the British force.

1807

The British attack and capture Montevideo in February. In September they evacuate the city. The British unsuccessfully attack Buenos Aires. Creole

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success in defeating the invaders without Spanish aid helps foster a sense of nationalism among the colonists.

1808

Charles IV of Spain abdicates in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII. Following the French occupation of Spain, Ferdinand VII is imprisoned and forced to relinquish his crown. The French emperor Napoleon places his brother, Joseph, on the Spanish throne. A national junta emerges in Spain.

The Spanish Cortes allows representatives from the colonies.

In Mexico, the *audiencia* and the peninsular elite depose the viceroy, whom they view as too partial to the Creoles. They install a more compliant viceroy and form the Volunteers of Ferdinand VII, a private army to defend their interests. These actions cause much resentment among the Creoles.

1809

In Buenos Aires, a Spanish conspiracy to overthrow Viceroy Santiago Liniers is unsuccessful. Spaniards consider him too friendly toward the Creoles and do not trust him as a foreigner. He is later removed by the Spanish Central Junta and replaced by Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros.

Radical Creoles seize the intendant and bishop in La Paz, and a governing junta declares independence. The viceroy of Peru sends troops that defeat the rebels. Nine rebel leaders are executed and others go into exile.

Creoles in Quito overthrow the *audiencia* and form a governing junta. They claim to be acting in the name of Ferdinand VII, whom they view as the legitimate king of Spain. At the same time, they denounce Spanish domination of the colonial government. The viceroy of Peru forces the junta to surrender and restores the *audiencia* to power.

The first English firm opens for business in Manila after Spain begins to allow foreign companies to operate in the Philippines. By 1859, there are fifteen foreign companies in Manila.

1810

In Caracas, Creoles overthrow Spanish authorities and form a junta that claims to rule in the name of

Ferdinand VII. The exiled Francisco de Miranda returns to Venezuela.

In Buenos Aires, Creoles depose the viceroy and form a governing junta. While claiming to act in the name of Ferdinand VII, the junta acts as if it is independent of Spain. Other parts of the viceroyalty do not support the junta, fearing that their economic interests will suffer under the domination of Buenos Aires. This conflict continues well after the independence period.

In Bogotá, Creoles overthrow the viceroy of New Granada and form a junta. Conflict soon arises among the Creoles over how much autonomy the various provinces will have, as some support a more federalist government, while others prefer a centralist regime.

In Quito, a mob attacks a jail to free prisoners who have been jailed after the 1809 uprising. Royalist troops kill 70 prisoners and 300 other people. After the massacre, Creoles form a junta that rules until 1812, when it is crushed by royalist forces.

“Grito de Dolores” becomes a battle cry in Mexico when a Creole priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, leads a revolt against Spanish rule. Hidalgo soon attracts a large following of Indians and mestizos, who seek a true social revolution by attacking both Creoles and Spaniards.

Creoles remove Spanish officials in Santiago, Chile, and form a junta that rules in the name of Ferdinand VII, although many Creoles already favor outright independence.

The garrison at Montevideo attempts a mutiny.

Domingo Murillo, the independence leader in Upper Peru, is executed.

The Cortes de Cádiz, or parliament, starts deliberations to propose a liberal constitution for Spain.

1811

In Mexico, royalists defeat and capture Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and other rebel leaders. Spanish officials execute Hidalgo.

In Caracas, Creoles declare outright independence from Spain and establish a republic. They encounter stiff opposition from royalists, often supported by

Venezuela's black and mulatto population, who view the Creoles as their true oppressors.

In Uruguay, patriot leader José Gervasio Artigas declares independence and defeats Spanish forces in several battles with assistance from Buenos Aires. Uruguay is declared part of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. Soon Portuguese troops from Brazil invade Uruguay in hopes of taking over the long-coveted territory. Under British pressure, the Portuguese withdraw the following year. Artigas determines that Uruguay must become independent from both Spain and Buenos Aires.

Paraguay effectively achieves independence from both Spain and Buenos Aires. Initially, a three-man junta is set up to rule from Asunción. One of its members, José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, soon becomes the dictator of Paraguay, ruling until 1840.

The first revolt against Spanish rule in Central America begins in San Salvador.

In Upper Peru, General Manuel Belgrano from Buenos Aires is decisively defeated by the Spaniards.

1812

The liberal Constitution of Cádiz is ratified.

In Venezuela, a major earthquake destroys much of Caracas and the surrounding towns, killing many pro-independence Creoles. Royalists point to the disaster as “proof” that God is against the rebels. Soon, the rebels suffer a number of defeats and Francisco de Miranda surrenders to Spanish forces. Miranda is then arrested when Simón Bolívar, angry over his capitulation, allows him to be caught.

1813

Simón Bolívar, the leader of patriot forces in Venezuela, enters Caracas and declares the Second Republic. However, he is unable to defeat royalist forces led by José Tomás Boves, who leads an army of Venezuelan *llaneros* (cowboys).

José María Morelos y Pavón, who succeeded Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla as the leader of the Mexican revolt against Spain, declares Mexico's independence at a congress in Chilpancingo.

The French are expelled from Spain.

The first intendant is established in Puerto Rico.

1814

Ferdinand VII is restored to the Spanish throne.

The first constitution of Mexico is issued by José María Morelos y Pavón from the city of Apatzingán.

Argentine land and naval forces defeat a Spanish squadron and garrison at Montevideo.

Royalist forces defeat Simón Bolívar and force him into exile.

Creoles take control of Cuzco, Peru. In hopes of widening their support, they obtain the backing of Mateo García Pumacahua, an Indian leader who had been loyal to Spain. The movement, which seeks independence from Spain and Lima, soon spreads to other Peruvian cities. However, many Creoles do not join, fearing an Indian rebellion. By 1815, the rebellion is defeated.

Spanish rule in Chile is restored when royalists defeat the forces of revolutionary leader Bernardo O'Higgins at the Battle of Rancagua.

1815

Spanish general Pablo Morillo arrives in Venezuela from Spain with 10,000 troops. After defeating patriots there, he moves on to New Granada, where he occupies Cartagena after a 100-day siege. Morillo exiles or executes many rebels and confiscates the property of many others.

José María Morelos y Pavón is captured and executed in Mexico.

The governor of Buenos Aires recognizes the independence of Uruguay, with José Gervasio Artigas as its leader.

1816

Francisco de Miranda dies in a Spanish jail.

The Congress of Tucumán formally declares the independence of Buenos Aires and other provinces that later comprise Argentina. The delegates at the congress issue a constitution for a new United Provinces, although delegates from a number of key provinces are absent, demonstrating resistance to potential domination by Buenos Aires.

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José Gervasio Artigas invades the Misiones territory in a dispute with Brazil, but suffers heavy losses. The Portuguese had once again invaded the territory when Spain abandoned it in 1815.

Simón Bolívar returns to Venezuela to continue the independence movement. He goes to the *llanos*, the plains in the interior of Venezuela, and later establishes his headquarters at Angostura (present-day Ciudad Bolívar). With the aid of José Antonio Páez, a leader in Venezuela's independence movement, he gains the key support of the *llaneros*.

1817

Portuguese troops from Rio de Janeiro invade Uruguay, defeating José Gervasio Artigas and capturing Montevideo.

José de San Martín leads a 5,000-man army across the Andes from the Río de la Plata to Chile. Along with Bernardo O'Higgins, San Martín's forces capture Santiago and O'Higgins is made the supreme director of Chile.

A royal ordinance of colonization is promulgated in Cuba. Foreigners living in Cuba are required to profess their Catholicism, swear allegiance to Spain, and promise to obey all laws and ordinances.

1818

Bernardo O'Higgins declares the formal independence of Chile. Independence is assured when José de San Martín defeats Spanish forces at the Battle of Maipú.

Spain legalizes free commerce with foreigners in Cuba.

1819

Simón Bolívar calls for a congress to meet at Angostura, Venezuela. The congress adopts a republican constitution for Venezuela and makes Bolívar the president. Later, Bolívar's forces defeat the Spanish at the Battle of Boyacá near Bogotá, ending royalist control of New Granada. Later in the year, the congress of Angostura creates the republic of Colombia, which joins New Granada and Venezuela.

1820

José de San Martín arrives in Peru.

Maj. Rafael de Riego y Núñez leads a military revolt in Spain. Troops preparing to go to the New World force Ferdinand VII to restore the liberal constitution of 1812.

José Gervasio Artigas is exiled from Uruguay and granted asylum in Paraguay.

1821

In Mexico, Agustín de Iturbide issues the Iguala Plan calling for independence from Spain. The plan is conservative in nature, calling for a monarchy, the preservation of the status of the Roman Catholic Church and the military, and unity between Creoles and Spaniards. It offers social stability in light of the liberalism that dominates Spanish politics. Spain recognizes Mexican independence in the Treaty of Córdoba, but later repudiates it.

Simón Bolívar's armies defeat the Spaniards at the Battle of Carabobo near Valencia, Venezuela, marking the final patriot triumph and the effective independence of Venezuela.

After arriving by sea from Chile under the protection of Chilean ships commanded by the British naval officer Thomas Cochrane, José de San Martín leads his forces into Lima after Spanish forces evacuate the city. San Martín declares the independence of Peru and is named as the protector of Peru with supreme civil and military power.

A congress in Cúcuta issues a new constitution for Colombia, which comprises modern-day Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. The document provides for a highly centralized government. It also calls for the gradual abolition of slavery. Simón Bolívar is elected president and Francisco de Paula Santander is chosen vice-president. Later, Creoles in Panama declare independence from Spain and join Colombia.

Brazil annexes Uruguay as the Cisplatine province.

In response to the events in Mexico, the elite of Guatemala declare the independence of Central America from Spain. Under pressure from Agustín de Iturbide and also wanting to maintain stability, Central Americans choose to unite with Mexico.

The Dominican Republic declares its independence from Spain.

1822

President Jean-Pierre Boyer of Haiti announces that he will annex the Dominican Republic. Haiti rules the Dominican Republic for the next twenty-two years.

Agustín de Iturbide becomes the emperor of Mexico after the Mexican congress bestows the title upon him under military pressure. Iturbide lacks widespread support, encounters financial problems, and is criticized for his dictatorial methods.

Antonio José de Sucre and patriot forces defeat the Spaniards in the Battle of Pichincha outside Quito, marking the effective independence of Ecuador.

Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín meet at Guayaquil, Ecuador, to discuss how to proceed against Spain. San Martín withdraws from the independence movement, while Bolívar completes the liberation of Peru.

Costa Rica formally proclaims its union with Mexico.

Governor Juan Antonio Martínez arrives in the Philippines from Spain. Martínez brings many peninsular-born officials to replace those of Mexican birth, who are now distrusted after Mexican independence. This situation causes much resentment and leads to plots against the Spanish authorities.

The United States, under President James Monroe, becomes the first non-Latin American country to recognize the newly formed republics carved out of the Spanish colonies, acknowledging the independence of Colombia first and then Mexico.

1823

Andrés Bello leads a revolt in the Philippines against the Spanish authorities. The rebels capture the palace and barracks in Manila, but the uprising ends in defeat and its leaders are shot.

Due to opposition from large landowners and the Roman Catholic Church, Bernardo O'Higgins resigns as supreme director of Chile.

Central America declares its independence from Mexico. A congress in Guatemala forms a republic known as the United Provinces, made up of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Manuel José Arce of El Salvador is selected as the first president and the capital is established at Guatemala City.

In Cuba, José Francisco Lemus plots the overthrow of the Spanish government on the island. Lemus, a veteran of Simón Bolívar's armies, is arrested and jailed. While there are many plots against Spanish rule,

the presence of a large number of royalists and the fear of a slave revolt prevents the independence of Cuba.

Simón Bolívar arrives in Lima and is given dictatorial power to carry out the war against Spain.

U.S. president James Monroe issues the Monroe Doctrine, stating that the Americas are no longer open to European colonization.

1824

The Battles of Junín and Ayacucho are the last major confrontations of the wars of independence in Latin America. The viceroy of Peru and his generals are taken prisoner at Ayacucho, marking the effective independence of Peru.

Mexico approves a federalist constitution.

El Salvador enters the United Provinces of Central America.

1825

Upper Peru acquires its independence, taking on the name of Bolivia in honor of Simón Bolívar.

Brazil and Argentina begin the Cisplatine War for the control of Uruguay.

1826

Simón Bolívar organizes a congress at Panama City to organize a common government for the newly liberated lands of Latin America but only representatives from Gran Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru attend.

1828

Brazil and Argentina recognize the effective independence of Uruguay at the conclusion of the Cisplatine War.

1829

The British Slave Trade Commissioners occupy the island of Fernando Po to stop the trade in slaves from this Spanish-controlled island to British colonial possessions. They remain until 1833, when Britain ends slavery in its colonies.

1830

Provincial governments are established in the Philippines.

Great Britain recognizes Spanish sovereignty over the island of Fernando Po.

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South American revolutionary hero Simón Bolívar dies.

1832

The Commercial Court is established in the Philippines.

The Supreme Court is established in Puerto Rico.

1834

Spain officially opens Manila to international trade.

1836

Spain and the sultan of Sulu (in the Philippines) sign a treaty of commerce.

1841

The Tagalog priest Apolinario de la Cruz, also known as Hermano Pule, leads a revolt in the Philippines. The uprising begins after the government cracks down on the *Cofradia de San Jose*, a popular religion brotherhood started in 1840 by Pule, and arrests many of its followers. Government forces defeat and capture the rebel leader, who is later executed.

1844

Rumors of a conspiracy lead to a government crackdown in Cuba on those suspected of plotting a slave uprising called the *La Escalera* revolt. Government agents and planters question and torture thousands of slaves and free blacks in western Cuba. It is unclear if the rumored conspiracy really existed. The incident leads to a reduction in the slave trade with Cuba.

The Spanish settle in the area that becomes the province of Río Muni in present-day Equatorial Guinea in West Africa.

1847

Spain makes Ceuta the administrative headquarters for all its African coastal settlements.

1850

The Board of Authorities, a more modern administration, is created in the Philippines.

1851

A filibustering expedition led by Narciso López sails from New Orleans for Havana. This is López's third attempt. Many of his followers are Southerners who favor U.S. annexation of Cuba. Spanish authorities

quickly stop the expedition, imprisoning or executing many of the participants.

Spaniards attack and take the town of Jolo on Jolo Island in the Sulu archipelago.

Banco Español-Filipino, the first government bank in the Philippines, is established.

1854

The Ostend Manifesto is prepared by three U.S. diplomats in Europe. The document emphasizes the importance of Cuba to the United States and recommends that the United States purchase the island from Spain. If Spain refused to sell, the United States would be justified in taking the island.

1855

In the Philippines, Spain opens the ports of Sual, Iloilo, and Zamboanga to world trade.

1859

Spain declares war on Morocco after attacks by Moorish pirates.

1860

In the Philippines, Spain opens the port of Cebu to world trade.

The boundaries between Morocco and Spain's exclaves—Melilla and Ceuta—are formally established in a treaty following Spain's invasion of Morocco.

1861

The governor-general in the Philippines ceases to be also the president of the *audiencia*. The Council of Administration is created.

Believing that the Dominican Republic needs a foreign protector, the caudillo Pedro Santana proclaims the annexation of the country by Spain.

1865

The last Spanish troops leave the Dominican Republic due to growing resistance to Spain's attempt to regain the colony.

1868

A revolution erupts in Cádiz against the rule of Queen Isabella II, who is deposed.

An uprising known as the *Grito de Lares* occurs in Puerto Rico in which a small group of planters,

laborers, and slaves declare independence from Spain and the formation of a republic. Spanish forces soon put down the rebellion.

In the *Grito de Yara*, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes leads a revolt against Spanish rule in Cuba. The revolt marks the start of the Ten Years' War. Most of the rebellion's support comes from the eastern part of Cuba, including sugar planters, small landholders, and free blacks.

1869

Liberal Spanish governor Carlos María de la Torre arrives in the Philippines.

1870

The monarchy is restored in Spain.

Spain declares the gradual abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico and Cuba. The Moret Law states that all children born to slave parents are free, although they remain attached to their owners until the age of eighteen. Slaves over age sixty also are freed.

1871

The locally elected Diputación Provincial (Provincial Discussion Council), the first nominal self-governing body in Puerto Rico, begins sessions.

In the Philippines, Gen. Rafael de Izquierdo replaces Carlos María de la Torre as governor following the restoration of the monarchy in Spain.

1872

Sgt. Fermin Lamadrid leads a mutiny of soldiers and workers in Cavite, the Philippines. The mutiny fails and the leaders are imprisoned and executed. The executions hasten the growth of Philippine nationalism.

1873

Slavery is abolished in Puerto Rico.

In the Philippines, Spain opens the ports of Legaspi and Tacloban to world trade.

1874

The Secretariat of the Central Government, a new reform administration, is created in the Philippines.

1876

The new Spanish constitution allows representation for Cuba and Puerto Rico.

1878

The Ten Years' War ends in Cuba with the Pact of Zanjón. Some self-government is allowed and slaves who had joined the rebel armies are freed.

1881

The Society of Canary-African Fishermen, a prominent commercial organization, establishes a trading post on the Río de Oro opposite the Canary Islands in the region later known as Spanish Sahara.

1884

In response to British interest in the area, Spain declares a protectorate over the West African coast from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanc. The trading post on the Río de Oro becomes Villa Cisneros (now Dakhla), the administrative center of Spanish Sahara.

1885

Spain declares a protectorate over the Río de Oro territory in West Africa.

1886

Slavery is abolished in Cuba.

The Spanish explore the interior of the Río de Oro region.

1887

The Autonomist Party of Puerto Rico, which advocates local self-government for the island, is created.

Spain places Río de Oro under the administration of the governor-general of the Canary Islands.

1889

The Liberal Party is organized in Puerto Rico.

1892

In the Philippines, José Rizal organizes the secret society Liga Filipina (Philippine League) in Manila and Andres Bonifacio creates another secret society known as the Katipunan (a Tagalog acronym for Highest, Most Honorable Society for the Children of the Nation).

José Martí and other Cuban exiles in the United States form the Cuban Revolutionary Party to end Spanish control of the island and establish an independent republic.

1893

Moors attack Spaniards in Morocco, forcing Spain to send reinforcements.

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1895

The war for independence is renewed in Cuba. The Cuban Revolutionary Party organizes an insurrection in the village of Baire near Santiago de Cuba. The fight soon spreads throughout the island. Due to losses suffered by U.S. interests and because of the violent actions of Spanish captain-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, there is growing pressure on U.S. president Grover Cleveland to intervene.

1896

Philippine nationalist José Rizal is arrested in Spain. After being sent back to the Philippines, he is tried and executed on charges of inciting revolution.

The Katipunan secret society in the Philippines revolts against Spanish rule and declares a republic. After Spanish authorities discover the society, the “Cry of Balintawak” marks the beginning of the first national armed uprising against Spain. The key rebel leader to emerge is Emilio Aguinaldo. The revolutionaries win several key victories against the Spaniards, who respond with a reign of terror in which many rebels are executed.

1897

As fighting continues in the Philippines, the rebels declare the Biaknabato Republic and issue their own constitution. Emilio Aguinaldo is selected as president. Later in the year, the Spanish governor seeks to make peace with the rebels and signs the Pact of Biaknabato, which ends the rebellion and calls for a three-year armistice. The agreement also specifies that the Spanish government pay damages to the rebels and that Aguinaldo go into exile.

Spain offers autonomy to Cuba and Puerto Rico, creating legislatures on each island and allowing for some degree of self-government. Spain hopes these measures will avoid U.S. intervention. Puerto Rico accepts the plan, but Cuba rejects the measures because much power is still left in the hands of Spanish authorities.

1898

Spain goes to war with the United States in the Spanish-American War.

In the Philippines, Emilio Aguinaldo returns from exile, declares Philippine independence from Spain, and becomes president. However, the United States does not grant the Philippines its independence. Instead, it purchases the islands from Spain for \$20

million. This soon leads to an insurrection against U.S. rule that lasts until 1902.

Puerto Rico is ceded to the United States and Cuba is placed under U.S. military occupation after the end of hostilities in the Spanish-American War.

1900

Spain and France fix the boundary of Spanish Sahara.

1904

Fernando Po and Río Muni are organized into the Western African Territories, later known as Spanish Guinea.

Spain makes a secret treaty with France distinguishing respective spheres of influence and confirming the Spanish protectorate over Ifni and Spanish Sahara.

1912

France and Spain sign an agreement partitioning Morocco. Spain controls the northern third of the country, although the sultan of Morocco maintains nominal authority. France and Spain also fix the southern boundary of Morocco.

1913

In Spanish Guinea, a native-labor ordinance calls for compulsory labor for the unemployed who have no means of subsistence.

Spain designates its protectorate as Spanish Morocco. The Spanish area is far smaller than the French section and consists of two zones 500 miles apart.

1921

In Morocco, Riffian leader Abd el-Krim leads his tribe in an attack against a Spanish military post, capturing it and massacring 16,000 soldiers. He establishes the Republic of the Rif, which lasts until 1925.

1926

Spain places a military administration over the Rif region of Morocco, and begins developing railways and mining.

1936

In 1936, Gen. Francisco Franco airlifts his elite Army of Africa to the Spanish mainland to help the Nationalist uprising. Many Riffians from Morocco fight for Franco.

1956

The Spanish protectorate in Morocco ends and Spain begins its withdrawal from the country. Spain retains its West African holdings, along with Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa. Independent Morocco would be used as a base for guerrilla warfare against Spanish West Africa.

1958

Muhammad V of Morocco claims Moroccan sovereignty in Spanish Sahara.

1959

Ceuta, Melilla, and some islands off the coast of Africa are declared part of Spain rather than colonies or protectorates.

1964

Spain claims it should acquire sovereignty over Gibraltar after Great Britain gives Gibraltar control of its own internal affairs.

1967

A referendum in Gibraltar rejects ties to Spain.

1968

Spanish Guinea, now called Equatorial Guinea, gains its independence. The country's first president, Francisco Macías Nguema, soon becomes dictator.

1969

Spain returns the enclave of Ifni to Morocco to comply with a United Nations resolution on colonialism.

Phosphate deposits are discovered in Spanish Sahara, sparking Moroccan interest in the colony.

Spain closes its border with Gibraltar. It is not reopened until 1985.

1972

Spain begins producing and exporting phosphates from Spanish Sahara.

1974

King Hassan II of Morocco raises the issue of Moroccan claims in Spanish Sahara.

1975

Spain gives up Spanish Sahara, which is divided between Morocco and Mauritania. To enhance its claim, Morocco sends 350,000 people to the colony on the so-called Green March. A nationalist group known as Polisario (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio del Oro), which is backed by Algeria, contests Moroccan and Mauritanian sovereignty.

SWEDISH EMPIRE

JAMES CIMENT

1520

Under the leadership of nobleman Gustav Vasa, a revolt breaks out against Danish rule, leading to the independence of Sweden.

1624

The Swedish Crown and a number of noblemen establish the General Company for Commerce and Navigation with the Lands of Africa, Asia, America, and Magellanica, better known as the Southern Company.

1637

Peter Minuit, the Dutch settlement leader who had arranged for Holland's purchase of Manhattan Island,

is hired by Sweden to establish a trading post and settlement in North America.

1638

With two ships and a half-Dutch crew, Peter Minuit establishes a Swedish trading post and small settlement on the Delaware River. Minuit is lost at sea on his way back to Sweden to report on the establishment of the settlement.

1640–1651

Swedish investors establish a number of companies to exploit overseas trade, including several West India companies (1640–1793), the Levant Company (1646–1806), the Sugar Company (1647–1697), the

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African or Guinea Company (1649–1717), and the Tobacco Company (1651–1690).

1643

Johan Printz, the governor of New Sweden, establishes trading relations with the Delaware Indians.

1652

A Swedish investor named Henrik Carloff buys land from the king of the Futu at Cabo Corso on the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana). A slave-trading fort known as Cape Coast Castle is built there in 1655.

1653

Disappointed with the lack of support from the homeland for New Sweden, Johan Printz returns to Sweden.

1654

The largest contingent yet of Swedish settlers sets sail for the colony of New Sweden. The harrowing voyage, however, takes more than 100 lives out of the original contingent of 254. Among the survivors are the new governor, Johan Rising, and the fortifications expert,

Per Lindeström, who is hired to create defenses against the aggressive Dutch colonies in North America.

1655

Despite the arrival of the new colonists in New Sweden and Per Lindeström's hasty efforts to build some small forts, the Swedish settlers are unable to defend themselves against an attack by a fleet of seven Dutch ships. Holland takes over the colony, ending Sweden's presence in North America.

1657

Following the defection of a Danish commander of Cape Coast Castle, a Swedish force under the command of the original builder of the fort, Henrik Carloff, recaptures the slaving station on the Gold Coast after it was briefly occupied by the Dutch.

1660

A subordinate of Henrik Carloff makes an unauthorized sale of Cape Coast Castle to the Dutch and then absconds with the money, ending Sweden's formal control over any African territory.

U.S. EMPIRE

JOHN BARNHILL

1783

American independence eliminates the English barrier to westward expansion by the United States across the Appalachian Mountains.

1803

President Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France doubles the size of the United States.

1823

Under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States denies European powers the right to interfere in the affairs of nations in the Western Hemisphere.

1836

Texas wins its independence from Mexico.

1842

October 19 U.S. Navy captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, hearing a rumor that the British are preparing to take California, lands at Monterey, accepts the

surrender of California, and raises the American flag. Three days later, Jones, realizing he erred, returns California to Mexico.

1845

John O'Sullivan, editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, coins the phrase "Manifest Destiny." Advocates of Manifest Destiny want the United States to span the continent from ocean to ocean. Some want the Caribbean and Central America, especially Cuba.

The annexation of Texas by the United States precipitates the Mexican-American War.

1846–1848

The Mexican-American War goes favorably for the United States. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexico cedes almost a million square miles to the United States, including the present-day states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, and Utah.

1848

Narciso López escapes to the United States after Spanish authorities discover his plan for an uprising in Cuba. In the United States, López organizes a filibustering expedition to Cuba, which fails.

1850

Narciso López makes a second unsuccessful attempt against Cuba.

1851

Narciso López's final filibustering expedition reaches Cuba, where Spanish forces defeat it and capture and execute López.

1853

The United States acquires 29,600 square miles from Mexico in the Gadsden Purchase, giving the United States a favorable route for the construction of a southern transcontinental railroad.

1853–1854

William Walker, a proslavery adventurer, invades Lower California to seize it and Sonora from Mexico. The invasion fails and he is forced back to the United States. Tried for violating neutrality laws, Walker is acquitted by a sympathetic jury.

1855

June William Walker filibusters successfully in Nicaragua in cooperation with a revolutionary faction there. The United States recognizes his government in May 1856, and he declares himself president in July 1856. Pressured by Central American states and the United States, Walker surrenders to the U.S. Navy in May 1857. Walker is again acquitted of neutrality violations.

1856

The Guano Act provides that whenever a citizen of the United States finds guano on any island, rock, or key not belonging to another government and takes possession peacefully, the island, rock, or key belongs to the United States. Under this law the United States acquires the islands of Baker, Howland, Jarvis, and Navassa; the Midway Islands; the Kingman Reef; and the Johnston Atoll. These acquisitions provide the United States with fertilizer through the first decade of the twentieth century.

1860

From Honduras, U.S. filibuster William Walker makes his final attempt to conquer Central America. The

British capture him and turn him over to the Hondurans, who execute him.

1867

October For \$7.2 million, U.S. Secretary of State William Seward buys Alaska's 586,400 square miles from Russia. "Seward's Folly" costs approximately 2.5 cents per acre.

1868

A Puerto Rican rebellion against Spanish control fails.

1868–1878

Cuba fights a ten-year war of independence with Spain, prefiguring the insurrection of 1895 and the Spanish-American War of 1898.

1890

The western frontier unofficially closes and the Indian Wars end, meaning future territorial growth of the United States must be beyond the continent.

Historian Alfred T. Mahan publishes *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. Mahan calls for the acquisition of Caribbean islands, Hawaii, and the Philippines as bases for a Great White Fleet of armored, steam-powered battleships. Mahan also advocates an ocean-to-ocean canal.

1892

January Americans in Hawaii break from the Hawaiian monarchy and establish a provisional government. Sailors and marines from the USS *Boston* land to safeguard the American legation. The ultimate goal of the provisional government is annexation of Hawaii to the United States.

José Martí and other Cuban exiles in the United States form the Cuban Revolutionary Party.

1895

The Cuban revolution begins with a declaration of independence or death.

June 12 U.S. President Grover Cleveland proclaims U.S. neutrality in Cuba.

1896

Emilio Aguinaldo begins a rebellion in the Philippines against Spanish rule.

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In Cuba, Spanish captain-general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau proclaims martial law and begins moving Cubans to central locations under military control.

February 28 The U.S. Senate calls for Cuban independence in the Morgan-Cameron Resolution.

March 2 The U.S. House of Representatives passes a version of the Morgan-Cameron Resolution that calls for the recognition of Cuban belligerency.

1897

January William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, through sensational reporting on the Cuban insurrection, help strengthen anti-Spanish sentiment in the United States.

1898

January 1 Spain grants limited autonomy to Cuba.

February 9 The *New York Journal* publishes the confidential letter of Spanish ambassador Enrique Dupuy de Lôme. The letter's criticism of President William McKinley pushes Spain and the United States toward war.

February 15 An explosion sinks the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor.

March 29 The United States issues Spain an ultimatum to leave Cuba. The Spanish government rejects the ultimatum on April 1.

April 19 Congress's joint resolution for war against Spain includes Sen. Henry Moore Teller's amendment stating that the United States has no designs on Cuba other than to pacify it, and that the United States will leave Cuba at the end of the war.

April 25 The United States declares war on Spain. The "splendid little war" takes place in Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico.

May 1 American commodore George Dewey's squadron destroys the Spanish navy in the Philippines in several hours with no fatalities and few casualties.

June 11 The McKinley administration reopens debate on Hawaiian annexation because Hawaii is desired as a stepping-stone to China, where the European powers are busily carving out their spheres.

June 15 Congress passes a resolution on the annexation of Hawaii. Three weeks later the Senate affirms the measure.

July 8 The United States acquires Hawaii.

July 25 U.S. troops invade Puerto Rico at Guánica.

August 12 A cease-fire is announced between Spain and the United States.

December 10 Under the Treaty of Paris, Spain renounces its rights to Cuba, acknowledges Cuban independence, cedes Puerto Rico and the island of Guam to the United States, liquidates its possessions in the West Indies, and sells the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.

1899–1902

The United States occupies Cuba.

1899–1903

The Philippine-American War occurs when Emilio Aguinaldo realizes that the United States is a replacement colonial presence instead of an ally in his independence struggle. Casualties during the conflict include 4,234 dead and 2,818 wounded for the United States, and 20,000 military dead and 200,000 civilian dead for the Philippines.

1899–1941

Guam is administered by the U.S. Navy.

1900

February 16 The Treaty of Berlin goes into effect. Under this treaty, Great Britain and Germany give the United States all rights and claims over the eastern islands of Samoa.

April 17 The Samoan *matai* (chiefs) of Tutuila cede the islands of Tutuila and Aunuu to the United States.

1901

The Platt Amendment to the U.S. Army appropriations bill of 1901 specifies the conditions under which the United States might intervene in Cuba. Written by Sen. Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, the amendment is incorporated into the Cuban constitution of 1901 and the 1903 treaty between the United States and Cuba. The amendment justifies interventions in 1906, 1912, 1917, and 1920, and leads to protests by Cuban liberals. The Platt Amendment remains in force until

the treaty between the two nations is renegotiated in 1934.

Great Britain gives up its right to share control of the Panama canal with the United States; the United States now has exclusive rights to develop a canal across the isthmus after purchasing rights from the French company that originally controlled these rights.

1902

Congress commits to a canal route through Panama, and President Theodore Roosevelt negotiates the right of way with Colombia. Wanting more money, Colombia rejects the agreement, angering Roosevelt, who indicates that he is not averse to a revolution in Panama.

1903

November 4 Panama declares its independence. The United States gives Panama \$10 million and begins construction of the canal, which ultimately takes eleven years to complete.

1904

The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine states that Europeans must stay out of the Western Hemisphere. The United States asserts the right to intervene in Latin America, which it will do frequently until the 1930s and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy (and infrequently after World War II). The United States intervenes first in Santo Domingo in an attempt to straighten out its financial problems. Over the next quarter century, the United States intervenes in Latin America thirty-two times.

France sells its interest in the Panama Canal to the United States for approximately \$40 million. The United States begins a ten-year construction project that costs approximately \$387 million.

July 16 In Samoa, the king and *matai* of the Manua Islands cede the islands of Tau, Ofu, Olosega, and Rose Atoll to the United States.

1904–1905

When Japan and Russia wage war in 1904 over control of Manchuria and Korea, President Theodore Roosevelt arbitrates the dispute. The next year, Roosevelt secretly agrees to Japan's annexation of Korea in return for Japanese promises to stay out of the Philippines.

1907–1909

President Theodore Roosevelt sends the Great White Fleet, sixteen new battleships, around the world to

show that the United States is a major world power, with its navy now a significant military force.

1914

After a Mexican refusal to salute the U.S. flag, an American battleship shells Veracruz, and U.S. Marines seize parts of the city.

1915–1934

The U.S. military engages in its first occupation of Haiti after political chaos threatens U.S. economic interest in the region.

1916–1924

U.S. forces occupy Santo Domingo to protect U.S. economic interests there.

1917

Puerto Ricans become U.S. citizens.

Denmark sells the Virgin Islands (St. Croix, St. John, St. Thomas) to the United States for \$25 million. The islands become unincorporated territory under the sovereignty of the United States.

1925

Swains Island becomes part of American Samoa by joint resolution of Congress.

1926

July 29 President Calvin Coolidge establishes the Johnston Atoll in the central Pacific Ocean as a federal bird refuge under the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

1929

Congress ratifies the 1900 and 1904 Samoan deeds of cession.

1934

The United States reasserts its claim to Baker and Howland Islands in the South Pacific.

Kingman Reef in the west-central Pacific Ocean comes under the control and jurisdiction of the U.S. Navy.

December 29 President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues Executive Order 6935, which authorizes the U.S. Navy to establish an air station on Johnston Atoll. The U.S. Department of the Interior takes over the bird refuge.

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1936

The U.S. Navy begins building a seaplane base, an airstrip, and refueling facilities on Johnston Atoll.

1936–1942

A few colonists settle on Baker and Howland Islands in 1936. The U.S. government removes them after Japanese air and naval attacks on the islands in 1942. The islands remain unoccupied thereafter.

1940

The U.S. Navy establishes Midway Islands in the central Pacific as a national defense area. Fortified, Midway serves a major role during World War II.

1941

February 14 President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues an executive order making Kingman Reef a national defense area. Foreign planes, boats, and ships are prohibited from the area.

1941–1945

Japanese forces attack Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in December 1941, leading the United States to declare war on Japan and officially enter World War II. The Japanese soon take the Philippines, and occupy Guam until July 1944. Johnston Atoll becomes a vital link between Hawaii and the western Pacific and serves as a submarine supply point during the conflict. Major American battles in the Northern Mariana Islands include the pivotal Marianas campaign that clinches Japanese defeat. Fighting takes place throughout Palau, principally in Peleliu, Angaur, and Koror. Early in 1944, intense fighting occurs in the Kwajalein and Enewetak Atolls. Japan surrenders on August 15, 1945.

1946

July 4 Manuel Roxas becomes the first president of the independent Republic of the Philippines.

1947

The United Nations creates the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which includes Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Northern Mariana Islands. The United States administers the trust territory.

1948

Luis Muñoz Marín is elected the first governor of the Puerto Rican commonwealth.

July 1 Johnston Atoll becomes a nuclear test site for the U.S. Air Force.

1950

The Guam Organic Act confers U.S. citizenship on residents of Guam and establishes local self-government.

November 1 Two Puerto Rican nationalists, wanting independence instead of commonwealth status, attempt unsuccessfully to assassinate President Harry S. Truman.

1954

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency overthrows the government of Guatemala.

1957

The Midway Islands becomes part of the Pacific Airborne Early Warning System.

1959

January 3 Alaska becomes the forty-ninth state.

August 21 Hawaii becomes the fiftieth state.

1960s

President John F. Kennedy introduces the Peace Corps and federal health and education programs into Micronesia.

1961

The United States supports anti-Communist Cuban exiles in their unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Cuban government during the Bay of Pigs invasion.

1965

President Lyndon B. Johnson sends 22,000 troops to the Dominican Republic.

1968

Midway Islands become the site of a naval air station.

1973

The Central Intelligence Agency helps overthrow the government of Salvador Allende in Chile because of his alleged Communist sympathies.

1974

June 27 The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service establishes Jarvis Island in the west-central Pacific as a national wildlife refuge.

1976

Congress agrees to the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). The CNMI establishes a constitution in 1977 and its own government in 1978. CNMI residents become U.S. citizens in 1986.

1977

American Samoa elects its first governor and lieutenant governor.

Under the Panama Canal Treaty, the United States promises to hand over the canal to Panama in 1999.

1979

The Marshall Islands and Micronesia establish their own governments and constitutions.

Late 1970s

The United States begins building up the infrastructure (roads, sewers, airports, etc.) in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

1981

The administration of President Ronald Reagan provides aid to the Contras for their insurgency in Nicaragua.

1983

The United States invades Grenada.

1986

The Marshall Islands become self-governing, but the United States remains responsible for their defense.

1989

The United States invades Panama and captures military leader Manuel Noriega with the intent of trying him for drug crimes.

1990

The United States intervenes in the Nicaraguan election in order to help anti-Communist politicians win.

December 22 The United Nations terminates the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

1991

The United States withdraws from its military installations in the Philippines after Mount Pinatubo erupts.

1996

December 12 Water Island becomes the fourth and last of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

1999

December 31 The United States gives Panama control of the Panama Canal.

2000

In Puerto Rican elections, the Independence Party averages only 5 percent of the vote, with the statehood and commonwealth parties (New Progressive and Popular Democratic parties, respectively) dividing the remaining 95 percent.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

Declaration Relative to the Separation of Hungary from Austria (Hungarian Declaration of Independence) (April 1849)

As revolutions against conservative regimes broke out across the face of Europe, rebellions against Austro-Hungarian imperial rule convulsed Budapest, capital of Hungary. In March 1848, the Hungarian national parliament passed laws virtually making the country independent of the imperial capital of Vienna. By the autumn, however, Austrian troops had defeated the Hungarian rebels in Budapest, forcing them to the provincial town of Debrecen. There, inspired by the words of the Hungarian nationalist leader Louis Kossuth, the exiled assembly passed this declaration of separation from Austria, a kind of Hungarian declaration of independence. However, with the help of Russian troops, Austrian troops had crushed all signs of the rebellion.

WE, the legally constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation, assembled in Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim, in maintenance of the inalienable natural rights of Hungary, with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State—that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilized world may learn we have taken this step not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement,

but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a nation persecuted to the limit of the most enduring patience.

Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the house of Austria upon its throne, in accordance with stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been, for the country, a period of uninterrupted suffering.

The Creator has blessed this country with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents in varied profusion innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population, numbering nearly fifteen millions, feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shown temper and docility which warrant its proving at once the main organ of civilization in eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilization when attacked. Never was a more grateful task appointed to a reigning dynasty by the dispensation of Providence, than that which devolved upon the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. It would have sufficed to do nothing that could impede the development of the country. Had this been the rule observed Hungary would now rank among the most prosperous nations. It was only necessary that it should not envy the Hungarians the moderate share of constitution liberty which they timidly maintained during the difficulties of a thousand years with rare fidelity to their sovereigns, and the house of Hapsburg might long have counted this nation among the most faithful adherents of the throne.

This dynasty, however, which can at no epoch point to a ruler who based his power on the freedom of the people, adopted a course toward this

nation from father to son, which deserves the appellation of perjury.

The house of Austria has publicly used every effort to deprive the country of its legitimate independence and constitution, designing to reduce it to a level with the other provinces long since deprived of all freedom, and to unite all in a common link of slavery. Foiled in this effort by the untiring vigilance of the people, it directed its endeavor to lame the power, to check the progress of Hungary, causing it to minister to the gain of the provinces of Austria, but only to the extent which enabled those provinces to bear the load of taxation with which the prodigality of the imperial house weighed them down; having first deprived those provinces of all constitutional means of remonstrating against a policy which was not based upon the welfare of the subject, but solely tended to maintain despotism and crush liberty in every country of Europe.

It has frequently happened that the Hungarian nation, in spite of this systemized [*sic*] tyranny, has been obliged to take up arms in self-defense. Although constantly victorious in these constitutional struggles, yet so moderate has the nation ever been in its use of the victory, so strongly has it confided in the plighted word of the king, that it has ever laid down arms as soon as the king by new compact and fresh oaths has guaranteed the duration of its rights and liberty. But every new compact was as futile as those which preceded. Each oath which fell from the royal lips was but a renewal of previous perjuries. The policy of the house of Austria, which aimed at destroying the independence of Hungary as a state, has been pursued without alteration for three hundred years.

It was in vain that the Hungarian nation shed its blood for the deliverance of Austria whenever it was in danger; in vain were all the sacrifices which it made to serve the interests of the reigning house; in vain did it, on the renewal of the royal promises, forget the wounds which the past had inflicted; vain was the fidelity cherished by the Hungarians for their king, and which, in moments of danger, assumed a character of devotion;—they were in vain, because the history of the government of that dynasty in Hungary presents but an unbroken series of perjured acts from generation to generation.

In spite of such treatment, the Hungarian nation has all along respected the tie by which it was united to this dynasty; and in now decreeing its expulsion from the throne, it acts under the natural law of self-preservation, being driven to pronounce this sentence by the full conviction that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine is compassing the destruction of Hungary as an independent state; so that this dynasty has been the first to tear the bands by which it was united to the Hungarian nation, and to confess that it had torn them in the face of Europe. For many causes a nation is justified, before God and man, in expelling a reigning dynasty. Among such are the following:

When it forms alliances with the enemies of the country, with robbers, or partisan chieftains, to oppress the nation; when it attempts to annihilate the independence of the country and its constitution, solemnly sanctioned by oaths, attacking with an armed force the people who have committed no act of revolt; when the integrity of a country, which the sovereign has sworn to maintain, is violated, and its power diminished; when foreign armies are employed to murder the people, and to oppress their liberties.

Each of the grounds here enumerated would justify the exclusion of a dynasty from the throne. But the House of Lorraine-Hapsburg is unexampled in the compass of its perjuries, and has committed every one of these crimes against the nation; and its determination to extinguish the independence of Hungary has been accompanied with a succession of criminal acts, comprising robbery, destruction of property by fire, murder, maiming, and personal ill-treatment of all kinds, besides setting the laws of the country at defiance, so that humanity will shudder when reading this disgraceful page of history.

The main impulse to this recent unjustifiable course was the passing of the laws adopted in the spring of 1848, for the better protection of the constitution of the country. These laws provided reforms in the internal government of the country, by which the commutation of servile services and of the tithe were decreed; a fair representation guaranteed to the people in the Diet, the constitution of which was, before that, exclusively aristocratical; equality before the law proclaimed; the privilege of exemption from taxation abolished; freedom of the press pronounced; and, to stem the

torrent of abuses, trial by jury established, with other improvements. Notwithstanding that troubles broke out in every province of the Austrian empire, as a consequence of the French February Revolution, and the reigning dynasty was left without support, the Hungarian nation was too generous at such a moment to demand more privileges, and contented itself with enforcing the administration of its old rights upon a system of ministerial responsibility, and with maintaining them and the independence of the country against the often renewed and perjured attempts of the crown. These rights, and the independence sought to be maintained, were, however, no new acquisition, but were what the king, by his oath, and according to law, was bound to keep up, and which had not in the slightest degree been affected by the relation in which Hungary stood to the provinces of the empire.

In point of fact, Hungary and Transylvania, with all their possessions and dependencies, never were incorporated into the Austrian empire, but formed a separate, independent kingdom, even after the adoption of the pragmatic sanction by which the same law of succession was adopted for Hungary which obtained in the other countries and provinces.

The clearest proof of this legal fact is furnished by the law incorporated into the act of the pragmatic sanction, and which stipulates that the territory of Hungary and its dependencies, as well as its independence, self-government, constitution, and privileges, shall remain inviolate and specially guaranteed.

Another proof is contained in the stipulation of the pragmatic sanction, according to which the heir of the crown only becomes legally king of Hungary upon the conclusion of a coronation treaty with the nation, and upon his swearing to maintain the constitution and the laws of the country, whereupon he is to be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The act signed at the coronation contains the stipulation that all laws, privileges, and the entire constitution, shall be observed, together with the order of succession. Only one sovereign since the adoption of the pragmatic sanction refused to enter into the coronation compact, and swear to the constitution. This was Joseph II, who died without being crowned, but for that reason his name is not

recorded among the kings of Hungary, and all his acts are considered illegal, null and void. His successor, Leopold II., was obliged, before ascending the Hungarian throne, to enter into the coronation compact, to take the oath, and to let himself be crowned. On this occasion it was distinctly declared in Art. IC, 1790, sanctioned upon oath by the king, that Hungary was a free and independent country with regard to its government, and not subordinate to any other state or people whatever, consequently that it was to be governed by its own customs and laws.

The same oath was taken by Francis I., who came to the throne in the year 1792. On the extinction of the imperial dignity in Germany, and the foundation of the Austrian empire, this emperor, who allowed himself to violate the law in innumerable instances, had still sufficient respect for his oath, publicly to avow that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. For this reason Hungary was separated from the rest of the Austrian states by a chain of custom guards along the whole frontier, which still continues.

The same oath was taken on his accession to the throne by Ferdinand V., who, at the Diet held at Pressburg last year, of his own free-will, sanctioned the laws that were passed, but who, soon after, breaking that oath, entered into a conspiracy with the other members of his family with the intent of erasing Hungary from the list of independent nations.

Still the Hungarian nation preserved with useless piety its loyalty to its perjured sovereign, and during March last year, while the empire was on the brink of destruction, while its armies in Italy suffered one defeat after another, and he in his imperial palace had to fear at any moment that he, might be driven from it; Hungary did not take advantage of so favorable a moment to make increased demands; it only asked that its constitution might be guaranteed, and abuses rectified—a constitution, to maintain which fourteen kings of the Austrian dynasty had sworn a solemn oath, which every one of them had broken.

When the king undertook to guarantee those ancient rights, and gave his sanction to the establishment of a responsible ministry, the Hungarian nation flew enthusiastically to his support, and rallied its might around his tottering throne. At that eventful crisis, as at so many others, the

house of Austria was saved by the fidelity of the Hungarians.

Scarcely, however, had this oath fallen from his lips when he conspired anew with his family, the accomplices of his crime, to compass the destruction of the Hungarian nation. This conspiracy did not take place on the ground that any new privileges were conceded by the recent laws which diminished the royal authority. From what has been said, it is clear that no such demands were made. The conspiracy was founded to get rid of the responsible ministry, which made it impossible for the Vienna cabinet to treat the Hungarian constitution any longer as a nullity.

In former times a governing council, under the name of the Royal Hungarian Stadtholdership, (*Consilium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum*), the president of which was the Palatine, held its seat at Buda, whose sacred duty it was to watch over the integrity of the state, the inviolability of the constitution, and the sanctity of the laws; but this collegiate authority not presenting any element of personal responsibility, the Vienna cabinet gradually degraded this council to the position of an administrative organ of court absolutism. In this manner, while Hungary had ostensibly an independent government, the despotic Vienna cabinet disposed at will of the money and blood of the people for foreign purposes, postponing its trading interests to the success of courtly cabals, injurious to the welfare of the people, so that we were excluded from all connection with the other countries of the world, and were degraded to the position of a colony. The mode of governing by a ministry was intended to put a stop to these proceedings, which caused the rights of the country to molder uselessly in its parchments; by the change, these rights and the royal oath were both to become a reality. It was the apprehension of this, and especially the fear of losing its control over the money and blood of the country, which caused the house of Austria to determine to involve Hungary, by the foulest intrigues, in the horrors of fire and slaughter, that, having plunged the country in a civil war, it might seize the opportunity to dismember the lands, and blot out the name of Hungary from the list of independent nations, and unite its plundered and bleeding limbs with the Austrian monarchy.

The beginning of this course was by issuing orders during the existence of the ministry, directing

an Austrian general to rise in rebellion against the laws of the country, and by nominating the same general Ban of Croatia, a kingdom belonging to the kingdom of Hungary. Croatia and Slavonia were chosen as the seat of military operations in this rebellion, because the military organization of a portion of these countries promised to present the greatest number of disposable troops; it was also thought, that since a portion of those countries had for centuries been excluded from the enjoyment of constitutional rights, and subjected to a military organization in the name of the emperor, they would easily be induced to rise at his bidding.

Croatia and Slavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because, in those countries, the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting, in every possible manner, the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage, although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croats, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Slavonian brethren their political rights; even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

The ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the emperor. and rebelled, openly, against the king of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person; and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to incorporate them with the Austrian empire. Public opinion, and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the emperor; on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and, since the ban, in this act of rebellion, openly alleged [*sic*] that he acted as a faithful subject of the emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign, by a public declaration, to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy; the emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the ban and his asso-

ciates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But, at the same time that this edict was published, the ban and his accomplices were covered with favors at court, and supplied, for their enterprise, with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterward, the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.

These were also declared, by the king, to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with money, arms, and ammunition. The king's commissioned officers and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers, in the principality of Serbia, to strengthen the rebels, and aid them in massacring the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The command of these rebellious bodies was farther entrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croats. During this rebellion of the Hungarian Serbians, scenes of cruelty were witnessed at which the heart shudders. Whole towns and villages, once flourishing, were laid waste; Hungarians, fleeing before these murderers, were reduced to the condition of vagrants and beggars in their own country; the most lovely districts were converted into a wilderness.

Thus were the Hungarians driven to self-defense; but the Austrian cabinet had dispatched, some time previously, the bravest portion of the national troops to Italy, to oppress the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice; notwithstanding that our country was, at home, bleeding from a thousand wounds, still she had allowed them to leave for the defense of Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian regiments were, according to the old system of government, scattered through the other provinces of the empire. In Hungary itself the troops quartered were mostly Austrian, and they afforded more protection to the rebels than to the laws, or to the internal peace of the country.

The withdrawal of these troops, and the return of the national militia was demanded of the government, but was either refused or its fulfillment delayed; and when our brave comrades, on hearing the distress of the country, returned in masses, they were persecuted, and such as were obliged to

yield to superior force were disarmed and sentenced to death, for having defended their country against rebels.

The Hungarian ministry begged the king earnestly to issue orders to all troops and commanders of fortresses in Hungary, enjoining fidelity to the constitution, and obedience to the ministers of Hungary. Such a proclamation was sent to the Palatine, the Viceroy of Hungary, Archduke Stephen, at Buda. The necessary letters were written and sent to the post-office. But this nephew of the king, the Archduke Palatine, shamelessly caused the letters to be smuggled back from the post-office, although they had been countersigned by the responsible ministers, and they were afterward found among his papers, when he treacherously departed from the country.

The rebel band menaced the Hungarian coast with an attack, and the government, with the king's consent, ordered an armed corps to march through Styria for the defense of Fiume; but this whole force received orders to march into Italy. Yet such glaring treachery was not disavowed by the Vienna cabinet.

The rebel force occupied Fiume, and disunited it from the kingdom of Hungary, and this irruption was disavowed by the Vienna cabinet, as having been a misunderstanding. The furnishing of arms, ammunition, and money to the rebels of Croatia was also declared to have been a misunderstanding. Instructions were issued to the effect that, unless special orders were given, the army and commanders of fortresses were not to follow the orders of the Hungarian ministers, but were to execute the orders of the Austrian cabinet.

Finally, to reap the fruit of so much perfidy, the Emperor Francis Joseph dared to call himself King of Hungary in the manifesto of 9th March, wherein he openly declares that he erases the Hungarian nation from the list of the independent nations of Europe, and that he divided its territory into five parts, dividing Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, and Fiume from Hungary, creating at the same time a principality for the Serbian rebels (the Voivodina,) and having paralyzed the political existence of the country, declared it incorporated into the Austrian monarchy.

Never was so disgraceful a line of policy followed toward a nation. Hungary, unprepared with money, arms and troops, and not expecting to be

called on to make resistance, was entangled in a net of treachery, and was obliged to defend itself against the threatened annihilation with the aid of volunteers, national guards, and an undisciplined unarmed levy, "en masse," aided by the few regular troops which remained in the country. In open battles the Hungarians have, however, been successful, but they could not rapidly enough put down the Serbian rebels, and those of the military frontier, who were led by officers devoted to Austria, and were enabled to take refuge behind entrenched positions.

It was necessary to provide a new armed force. The king, still pretending to yield to the undeniably lawful demands of the nation, had summoned a new Diet for the 2d of July, 1848, and had called upon the representatives of the nation to provide soldiers and money for the suppression of the Serbian and Croatian rebellion, and the re-establishment of public peace. He at the same time issued a solemn proclamation in his own name, and in that of his family, condemning and denouncing the Croatian, and Serbian rebellion. The necessary steps were taken by the Diet. A levy of 200,000 men, and a subsidy of 40,000,000 of florins were voted as the necessary force, and the bills were laid before the king for the royal sanction. At the same moment the Hungarians gave an unexampled proof of their loyalty, by inviting the king, who had fled to Innsbruck, to go to Pest, and by his presence tranquilize the people, trusting to the loyalty of the Hungarians, who had shown themselves at all times the best supports of the throne.

This request was proffered in vain, for Radetzky had in the mean time been victorious in Italy. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, restored to confidence by that victory, thought the time come to take off the mask and to involve Hungary, still bleeding from previous wounds, in the horrors of a flesh war of oppression. The king from that moment began to address the man whom he himself had branded as a rebel, as dear and loyal, he praised him for having revolted, and encouraged him to proceed in the path he had entered upon.

He expressed a like sympathy for the Serbian rebels, whose hands yet reeked from the massacres they had perpetrated. It was under this command that the ban of Croatia, after being proclaimed as a rebel, assembled an army, and an-

nounced his commission from the king to carry fire and sword into Hungary, upon which the Austrian troops stationed in the country united with him. The commanders of the fortresses, Temeswar Esseg and Karlsburg, and the commanders of the forces in the Banat and in Transylvania, breaking their oaths taken to the country, treacherously surrendered their trusts; a Slovak clergyman, with the commission of colonel, who had fraternized at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary, and the rebel Croat leader advanced with confidence, through an unprepared country, to occupy its capital, expecting that the army in Hungary would not oppose him.

Even the Diet did not give up all confidence in the power of the royal oath, and the king was once more requested to order the rebels to quit the country. The answer given was a reference to a manifesto of the Austrian ministry, declaring it to be their determination to deprive the Hungarian nation of the independent management of their financial, commercial and war affairs. The king at the same time refused his assent to the laws submitted for approval respecting the troops and the subsidy for covering the expenditure.

Upon this the Hungarian ministers resigned, but the names submitted by the president of the council, at the demand of the king, were not approved of for successors. The Diet then, bound by its duty to secure the interests of the country, voted the supplies, and ordered the troops to be levied. The nation obeyed the summons with readiness.

The representatives of the people then summoned the nephew of the emperor to join the camp, and as palatine, to lead the troops against the rebels. He not only obeyed the summons, but made public professions of his devotion to the cause. As soon, however, as an engagement threatened, he fled secretly from the camp and the country, like a coward traitor. Among his papers a plan formed by him some time previously was found, according to which Hungary was to be simultaneously attacked on nine sides at once from Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Transylvania and Styria. From a correspondence with the minister of war, seized at the same time, it was discovered that the commanding generals in the military frontier and the Austrian provinces adjoining Hungary, had received orders to enter Hungary and support the rebels with their united forces.

The attack from nine points at once really began. The most painful aggression took place in Transylvania, for the traitorous commander in that district did not content himself with the practices considered lawful in war by disciplined troops. He stirred up the Wallachian peasants to take up arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Serbian hordes, commenced a course of Vandalism and extraction, sparing neither women, children, nor aged men; murdering and torturing the defenseless Hungarian inhabitants; burning the most flourishing villages and towns, among which Nagy-Enyed, the seat of learning for Transylvania, was reduced to a heap of ruins.

But the Hungarian nation, although taken by surprise, unarmed and unprepared, did not abandon its future prospects in any agony of despair.

Measures were immediately taken to increase the small standing army by volunteers and the levy of the people. These troops, supplying the want of experience by the enthusiasm arising from the feeling that they had right on their side, defeated the Croatian armies and drove them out of the country.

The defeated army fled toward Vienna.

One of their leaders appealed, after an unsuccessful flight, to the generosity of the Hungarians for a truce, which he used to escape by night and surreptitiously, with his beaten troops; the other corps, of more than ten thousand men, was surrounded and taken prisoners, from the general to the last private.

The defeated army fled in the direction of Vienna, where the emperor continued his demoralizing policy, and nominated the beaten and flying rebel as his plenipotentiary and substitute in Hungary, suspending by this act the constitution and institutions of the country, all its authorities, courts of justice and tribunals, laying the kingdom under martial law, and placing in the hand and under the unlimited authority of a rebel, the honor, the property, and the lives of the people in the hand of a man who, with armed bands, had braved the laws, and attacked the constitution of the country.

But the house of Austria was not contented with this unjustifiable violation of oaths taken by its head.

The rebellious ban was placed under the protection of the troops stationed near Vienna, and

commanded by Prince Windischgratz. These troops, after taking Vienna by storm, were led as an Imperial Austrian army to conquer Hungary. But the Hungarian nation, persisting in its loyalty, sent an envoy to the advancing enemy. This envoy, coming under a flag of truce, was treated as a prisoner and thrown into prison. No heed was paid to the remonstrances and the demands of the Hungarian nation for justice. The threat of the gallows was, on the contrary, thundered against all who had taken arms in defense of a wretched and oppressed country. But before the army had time to enter Hungary, a family revolution in the tyrannical reigning house was perpetrated at Olmutz. Ferdinand V was forced to resign a throne which had been polluted with so much blood and perjury, and the son of Francis Charles, who also abdicated his claim to the inheritance, the youthful Archduke Francis Joseph, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. But no one but the Hungarian nation can, by compacts, dispose of the constitutional throne of Hungary.

At this critical moment the Hungarian nation demanded nothing more than the maintenance of its laws and institutions, and peace guaranteed by their integrity. Had the assent of the nation to this change in the occupant of the throne been asked in a legal manner, and the young Prince offered to take the customary oath that he would preserve the Constitution, the Hungarian nation would not have refused to elect him King, in accordance with the treaties extant, and to crown him with St. Stephen's crown before he had dipped his hand in the blood of his people.

He, however, refusing to perform an act so sacred in the eyes of God and man, and in strange contrast to innocence natural to youthful breasts, declared in his first words, his intention of conquering Hungary, which he dared to call a rebellious country, although he himself had raised rebellion there, and of depriving it of that independence which it had maintained for a thousand years, to incorporate it into the Austrian monarchy.

And he has but too well labored to keep his word. He ordered the army under Windischgratz to enter Hungary, and at the same time, directed several corps of troops to attack this country from Galicia and Styria. Hungary resisted the projected invasion, but being unable to make head against

so many armies at once, on account of the devastation carried on in several parts of the interior by the excited rebels, and being thus prevented from displaying its whole power of defense, the troops were at first obliged to retire. To save the capital from the horrors of a storm like that to which Prague and Vienna had mercilessly been exposed, and not to stake the fortunes of a nation—which deserved a better fate—on the chances of a pitched battle, for which there had not been sufficient preparation, the capital was abandoned, and the Parliament and national government removed, in January last, to Debreczin, trusting to the help of a just God, and to the energies of the nation, to prevent the cause from being lost, even when it should be seen that the capital was given up. Thanks be to Heaven, the cause was not lost!

But even then an attempt was made to bring about a peaceful arrangement, and a deputation was sent to the generals of the perjured dynasty. That dynasty, in its blind self-confidence, refused to enter into any negotiation, and dared to demand an unconditional submission from the nation. The deputation was detained, and one of the number, the former president of the ministry, was thrown into prison. The deserted capital was occupied, and turned into a place of execution; a part of the prisoners of war were there consigned to the scaffold, another part were thrown into dungeons, while the remainder were forced to enter the ranks of the army in Italy.

The measure of the crimes of the Austrian house was, however, filled up, when—after its defeat—it applied for help to the Emperor of Russia; and, in spite of the remonstrances and protestations of the [Ottoman] porte, and of the consuls of the European powers at Bucharest, in defiance of international rights, and with signal danger to the balance of power in Europe, caused the Russian troops stationed in Wallachia to be led into Transylvania, for the destruction of the Hungarian nation.

Three months ago we were driven back upon the Theiss; our arms have already recovered all Transylvania; Clausenburg, Hermanstadt, and Kronstadt are taken; one portion of the troops of Austria is driven into the Bukovina; another, together with the Russian force sent to aid them, is totally defeated, and to the last man obliged to evacuate Transylvania, and to fly into Wallachia. Upper Hungary is cleared of foes.

The Serbian rebellion is suppressed; the forts of St. Tama's and the Roman entrenchment have been taken by storm, and the whole country between the Danube and the Theiss, including the county of Bacs, has been recovered for the nation. The general of the perjured house of Austria has been defeated in five battles, and with his whole army he has been driven back upon and even across the Danube. Framing our conduct according to these events, and confiding in the justice of Eternal God, we, before the world, and relying on the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and on the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us, the following:

1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it, and its dependencies, are hereby declared to constitute a free, independent, sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

2d. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having, by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary—further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and perjured, forever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished forever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished from the Hungarian territory.

3d. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent state

among the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighborly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

But until this shall be decided, on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts, by Louis Kossuth, who has by acclamation, and with the unanimous approbation of the Diet of the nation, been named Governing President, (Gubernator,) and the ministers whom he shall appoint.

And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilized world, with the conviction that the Hungarian nation will be received by them among the free and independent nations of the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

We also hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns, and the civil officers both in the counties and cities, are completely set free and released from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

DEBRECZIN, April 14, 1849.

Source: De Puy, Henry M. *Kossuth and His Generals*.

Buffalo: Phinney & Co., 1852, 202–225.

Law Altering the Fundamental Law of February 26, 1861, Concerning Imperial Representation (1867)

Under the so-called February Patent of 1861, excerpts from which are reproduced here, the Austro-

Hungarian Empire centralized administrative control over Hungary with the bureaucracy in Vienna, Austria's capital. As part of the generalized reforms of 1867, which included a newly liberalized constitution, the Austro-Hungarian government overturned the February Patent, effectively creating a dual monarchy of Austria and Hungary.

Section 1. The Reichsrat is the common representative body of the kingdoms of Bohemia, Dalmatia, Galicia and Lodomeria with the Grand Duchy of Cracow, of the Archduchies of Lower and Upper Austria, of the Duchies of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Bukovina, of the Margravate of Moravia, of the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia, of the Princely County of Tyrol and the territory of Voralberg, of the Margravate of Istria, of the Princely County of Gorz and Gradizia, and of the City of Trieste with its territory. The Reichsrat is composed of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives . . . Section 7. Every male person who has attained the age of twenty-four years, possesses Austrian citizenship, is not excluded from the right to vote by the provisions of the election law of the Reichsrat, and who at the time of the election is ordered has resided for at least one year in the Austrian commune in which the right to vote is to be exercised, is qualified to vote for representatives . . . Section 10. The Reichsrat shall be convened annually by the Emperor . . .

Section 11. The competence of the Reichsrat extends to all matters which relate to the rights, obligations, and interests common to the countries represented therein, in so far as these matters are not to be handled in common, in consequence of the agreement of the countries of the Hungarian crown with the other countries of the monarchy. Thus, the competence of the Reichsrat extends to: a) The examination and approval of commercial treaties and of those political treaties which place a financial burden upon the empire or upon any part thereof . . . b) All matters which relate to the form as well as to the regulation and term of military service . . . c) The establishment of the budget, and particularly the annual grant of taxes and duties to be levied . . . d) The regulation of the monetary system and of banks of issue, of customs and commercial affairs . . . e) Legislation concerning credit, banks, patents of inventions, industry . . . weights and measures, the protection of

trade marks and of industrial goods . . . g) Legislation concerning citizenship and domicile . . . h) Concerning confessional relations, the rights of assembly and association [and] the press . . . i) The establishment of the principles of the educational system in the primary and secondary schools, and legislation concerning the universities . . . k) Legislation concerning criminal justice and police penalties [and] the civil law . . . l) Legislation concerning the principles of the judicial and administrative organization . . . o) Legislation concerning the manner of handling matters which, through the agreement with Hungary, are recognized as common to the two parts of the empire . . . Section 19. The adjournment of the Reichsrat or the dissolution of the House of Representatives shall take place by decree of the Emperor. In case of dissolution a new election shall be held in conformity with Section 7.

Source: Dodd, Walter Farleigh, ed. *Modern Constitutions: A Collection of the Fundamental Laws of Twenty-two of the Most Important Countries of the World, With Historical and Bibliographical Notes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909.

Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of Citizens (Austrian Constitution of 1867)

The Austrian constitution of 1867 represented a substantial liberalization and modernization in the governance and administration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It attempted to streamline the bureaucracy in Vienna and effectively eliminated numerous medieval legacies. Most important, the constitution bestowed virtually equal citizenship on all the constituent nationalities within the empire.

Article 1. For all natives of the various kingdoms and countries represented in the Reichsrat there exists a common right of Austrian citizenship. The law shall determine under what conditions Austrian citizenship is gained, exercised, and lost.

Article 2. All citizens are equal before the law.

Article 3. Public offices shall be equally open to all citizens. The admission of foreigners to public office is dependent upon their acquisition of Austrian citizenship.

Article 4. The freedom of passage of persons and property, within the territories of the state, shall be subject to no restrictions.

All citizens who live within a commune and pay therein a tax on real property, business, or income, shall have the right to vote for members of the communal assembly and shall be eligible to that body, under the same conditions as natives of the commune.

Freedom of emigration is limited by the state only by the obligation to serve in the army.

Taxes on emigration shall be levied only as a measure of retaliation.

Article 5. Property is inviolable. Forced expropriation shall take place only in the cases and according to the forms determined by law.

Article 6. Every citizen may dwell temporarily or establish his residence in any part of the territory of the state, acquire real property of any kind and freely dispose of the same, and may also engage in any form of business, under legal conditions.

In the matter of mortmain the law may, for reasons of public policy, restrict the right of acquiring and of disposing of real property.

Article 7. Every relation of vassalage or dependence is forever abolished. Every burden or charge resting upon the title of real property is redeemable, and in future no land shall be burdened with an irredeemable charge.

Article 8. Liberty of person is guaranteed. The law of October 27, 1862, on the protection of individual liberty is hereby declared to be an integral part of the present fundamental law. Every arrest ordered or prolonged in violation of law imposes an obligation upon the state to indemnify the injured party.

Article 9. The domicile is inviolable. The law of October 27, 1862, for the protection of the domicile is hereby declared an integral part of this fundamental law.

Article 10. The secrecy of letters shall not be violated; the seizure of letters, except in case of a legal arrest or search, shall take place only in time of war, or by virtue of a judicial order issued in conformity with the law.

Article 11. The right of petition is free to everyone. Petitions under a collective name should emanate only from legally recognized corporations or associations.

Article 12. Austrian citizens shall have the right to assemble together, and to form associations. The exercise of these rights is regulated by special laws.

Article 13. Everyone shall have the right, within legal limits, freely to express his thoughts orally, in writing, through the press, or by pictorial representation.

The press shall not be placed under censorship, nor restrained by the system of licenses. Administrative prohibitions of the use of the mail are not applicable to matter printed within the country.

Article 14. Full freedom of religion and of conscience is guaranteed to all. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent of religious belief; however, religious belief shall in no way interfere with the performance of civil duties.

No one shall be forced to perform any religious rite or to participate in any religious ceremony except in so far as he is subject to another who has legal authority in this matter.

Article 15. Every legally recognized church and religious society has the right publicly to exercise its religious worship; it regulates and administers its internal affairs independently, remains in possession and enjoyment of its establishments, institutions, and property held for religious, educational, and charitable purposes; but is subject, as other societies, to the general laws of the state.

Article 16. Adherents of a religious confession not legally recognized are permitted to worship privately, in so far as their religious services are not illegal or contrary to public morals.

Article 17. Science and its teaching shall be free. Every citizen, whose capacity has been es-

tablished in conformity with law, shall have the right to establish institutions of instruction and education, and to give instruction therein. Private instruction shall be subject to no such restriction. Religious instruction in the schools shall be left to the church or religious society to which the school is attached. The state shall have the right to superior direction and superintendence over the entire system of education and instruction.

Article 18. Everyone shall be free to choose his occupation and to prepare himself for it in such places and in such manner as he may wish.

Article 19. All the races of the state shall have equal rights, and each race shall have the inviolable right of maintaining and cultivating its nationality and language.

The state recognizes the equality of the various languages in the schools, public offices, and in public life.

In the countries populated by several races, the institutions of public instruction shall be so organized that each race may receive the necessary instruction in its own language, without being obliged to learn a second language.

Article 20. A special law shall determine the right of the responsible governing power to suspend temporarily and in certain places the rights mentioned in Articles 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13.

Source: Dodd, Walter Farleigh, ed. Modern Constitutions: A Collection of the Fundamental Laws of Twenty-two of the Most Important Countries of the World, With Historical and Bibliographical Notes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909.

BELGIAN EMPIRE

Leopold II: Communiqué to Agents of the Congo Free State (1897)

Beginning in the 1870s, King Leopold II laid claim to the vast Congo River basin of Central Africa, which was eventually incorporated into his own personal colony, the Congo Free State. Leopold made fabulous profits through the extraction of the colony's enormous natural rubber deposits. But to tap this resource, Leopold instituted a murderous policy whereby local people were forced to look ever deeper into the jungle for untapped rubber trees. When they failed to meet their quotas, they were tortured, mutilated, and killed. The brutality of Leopold's regime caused an international outcry. In this 1897 communiqué, written to his agents in the Congo, Leopold defends his rule as a "civilizing" force for Africa.

Brussels, June 16, 1897

Sir,

The agents of the Congo Free State have been much tried in recent years. Their ranks have been thinned by cruel and repeated attacks. Associating myself with the unanimous expressions of regret aroused by these painful losses, I desire to pay my tribute of acknowledgement to all those who have so bravely sacrificed their lives in the performance of their duties.

As every great cause, that which we serve in the Congo has had many martyrs.

The task which the State agents have had to accomplish in the Congo is noble and elevated. They have had to carry on the work of civilization in Equatorial Africa, guided by the principles set forth in the Berlin and Brussels resolutions.

Face to face with primitive barbarity, struggling against dreadful customs, thousands of years old, their duty has been to modify gradually those customs.

Civilized society attaches to human life a value unknown among savage peoples. When our guiding will is implanted among the latter, it must aim at overcoming all obstacles. The result cannot be reached by mere speeches, however philanthropic may be their tenor. . . .

The soldiers of the State must be recruited among the natives. They do not easily abandon their sanguinary customs transmitted from generation to generation. The example of white officers and military discipline will make them hate the human trophies of which they are now proud. . . .

I am glad to think that our agents, nearly all of whom are volunteers from the ranks of the Belgian army, always bear in mind the rules of the honorable career in which they are engaged. Animated with a pure sentiment of patriotism . . . they will care all the more for the natives who will find in them the powerful protectors of life and property, the kindly guardians they need so much.

The aim of all of us—I desire to repeat it here with you—is to regenerate, materially and morally, races whose degradation and misfortune it is hard to realize. The fearful scourges of which, in the eyes of our humanity, these races seemed the victims, are already lessening, little by little, through our intervention. Each step forward made by our people should mark an improvement in the condition of the natives.

In those vast tracts, mostly uncultivated and many unproductive, where the natives hardly

knew how to get their daily food, European experience, knowledge, resource and enterprise, have brought to light unthought-of wealth. If wants are created they are satisfied even more liberally. Exploration of virgin land goes on, communications are established, highways are opened, the soil yields produce in exchange for our varied manufactured articles. Legitimate trade and industry are established. As the economic state is formed, property assumes an intrinsic character; private and public ownership, the basis of all social development, is founded and respected instead of being left to the law of change and of the strongest.

Upon this material prosperity, in which whites and blacks have evidently a common interest, will follow a desire on the part of the blacks to elevate themselves. Their primitive nature will not always resist the efforts of Christian culture. Their education, once begun, will no more be interrupted. In its success I see crowning of the task undertaken by our people and so ably seconded by religious missionaries of both sexes. The most urgent part of the program we wished to realize was to set up direct communication with the natives all over the Congo Basin. And this was done in the course of fifteen years, without the help of any State . . . The establishment of a whole, compact series of stations gradually substitutes for savage warfare, carried on incessantly between tribes and villages, a regime of peace.

From a geographical entity, physically determined, the Congo State has become a country with distinct frontiers, occupied and guarded at every point—a result almost without precedent in the history of colonization but which is explained by the concentration of our united efforts on a single field of activity.

Our own difficulties will be considerably lessened in a short time when the railway between the Lower Congo and Stanley Pool is completed.

I here make a renewed appeal to the devotion, of which our agents have already given such abundant proof, that the establishment of this means of communication may bear fruit as soon as possible. It will closely connect the Congo with the mother country, it will afford all Europe, which is so interested in our work, an opportunity to take an intelligent and kindly interest in our work. It will, finally, give a decided fillip to our progress, and it will speedily introduce into the vast regions

of the Congo all the benefits of our Christian civilization.

I thank our agents for their efforts and I reiterate to them the expression of my royal regard.

Source: La Belgique Coloniale, August 14, 1898.

Report of British Consul Roger Casement on the Administration of the Congo Free State (1903)

Beginning in the 1870s, King Leopold II of Belgium began to assume administrative control over the Congo, a move ratified by the Berlin Congress of 1885. Over the next two decades, Leopold and various companies he chartered exploited the population of the territory to extract and process natural rubber. To do so, they instituted a regime of terror and torture that increasingly raised human rights concerns throughout Europe and the United States. Following reports by a British-based journalist named E. D. Morel, the British Foreign Office dispatched its consul in the Congo, Roger Casement, on a fact-finding mission. The following is his report. Along with other exposés, the Casement report led Britain and other powers to pressure Leopold to give up control of the Congo and turn it over to the Belgian government, an act he reluctantly acceded to in 1908.

The colonial regime of the Belgian King Leopold II—the Congo Free State—became one of the more infamous international scandals of the turn of the century. Leopold had acquired the vast Congo region through considerable investment of his own fortune in setting up his administration there and by cajoling the great powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884–5 to award his International Congo Association title to what was to become the Congo Free State. By the mid-1890s the Congo Basin and its products became a source of great wealth to Leopold who used his riches to beautify his Belgian capital Brussels while using his agents in Africa to establish a brutal exploitative regime for the extraction of rubber in the interior forest regions of the Free State

Leopold's ability to administer the Congo government coupled with his gift for self-promotion and dissimulation, kept knowledge of what was

taking place there to a minimum. Inevitably the truth leaked out as it became known through missionary reports and the like that the natives were being willfully exploited and brutally treated in the interests of amassing revenue for the King and his agents. Foremost in the campaign to expose the regime—based on forced labor and various forms of terror—was E. D. Morel whose ceaseless pursuit of Leopold's regime resulted in questions being raised in the British House of Commons, for Britain, after all, had been a signatory to the Berlin Act which bound the Congo Government "to bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes and to care for their moral and material welfare." The Report (below) of the British consul sent to investigate the accumulating reports of torture, murder and virtual enslavement was published to the world in 1904 and from that point on the pressure for reform mounted until, finally, Leopold was forced to yield up his private African preserve to the Belgian government which formally took over the 'Belgian Congo' by an act of annexation in August 1908.

Leopold II has not fared well by historians. As one English historian has bitterly commented: "(Leopold) was an Attila in modern dress, and it would have been better for the world if he had never been born."

I have the honor to submit my Report on my recent journey on the Upper Congo . . . the region visited was one of the most central in the Congo State . . . Moreover, I was enabled, by visiting this district, to contrast its present state with the condition in which I had known it some sixteen years ago . . . and I was thus able to institute a comparison between a state of affairs I had myself seen when the natives loved their own savage lives in anarchic and disorderly communities, uncontrolled by Europeans, and that created by more than a decade of very energetic European intervention by Belgian officials in introducing their methods of rule over one of the most savage regions of Africa . . .

A fleet of steamers . . . navigate the main river and its principal effluents at fixed intervals. Regular means of communication are thus afforded to some of the most inaccessible parts of Central Africa.

A railway, excellently constructed in view of the difficulties to be encountered, now connects the

ocean ports with Stanley Pool, over a tract of difficult country, which formerly offered to the weary traveler on foot many obstacles to be overcome and many days of great bodily fatigue . . . The cataract region, through which the railway passes . . . is . . . the home, or birthplace of the sleeping sickness—a terrible disease, which is, all too rapidly, eating its way into the heart of Africa . . . The population of the Lower Congo has been gradually reduced by the unchecked ravages of this, as yet undiagnosed and incurable disease, and as one cause of the seemingly wholesale diminution of human life which I everywhere observed in the regions revisited, a prominent place must be assigned to this malady . . . Communities I had formerly known as large and flourishing centers of population are to-day entirely gone . . .

On the whole the Government workmen (Congo natives) . . . struck me as being well cared for . . .

The chief difficulty in dealing with so large a staff arises from the want of a sufficiency of food supply in the surrounding country . . . The natives of the districts are forced to provide a fixed quantity each week . . . which is levied by requisitions on all the surrounding villages . . . This, however necessary, is not a welcome task to the native suppliers who complain that their numbers are yearly decreasing, while the demands made upon them remain fixed, or tend even to increase . . . The (official in charge) is forced to exercise continuous pressure on the local population, and within recent times that pressure has not always taken the form of mere requisition. Armed expeditions have been necessary and a more forcible method of levying supplies [e.g., goats, fowl, etc.] adopted than the law either contemplated or justifies.

The result of an expedition, which took place towards the end of 1900, was that in fourteen small villages traversed seventeen persons disappeared. Sixteen of these whose names were given to me were killed by the soldiers, and their bodies recovered by their friends . . . Ten persons were tied up and taken away as prisoners, but were released on payment of sixteen goats by their friends . . .

A hospital for Europeans and an establishment designed as a native hospital are in charge of a European doctor . . . When I visited the three mud huts which serve (as the native hospital), all of

them dilapidated . . . I found seventeen sleeping sickness patients, male and female, lying about in the utmost dirt. The structures I had visited . . . had endured for many years as the only form of hospital accommodation for the numerous native staff of the district . . .

The people have not easily accommodated themselves to the altered condition of life brought about by European government in their midst. Where formerly they were accustomed to take long voyages down to Stanley Pool to sell slaves, ivory, dried fish, or other local products, they find themselves today debarred from all such activity . . . The open selling of slaves and the canoe convoys, which navigated the Upper Congo (River), have everywhere disappeared. . . . (but) much that was not reprehensible in native life has disappeared along with it. The trade in ivory has today entirely passed from the hands of the natives of the Upper Congo . . .

Complaints as to the manner of exacting service are . . . frequent . . . If the local official has to go on a sudden journey men are summoned on the instant to paddle his canoe, and a refusal entails imprisonment or a beating. If the Government plantation or the kitchen garden require weeding, a soldier will be sent to call in the women from some of the neighboring towns . . . ; to the women suddenly forced to leave their household tasks and to tramp off, hoe in hand, baby on back, with possibly a hungry and angry husband at home, the task is not a welcome one.

I visited two large villages in the interior . . . wherein I found that fully half the population now consisted of refugees . . . I saw and questioned several groups of these people . . . They went on to declare, when asked why they had fled (their district), that they had endured such ill-treatment at the hands of the government soldiers in their own (district) that life had become intolerable; that nothing had remained for them at home but to be killed for failure to bring in a certain amount of rubber or to die from starvation or exposure in their attempts to satisfy the demands made upon them . . . I subsequently found other (members of the tribe) who confirmed the truth of the statements made to me . . .

On the 25th of July (1903) we reached Lukolela, where I spent two days. This district had, when I visited it in 1887, numbered fully 5,000 people;

today the population is given, after a careful enumeration, at less than 600. The reasons given me for their decline in numbers were similar to those furnished elsewhere, namely, sleeping-sickness, general ill-health, insufficiency of food, and the methods employed to obtain labor from them by local officials and the exactions levied on them.

At other villages which I visited, I found the tax to consist of baskets, which the inhabitants had to make and deliver weekly as well as, always, a certain amount of foodstuffs. (The natives) were frequently flogged for delay or inability to complete the tally of these baskets, or the weekly supply of food. Several men, including a Chief of one town, showed broad weals across their buttocks, which were evidently recent. One, a lad of 15 or so, removing his cloth, showed several scars across his thighs, which he and others around him said had formed part of a weekly payment for a recent shortage in their supply of food . . .

A careful investigation of the conditions of native life around (Lake Mantumba) confirmed the truth of the statements made to me—that the great decrease in population, the dirty and ill-kept towns, and the complete absence of goats, sheep, or fowls—once very plentiful in this country—were to be attributed above all else to the continued effort made during many years to compel the natives to work India-rubber. Large bodies of native troops had formerly been quartered in the district, and the punitive measures undertaken to this end had endured for a considerable period. During the course of these operations there had been much loss of life, accompanied, I fear, by a somewhat general mutilation of the dead, as proof that the soldiers had done their duty . . .

Two cases (of mutilation) came to my actual notice while I was in the lake district. One, a young man, both of whose hands had been beaten off with the butt ends of rifles against a tree; the other a young lad of 11 or 12 years of age, whose right hand was cut off at the wrist. . . . In both these cases the Government soldiers had been accompanied by white officers whose names were given to me. Of six natives (one a girl, three little boys, one youth, and one old woman) who had been mutilated in this way during the rubber regime, all except one were dead at the date of my visit.

[A sentry in the employ of one of the concessionary private companies] said he had caught

and was detaining as prisoners (eleven women) to compel their husbands to bring in the right amount of rubber required of them on the next market day . . . When I asked what would become of these women if their husbands failed to bring in the right quantity of rubber, he said at once that then they would be kept there until their husbands had redeemed them] . . .

R. Casement.

Source: Great Britain. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1904. Volume LXII, Cd. 1933.

Arthur Conan Doyle: *The Crime of the Congo* (1909)

King Leopold's regime in the Congo was based on the exploitation of natural rubber. To obtain the rubber, the regime established a brutal police to force the local people to find and process this resource. When they failed to do so, they were tortured, mutilated, and killed. The brutal regime produced a horrified reaction among many intellectuals in Europe and North America, including Arthur Conan Doyle, creator of the Sherlock Holmes novels. The following is the introduction to his 1909 book The Crime of the Congo.

I am convinced that the reason why public opinion has not been more sensitive upon the question of the Congo Free State is that the terrible story has not been brought thoroughly home to the people. Mr. E. D. Morel has done the work of ten men, and the Congo Reform Association has struggled hard with very scanty means; but their time and energies have, for the most part, been absorbed in dealing with each fresh phase of the situation as it arose. There is room, therefore, as it seemed to me, for a general account which would cover the whole field and bring the matter up to date. This account must necessarily be a superficial one, if it is to be produced at such a size and such a price, as will ensure its getting at that general public for which it has been prepared. Yet it contains the essential facts, and will enable the reader to form his own opinion upon the situation.

It may be objected that some of this is ancient history, and that the greater part of it refers to a period before the Congo State was annexed to Belgium on August 10th, 1908. But responsibility can-

not be so easily shaken off. The Congo State was founded by the Belgian King, and exploited by Belgian capital, Belgian soldiers and Belgian concessionaires. It was defended and upheld by successive Belgian Governments, who did all they could to discourage the Reformers. In spite of legal quibbles, it is an insult to common sense to suppose that the responsibility for the Congo has not always rested with Belgium. The Belgian machinery was always ready to help and defend the State, but never to hold it in control and restrain it from crime.

One chance the Belgians had. If immediately upon taking over the State they had formed a Judicial Commission for the rigid inspection of the whole matter, with power to punish for all past offences, and to examine all the scandals of recent years, then they would have done something to clear the past. If on the top of that they had freed the land, given up the system of forced labour entirely, and cancelled the charters of all the concessionaire companies, for the obvious reason that they have notoriously abused their powers, then Belgium could go forward in its colonizing enterprise on the same terms as other States, with her sins expiated so far as expiation is now possible.

She did none of these things. For a year now she has herself persevered in the evil ways of her predecessor. Her colony is a scandal before the whole world. The era of murders and mutilations has, as we hope, passed by, but the country is sunk into a state of cowed and hopeless slavery. It is not a new story, but merely another stage of the same. When Belgium took over the Congo State, she took over its history and its responsibilities also. What a load that was is indicated in these pages.

The record of the dates is the measure of our patience. Can anyone say that we are precipitate if we now brush aside vain words and say definitely that the matter has to be set right by a certain near date, or that we will appeal to each and all of the Powers, with the evidence before them, to assist us in setting it right? If the Powers refuse to do so, then it is our duty to honour the guarantees which we made as to the safety of these poor people, and to turn to the task of setting it right ourselves. If the Powers join in, or give us a mandate, all the better. But we have a mandate from something higher than the Powers which obliges us to act.

Sir Edward Grey has told us in his speech of July 22nd, 1909, that a danger to European peace

lies in the matter. Let us look this danger squarely in the face. Whence does it come? Is it from Germany, with her traditions of kindly home life—is this the power which would raise a hand to help the butchers of the Mongalla and of the Domaine de la Couronne? Is it likely that those who so justly admire the splendid private and public example of William II would draw the sword for Leopold? Both in the name of trade rights and in that of humanity Germany has a long score to settle on the Congo. Or is it the United States which would stand in the way, when her citizens have vied with our own in withstanding and exposing these iniquities? Or, lastly, is France the danger? There are those who think that because France has capital invested in these enterprises, because the French Congo has itself degenerated under the influence and example of its neighbor, and because France holds some vague right of pre-emption, that therefore our trouble lies across the Channel. For my own part, I cannot believe it. I know too well the generous, chivalrous instincts of the French people. I know, also, that their colonial record during centuries has been hardly inferior to our own. Such traditions are not lightly set aside, and all will soon be right again when a strong Colonial Minister turns his attention to the concessionnaires in the French Congo. He will remember de Brazza's dying words: "Our Congo must not be turned into a Mongalla." It is an impossibility that France could ally herself with King Leopold, and certainly if such were, indeed, to be the case, the *entente cordiale* would be strained to breaking. Surely, then, if these three Powers, the ones most directly involved, have such obvious reasons for helping, rather than hindering, we may go forward without fear. But if it were not so, if all Europe frowned upon our enterprise, we should not be worthy to be the sons of our fathers if we did not go forward on the plain path of national duty.

Arthur Conan Doyle.

Source: Doyle, Arthur Conan, Sir. 1909. *The Crime of the Congo*. New York: Doubleday, Page.

A Belgian Defense of Its Rule in the Congo (1954)

In 1908, King Leopold II—facing international protest against the brutal regime he had established

in the Congo Free State—surrendered control of the territory to the Belgian government. Over the next half century, Belgium ruled its Congolese territory with a not-so-benign neglect, failing to educate the population or prepare it for self-rule. In a 1954 report excerpted below, the Belgian government tried to justify its rule in condescending and even racist tones, by arguing that the pre-existing society there was brutal and chaotic.

Primitive Congolese society consisted of the rulers, the elders of the tribe and the anonymous hoi-polloi. The basic principles of the social and political structure was a kind of paternalism, that all too often degenerated into brutal tyranny. In fact, the people had little voice in their own affairs and the very idea of democracy would have been considered by those in power as an heresy. White paternalism has been decried nearly as much as colonialism itself. It has been represented as an attack on the dignity of man. It certainly is objectionable when one deals with people who socially and intellectually are full grown. It is not when one has to educate to modern ways a population that is supposed to have covered in 50 years the road the western world took more than two thousand years to travel.

The mental inferiority of the Congolese has never been an axiom of Belgian colonial action. On the contrary, the educators, administrators and missionaries have always contended that the possibilities of the Congolese were those of any man anywhere else. Consequently, the idea of discrimination and racial superiority was absent from their policy. However, a de facto distinction was made between those Congolese who already have achieved a degree of civilization, mental as well as technical, and those who have not yet done so. In western society, we discriminate against people who do not wash, or whose way of speech is objectionable; we discriminate all the time in order to preserve our civilization . . . and to educate the boor and the country-bumpkin. That kind of discrimination exists and will continue to exist until the majority of the Congolese have attained a certain degree of evolution.

To prepare the way, the Belgians have improved the housing of the Congolese, they have taught him the elements of hygiene, they have taught him to dress decently and practically, they have shown him

the advantage of membership in clubs and societies. They have put into his hands the great means of communication of our day, the radio, the press, the film. . . . Human contact on the social level between whites and Congolese remains the cornerstone of a harmonious society. This is achieved in clubs and circles where both groups mingle and discuss freely and on equal terms. It is also obtained in the schools where, after careful selection, both races are admitted without discrimination. . . .

The desire for freedom may be innate in the human heart, it is practically realized only after a long struggle and it is a task of everybody to preserve it. Ancient Congolese society ignored democracy. It was based on power. The dynastic history of the royal house of Ruanda-Urundi is a tale of horror. . . . Murder, poisoning, extreme cruel disfiguration, were the political weapons. With all that the Belgians have done away. They respected within certain limits the established order: the local chiefs are confirmed in their power, as democratic methods could not have been introduced overnight, but the chiefs are no longer absolute rulers. They are expected to live up

to a code of rulership and as soon as they transgress it, they are removed and replaced. . . .

To what extent do the Congolese participate in the government of their own affairs? This question, often asked, is as much a leading question as the classic: Have you stopped beating your wife? Because the premise of the discussion should be that nobody, white or colored, has the franchise in the Congo, and that in their present stage, the majority of the population does not have an idea what effective government is all about. . . .

Without false modesty, the Belgians can say to the world, to the ignorant sentimentalists who deplore the disappearance of the picturesque old ways of primitive society, as well as to the hypocritical critics who treat them as exploiters of the natives: "Look at the Belgian Congo today, look at what we have done in scarcely half a century, look at the roads, the cities, the industries, the churches and the schools, above all, look at the millions of primitive, miserable beings we are making into citizens of the world."

Source: Belgian Congo: American Survey. New York: Belgian Embassy, 1954.

BRITISH EMPIRE

Francis Petty: Sir Francis Drake's Famous Voyage round the World (1580)

In 1577, Francis Drake, an English seaman notorious throughout the Spanish empire for his buccaneering attacks on shipping and coastal towns in the Americas, embarked on one of the most ambitious voyages in British seafaring history. Drake attacked a number of Spanish seaports along the coast of the Americas before making his way homeward across the Pacific in a round-the-globe voyage. While Drake's journey did not directly lead to British settlement overseas, it demonstrated the island nation's growing stature as a naval power. In these excerpts from his journal, Francis Petty, one of Drake's Gentlemen at Arms, recounts the many novelties and adventures Drake and his crew experienced in their three-year journey.

The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and thence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the year of our Lord 1577.

The 15. day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577, Master Francis Drake, with a fleet of five ships and barks, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from Plymouth, giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria. But the wind falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth Haven, in Cornwall, where such and so terrible a tempest took us, as few men have seen the like, and was indeed so vehement that all our ships were like to have gone to wrack. But it pleased God to preserve us from that extremity, and to afflict us only for that present with these two particu-

lars: the mast of our Admiral, which was the Pelican, was cut overboard for the safeguard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repairing of which damages we returned again to Plymouth; and having recovered those harms, and brought the ships again to good state, we set forth the second time from Plymouth, and set sail the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same month we fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the coast of Barbary; and coasting along, the 27. day we found an island called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the main. Between which island and the main we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this island our General erected a pinnace, whereof he brought out of England with him four already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the water's side some of the inhabitants of the country, shewing forth their flags of truce; which being seen of our General, he sent his ship's boat to the shore to know what they would. They being willing to come aboard, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboard our ship; which by signs shewed our General that the next day they would bring some provision, as sheep, capons, and hens, and such like. Whereupon our General bestowed amongst them some linen cloth and shoes, and a javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they failed not to come again to the water's side. And our General again setting out our boat, one of our men leaping over-rashly ashore,

and offering friendly to embrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throat if he had made any resistance; and so laying him on a horse carried him away. So that a man cannot be too circumspect and wary of himself among such miscreants. Our pinnace being finished, we departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore we did descry, not contrary to our expectation, certain canters' which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gave chase and took three of them. And proceeding further we met with three carvels, and took them also.

The 17. day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple mariners in her. Which ship we took and carried her further into the harbour, where we remained four days; and in that space our General mustered and trained his men on land in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we took of the fishermen such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yield us; and leaving here one of our little barks, called the Benedict, we took with us one of theirs which they called canters, being of the burden of 40 tons or thereabouts. All these things being finished we departed this harbour the 22. of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugal carvels [caravels], which was bound to the islands of Cape Verde for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those islands. The master or pilot of that carvel did advertise our General that upon one of those islands, called Mayo, there was a great store of dried cabritos [goats], which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yearly make ready for such of the king's ships as did there touch, being bound for his country of Brazil or elsewhere. We fell with this island the 27. of January, but the inhabitants would in no case traffic with us, being thereof forbidden by the king's edict. Yet the next day our General sent to view the island, and the likelihoods that might be there of provision of victuals, about threescore and two men under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughty. And marching towards the chief place of habitation in this island (as by the Portugal we were informed), having travelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the daybreak, we arrested ourselves, to see day before

us. Which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled; but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitful than the other part, especially the valleys among the hills.

Here we gave ourselves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet grapes, which the fruitfulness of the earth at that season of the year yielded us; and that season being with us the depth of winter, it may seem strange that those fruits were then there growing. But the reason thereof is this, because they being between the tropic and the equinoctial, the sun passeth twice in the year through their zenith over their heads, by means whereof they have two summers; and being so near the heat of the line they never lose the heat of the sun so much, but the fruits have their increase and continuance in the midst of winter. The island is wonderfully stored with goats and wild hens; and it hath salt also, without labour, save only that the people gather it into heaps; which continually in greater quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiving heat of the sun kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called cocos, which because it is not commonly known with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it. The tree beareth no leaves nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stem of the tree, as big every several fruit as a man's head; but having taken off the uttermost bark, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinews, as I may term them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold in quantity of liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some less. Within that shell, of the thickness of half-an-inch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance and very white, no less good and sweet than almonds; within that again, a certain clear liquor, which being drunk, you shall not only find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordial.

After we had satisfied ourselves with some of these fruits, we marched further into the island, and saw great store of cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants that we could do no good towards our provision; but they had laid out, as it were to stop our mouths withal, certain old

dried cabritos, which being but ill, and small and few, we made no account of. Being returned to our ships, our General departed hence the 31. of this month, and sailed by the island of Santiago, but far enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pieces; but they all fell short of us, and did us no harm. The island is fair and large, and, as it seemeth, rich and fruitful, and inhabited by the Portugals; but the mountains and high places of the island are said to be possessed by the Moors, who having been slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desert places of the island, where they abide with great strength. Being before this island, we espied two ships under sail, to the one of which we gave chase, and in the end boarded her with a ship-boat without resistance; which we found to be a good prize, and she yielded unto us good store of wine. Which prize our General committed to the custody of Master Doughty; and retaining the pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnace, giving them a butt of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed. The same night we came with the island called by the Portugals Ilha do Fogo, that is, the burning island; in the north side whereof is a consuming fire. The matter is said to be of sulphur, but, notwithstanding, it is like to be a commodious island, because the Portugals have built, and do inhabit there. Upon the south side thereof lieth a most pleasant and sweet island, the trees whereof are always green and fair to look upon; in respect whereof they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave island. From the banks thereof into the sea do run in many places reasonable streams of fresh water easy to come by, but there was no convenient road for our ships; for such was the depth that no ground could be had for anchoring. And it is reported that ground was never found in that place; so that the tops of Fogo burn not so high in the air, but the roots of Brava are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these islands, we drew towards the line, where we were becalmed the space of three weeks, but yet subject to divers great storms, terrible lightnings and much thunder. But with this misery we had the commodity of great store of fish, as dolphins, bonitos, and flying-fishes, whereof some fell into our ships; where-hence they could not rise again for want of moisture, for when their wings are dry they cannot fly.

From the first day of our departure from the islands of Cape Verde, we sailed 54 days without sight of land. And the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brazil, which we saw the fifth of April, in the height of 33 degrees towards the pole Antarctic. And being discovered at sea by the inhabitants of the country, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the devils; about which they use conjurations, making heaps of sand, and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall go about to stay upon their coast, not only sands may be gathered together in shoals in every place, but also that storms and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof, as it is reported, there have been divers experiments.

The 7. day in a mighty great storm, both of lightning, rain, and thunder, we lost the canter, which we called the Christopher. But the eleventh day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her again; and the place where we met our General called the Cape of Joy, where every ship took in some water. Here we found a good temperature and sweet air, a very fair and pleasant country with an exceeding fruitful soil, where were great store of large and mighty deer, but we came not to the sight of any people; but travelling further into the country we perceived the footing of people in the clay ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships we weighed anchor, and ran somewhat further, and harboured ourselves between the rock and the main; where by means of the rock that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe. And upon this rock we killed for our provision certain sea-wolves, commonly called with us seals. From hence we went our course to 36 degrees, and entered the great river of Plate, and ran into 54 and 53 1-2 fathoms of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ship's side; but our General finding here no good harbour, as he thought he should, bare out again to sea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our fly-boat wherein Master Doughty was. But we, sailing along, found a fair and reasonable good bay, wherein were many and the same profitable islands; one whereof had so many seals as would at the least have laden all our ships, and the rest of the islands are, as it were, laden with fowls, which is wonderful to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a

place very plentiful of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Our General, after certain days of his abode in this place, being on shore in an island, the people of the country shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entered into traffic with him; but they would not receive anything at any man's hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of clean, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seem to be very active.

The 18. day of May, our General thought it needful to have a care of such ships as were absent; and therefore endeavouring to seek the fly-boat wherein Master Doughty was, we espied her again the next day. And whereas certain of our ships were sent to discover the coast and to search an harbour, the Marigold and the canter being employed in that business, came unto us and gave us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found. Wherewith all our ships bare, and entered it; where we watered and made new provision of victuals, as by seals, whereof we slew to the number of 200 or 300 in the space of an hour. Here our General in the Admiral rid close aboard the fly-boat, and took out of her all the provision of victuals and what else was in her, and hauling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to save the iron work. Which being a-doing, there came down of the country certain of the people naked, saving only about their waist the skin of some beast, with the fur or hair on, and something also wreathed on their heads. Their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of horns, every man his bow, which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrows. They were very agile people and quick to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feats of wars, as by their order of ranging a few men might appear. These people would not of a long time receive anything at our hands; yet at length our General being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and he once turning his back towards them, one leaped suddenly to him, and took his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him, and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. Having despatched all our business in this place, we departed and set sail. And immediately upon our setting forth we lost our canter, which was absent three of four days; but when our Gen-

eral had her again, he took out the necessaries, and so gave her over, near to the Cape of Good Hope. The next day after, being the 20. of June, we harboured ourselves again in a very good harbour, called by Magellan, Port St. Julian, where we found a gibbet standing upon the main; which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our General went ashore to the main, and in his company John Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliver the master-gunner, John Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake. And entering on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people. And Robert Winterhie having in his hands a bow and arrows, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and, in his draught, his bowstring brake; which the rude savages taking as a token of war, began to bend the force of their bows against our company, and drove them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this port our General began to enquire diligently of the actions of Master Thomas Doughty, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather of contention or mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby, without redress, the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded. Whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found, partly by Master Doughty's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true. Which when our General saw, although his private affection to Master Doughty, as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested, was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country did more touch him, as indeed it ought, than the private respect of one man. So that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Master Doughty should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence. And he, seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Master Fletcher, our minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action. Which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General, and

taken his leave of all the company, with prayers for the Queen's Majesty and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life. This being done, our General made divers speeches to the whole company, persuading us to unity, obedience, love, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed every man the next Sunday following to prepare himself the communion, as Christian brethren and friends, ought to do. Which was done in very reverent sort; and so with good contentment every man went about his business.

The 17. day of August we departed the port of St. Julian, and the 20. day we fell with the Strait of Magellan, going into the South Sea; at the cape or headland whereof we found the body of a dead man, whose flesh was clean consumed. The 21. day we entered the Strait, which we found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings-up, as if there were no passage at all. By means whereof we had the wind often against us; so that some of the fleet recovering a cape or point of land, others should be forced to turn back again, and to come to an anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many fair harbours, with store of fresh water. But yet they lack their best commodity, for the water there is of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow river or corner, or between some rocks; so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come, whereunto the place is much subject, it carrieth with it no small danger. The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high, that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. At both the southerly and easterly parts of the Strait there are island, among which the sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the frete. This Strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them. The breadth of the Strait is in some places a league, in some other places two leagues and three leagues, and in some

other four leagues; but the narrowest place hath a league over.

The 24. of August we arrived at an island in the Straits, where we found great store of fowl which could not fly, of the bigness of geese; whereof we killed in less than one day 3,000, and victualled ourselves thoroughly therewith. The 6. day of September we entered the South Sea at the cape or head shore. The 7. day we were driven by a great storm from the entering into the South Sea, 200 leagues and odd in longitude, and one degree to the southward of the Strait; in which height, and so many leagues to the westward, the 15. day of September, fell out the eclipse of the moon at the hour of six of the clock at night. But neither did the ecliptical conflict of the moon impair our state, nor her clearing again amend us a whit; but the accustomed eclipse of the sea continued in his force, we being darkened more than the moon sevenfold.

From the bay which we called the Bay of Severing of Friends, we were driven back to the southward of the Straits in 57 degrees and a tierce; in which height we came to an anchor among the islands, having there fresh and very good water, with herbs of singular virtue. Not far from hence we entered another bay, where we found people, both men and women, in their canoes naked, and ranging from one island to another seek their meat; who entered traffic with us for such things as they had. We returning hence northward again, found the third of October three islands, in one of which was such plenty of birds as is scant credible to report. The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts, wherein Master Winter was; who, as then we supposed, was put by a storm into the Straits again. Which at our return home we found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared. Thus being come in to the height of the Straits again, we ran, supposing the coast of Chili to lie as the general maps have described it, namely north-west; which we found to lie and trend to the north-east and eastwards. Whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not been truly hitherto discovered, or at the least not truly reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least; being set down either of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of November with an island called La Mocha, where we cast anchor; and our General, hoisting out our

boat, went with ten of our company to shore. Where we found people, whom the cruel and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their own safety and liberty, to flee from the main, and to fortify themselves in this island. We being on land, the people came down to us to the water side with show of great courtesy, bringing to us potatoes, roots, and two very fat sheep; which our General received, and gave them other things for them, and had promised to have water there. But the next day repairing again to the shore, and sending two men a-land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to show no favour if they take them) laid violent hands on them, and, as we think, slew them. Our General seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sail towards the coast of Chili. And drawing towards it, we met near to the shore an Indian in a canoa, who thinking us to have been Spaniards, came to us and told us, that at a place called Santiago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdom of Peru; for which good news our General gave him divers trifles. Whereof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of Valparaiso. When we came thither we found, indeed, the ship riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three negroes; who, thinking us to have been Spaniards, and their friends, welcomed us with a drum, and made ready a botija of wine of Chili to drink to us. But as soon as we were entered, one of our company called Thomas Moon began to lay about him, and struck one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, *Abaxo, perro!* that is in English. 'Go down, dog!' One of these Spaniards, seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed and blessed himself. But, to be short, we stowed them under hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt overboard into the sea, and swam ashore to the town of Santiago, to give them warning of our arrival.

They of the town, being not above nine households, presently fled away and abandoned the town. Our General manned his boat and the Spanish ship's boat, and went to the town; and, being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chapel, which we entered, and found therein a silver chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoil whereof our General gave to Master Fletcher, his

minister. We found also in this town a warehouse stored with wine of Chili and many boards of cedar-wood; all which wine we brought away with us, and certain of the boards to burn for firewood. And so, being come aboard, we departed the haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego, a Greek born, whom our General carried with him as pilot to bring him into the haven of Lima.

When we were at sea our General rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chili, and 25,000 pesos of very pure and fine gold of Valdivia, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and above. So, going on our course, we arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our General sent fourteen of his men on land to fetch water. But they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footmen, and slew one of our men with a piece. The rest came aboard in safety, and the Spaniards departed. We went on shore again and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down again with a flag of truce; but we set sail, and would not trust them. From hence we went to a certain port called Tarapaca; where, being landed, we found by the sea side a Spaniard lying asleep, who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish. We took the silver and left the man. Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight llamas or sheep of Peru, which are as big as asses; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver. So that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.

Herehence we sailed to a place called Arica; and, being entered the port, we found there three small barks, which we rifled, and found in one of them fifty-seven wedges of silver, each of them weighing about 20 lb. weight, and every of these wedges were of the fashion and bigness of a brickbat. In all these three barks, we found not one person. For they, mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a-land to the town, which consisteth of about twenty houses; which we would have ransacked if our company had been better and more in number. But our General, contented with the spoil of the ships, left the town and put off again to sea,

and set sail for Lima, and, by the way, met with a small bark, which he boarded, and found in her good store of linen cloth. Whereof taking some quantity, he let her go.

To Lima we came the 13. of February; and, being entered the haven, we found there about twelve sail of ships lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sails carried on shore; for the masters and merchants were here most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our General rifled these ships, and found in one of them as chest full of reals of plate, and good store of silks and linen cloth; and took the chest into his own ship, and good store of the silks and linen. In which ship he had news of another ship called the Cacafuego, which was gone towards Payta, and that the same ship was laden with treasure. Whereupon we stayed no longer here, but, cutting all the cables of the ships in the haven, we let them drive whither they would, either to sea or to the shore; and with all speed we followed the Cacafuego toward Payta, thinking there to have found her. But before we arrived there she was gone from thence towards Panama; whom our General still pursued, and by the way met with a bark laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boarded and searched, and found in her 80 lb. weight of gold, and a crucifix of gold with goodly great emeralds set in it, which he took, and some of the cordage also for his own ship. From hence we departed, still following the Cacafuego; and our General promised our company that whosoever should first descry her should have his chain of gold for his good news. It fortun'd that John Drake, going up into the top, descried her about three of the clock. And about six of the clock we came to her and boarded her, and shot at her three pieces of ordnance, and strake down her mizen; and, being entered, we found in her great riches, as jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests full of reals of plate, fourscore pound weight of gold, and six-and-twenty ton of silver. The place where we took this prize was called Cape de San Francisco, about 150 leagues [south] from Panama. The pilot's name of this ship was Francisco; and amongst other plate that our General found in this ship he found two very fair gilt bowls of silver, which were the pilot's. To whom our General said, Senor Pilot, you have here two silver cups, but I

must needs have one of them; which the pilot, because he could not otherwise choose, yielded unto, and gave the other to the steward of our General's ships. When this pilot departed from us, his boy said thus unto our General: Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Caplata, and your ship shall be called the Cacafuego. Which pretty speech of the pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us, both then and long after. When our General had done what he would with this Cacafuego, he cast her off, and we went on our course still towards the west; and not long after met with a ship laden with linen cloth and fine China dishes of white earth, and great store of China silks, of all which things we took as we listed. The owner himself of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman, from whom our General took a falcon of gold, with a great emerald in the breast thereof; and the pilot of the ship he took also with him, and so cast the ship off.

This pilot brought us to the haven of Guatulco, the town whereof, as he told us, had but 17 Spaniards in it. As soon as we were entered this haven, we landed, and went presently to the town and to the town-house; where we found a judge sitting in judgment, being associated with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the town. Both which judges and prisoners we took, and brought them a-shipboard, and caused the chief judge to write his letter to the town to command all the townsmen to avoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransacked the town; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantity of a bushel, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship. And here one Thomas Moon, one of our company, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the town; and, searching him, he found a chain of gold about him, and other jewels, which he took, and so let him go. At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilot which he took at the islands of Cape Verde out of a ship of St. Mary port, of Portugal. And having set them ashore we departed hence, and sailed to the island of Canno; where our General landed, and brought to shore his own ship, and discharged her, mended and graved her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

And while we were here we espied a ship and set sail after her, and took her, and found in her

two pilots and a Spanish governor, going for the islands of the Philippines. We searched the ship, and took some of her merchandises, and so let her go. Our General at this place and time, thinking himself, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our country and prince in general, sufficiently satisfied and revenged; and supposing that her Majesty at his return would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coast, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his country.

He thought it not good to return by the Straits, for two special causes; the one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands, he, being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Straits in the South Sea; where continual storms reigning and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, he thought it not a good course to adventure that way. He resolved, therefore, to avoid these hazards, to go forward to the Islands of the Malucos, and thence to sail the course of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Esperanza. Upon this resolution he began to think of his best way to the Malucos, and finding himself, where he now was, becalmed, he saw that of necessity he must be forced to take a Spanish course; namely, to sail somewhat northerly to get a wind. We therefore set sail, and sailed 600 leagues at the least for a good wind; and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April till the third of June.

The fifth of June, being in 43 degrees towards the pole Arctic, we found the air so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so; finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same. In this bay we anchored; and the people of the country, having their houses close by the water's side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our General. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that

we brought. But our General, according to his natural and accustomed humanity, courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary. The presents which they sent to our General, were feathers, and cauls of network. Their houses are digged round about with earth, and have from the uttermost brims of the circle, cliffs of wood set upon them, joining close together at the top like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closeness are very warm. Their bed is the ground with rushes strowed on it; and lying about the house, [they] have the fire in the midst. The men go naked; the women take bulrushes, and kemb them after the manner of hemp, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang down about their hips, having also about their shoulders a skin of deer, with the hair upon it. These women are very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of tabacco for presents. And when they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had pitched our tents, they stayed themselves; where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration; which done, they left their bows upon the hill, and came down with their presents. In the meantime the women, remaining upon the hill, tormented themselves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived that they were about a sacrifice. In the meantime our General with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it; but when they were come unto us, they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them. The news of our being there being spread through the country, the people that inhabited round about came down, and amongst them the king himself, a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men; before whose coming were sent two ambassadors to our General, to signify that their king was coming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about half an hour. This ended, they by signs requested our General to send something by their hand to their king, as a token

that his coming might be in peace. Wherein our General having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely majesty, the people crying continually after their manner; and as they drew near unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comeliness. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the sceptre or mace before the king; whereupon hanged two crowns, less and a bigger, with three chains of marvellous length. The crowns were made of knit work, wrought artificially with feathers of divers colours. The chains were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to wear them; and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the sceptre, was the king himself, with his guard about his person, clad with coney skins, and other skins. After them followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with black, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another for a present. Not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meantime our General gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making, against their approaching, a very warlike show. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a general silence. Then he that bare the sceptre before the king, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and lofty voice proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing half an hour. Which ended, and a general Amen, as it were, given, the king with the whole number of men and women, the children expected, came down without any weapon; who, descending to the foot of the hill, set themselves in order. In coming towards our bulwarks and tents, the sceptre-bearer began a song, observing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance; whom the king with his guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, which danced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they

made signs to our General to sit down; to whom the king and divers others made several orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subjects. In which, to persuade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, did set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offered him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto, as it seemed, a sign of triumph; which thing our General thought not meet to reject, because he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our country. Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country into his hands, wishing that the richest and treasure thereof might so conveniently be transported to the enriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people, leaving the king and his guard with our General, scattered themselves together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of every person: and such as pleased their fancy (which were the youngest), they enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching and tearing their flesh from their faces with their nails, whereof issued abundance of blood. But we used signs to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom only they ought to worship. They shewed unto us their wounds, and craved help of them at our hands; whereupon we gave them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefs, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Every third day they brought their sacrifices unto us, until they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them; yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the hour of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They entreated us, that being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessary business being ended, our General with his company travelled up into the country

to their villages, where we found herds of deer by a thousand in a company, being most large, and fat of body. We found the whole country to be a warren of a strange kind of coney; their bodies in bigness as be the Barbary coneyes, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a want, and the tail of a rat, being of great length. Under her chin is on either side a bag, into the which she gathereth her meat, when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their king's coat was made of them. Our General called this country Nova Albion, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie towards the sea, and the other, because it might have some affinity with our country in name, which sometime was so called. There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver.

At our departure hence our General set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majesty's right and title to the same; namely a plate, nailed upon a fair great post, whereupon was engraved her Majesty's name, the day and year of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majesty's hands, together with her Highness' picture and arms, in a piece of six pence of current English money, under the plate, whereunder was also written the name of our General.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had never been in this part of the country, neither did ever discover the land by many degrees to the southwards of this place.

Source: Voyages and Travels: Ancient and Modern, with Introductions, Notes and Illustrations. New York: P. F. Collier, 1910.

Charter to Sir Walter Raleigh (1584)

Soldier, explorer, and courtier of Elizabeth I, Sir Walter Raleigh was granted the right to establish colonies in North America by this charter of 1584. Despite the backing of the crown, which was more political than economic, Raleigh's three attempts to create settlements on the coast of what is now North Carolina failed. Most notorious of these was the colony of Roanoke. Established in 1587, its entire contingent of 100-plus colonists disappeared almost

without a trace, victims, many historians believe, of hostile inhabitants.

Elizabeth by the Grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whome these presents shall come, greeting.

Knowe yee that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, we give and graunt to our trustie and welbeloved servant *Walter Raleigh*, Esquire, and to his heires assignee for ever, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People, as to him, his heires and assignee, and to every or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to have, horde, occupie and enjoy to him, his heires and assignee for euer, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and preheminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may graunt, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore graunted to any person or persons, bodies politique.or corporate: and the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heires and successors, shall goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, the statutes or acte of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, romaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, acte, lawe, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said *Walter Salem*, his heires and assignee, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time, and times hereafter, have, take, and leade in the saide voyage, and travaile thitherward, or to inhabit there with him, or them, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects as shall willingly

accompanie him or them, and every or any of them to whom also we doe by these presents, give full libertie and authority in that behalfe, and also to have, take, and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the Transportations and Navigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them, be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heires, or successors.

And further that the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, and every of them, shall have holde, occupie, and enioye to him, his heires and assignee, and every of them for ever, all the soile of all such lands, territories, and Countreis, so to bee discovered and possessed as aforesaide, and of all such Cities, castles, townes, villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as other within the saide lands, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee-simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conveniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall romaine within the allegiance of us, our heires, and successors: reserving always to us our heires, and successors, for all services, duties, and demaundes, the first part of all the oare of golde and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discoverie, subduing and possessing, shal be there gotten and obtained: All which lands, Countreis, and territories, shall for ever be holden of the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said paiement of the said first part, reserved onely for all services.

And moreover, we doe by these presents, for us, our heires and. successors, give and graunt licence to the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heirs, and assignee, and every of them, that he, and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoever, all, and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especiall liking and licence of the saide *Walter Raleigh*, and of his heires and assignee, shall attempt to inhabite within the said Countreis, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreis as aforesaide (if they

shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesaide with the subjects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with us) where the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires, or assignee, or any of them, or his, or their or any of their associates or company, shall within sine yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy, either by sea or land, the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heirs or assignee, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies giving, and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie, to the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heirs and assignee, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their shipper, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the saide *Walter Raleigh*, or his heires, or assignee, as aforesaide, shal be founde trafiquing into any harbour or harbors, creeke, or creekes, within the limits aforesaide, (the subjects of our Realms and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with us, trading to the Newfound land for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or shipwacke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires, and assignee, and every, or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countreis, lands, and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesaide with our Realmes of Englande, and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we do by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countreis, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesaide, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of us, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires, and assignee, and to all, and every of them, and to all and every other person, and persons being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courtes of recorde within our Realme of Englande, that with the assent of the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires or assignes, shall in his journeis for discoverie, or in the journeis for conquest,

hereafter travelle to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesaide, and to their, and to every of their heires, that they, and every or any of them, being either borne within our saide Realmes of Englande, or Irelande or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, Countreis, and territories, with such licence (as aforesaide) shall and may have all the priviledges of free Denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample manor and fourme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our saide Realme of England, any lawe, custome, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding

And for asmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countreis, and territories as aforesaid, it shal be necessary for the safetie of al men, that shal adventure them selves in those murnies or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace, and civil quietnes ech with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine with great Paine and perill, we for us, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and graunt to the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and Countreis in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, inane full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, governe, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capital, or criminal, as civil, both marine and other all such our subjects as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journies or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesaide, or shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the saide place or places, where the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires or assignee, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabits within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall bee by him the saide *Walter Raleigh* his heires and assignee, and every or any of them devised, or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So always as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances

may be as neere as conveniently may be, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouvernement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdraws any of the subjects or people of those lances or places from the allegiance of us. our heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne under God.

And further, wee doe by these presents for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt full power and authoritie to our trustie and wel-beloved counsaier sir *William Cicill* knight, Lorde *Burghley*, our high Treasurer of England, and to the Lorde Treasurer of England, for us, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the privie Counsell, of us, our heirs and successours, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that hee, they, or any fours or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their handes or scales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee. and every or any of them by him, and by themselves, or by their, of any of their sufficient Atturnies, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof all, or any of his, or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associate and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the saide Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the privie Counsaile, of us, our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaide) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and convenient, for the better reliefe and supportation of him the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires, and assignee, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associate and companies, any acte, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires or assignee, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter, robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or do any acte of unjust or unlawful hostilitie, to any of the subjects of us, our heires or suc-

cessors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, governors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with us, our heires and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governour, or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heires and successours, shall make open proclamation within any the Fortes of our Realme of England, that the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, and adherents, or any to whome these our letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to be Emitted, by such proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as both we and the said princes, or other so complayning, may horde us and themselves fully contented. And that if the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limitted, that then it shall be lawfull to us our heires and successors, to put the saide *Walter Raleigh*, his heires and assignee and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaide) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the said *Walter Raleigh*, his heires, assignee and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others, to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention of the cleer yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said *Walter Raleigh*, before this time made in these presents be not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrarye thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selves, at *Westminster*, the 25. day of March, in the sixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigne.

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton, ed. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic*

Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.
Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909.

Elizabeth I on the Spanish Armada (1588)

For several decades leading up to 1588 and the launch of the Spanish Armada against England, the latter country had been engaging in barely disguised official piracy against Spanish shipping to, from, and within New Spain and other Spanish possessions in the Americas. To put a stop to these depredations, Spain launched its great armada in preparation of an invasion of the English home islands. Here, Elizabeth I, queen of England, speaks to her troops preparing for battle. Ultimately, bad weather and England's smaller but more maneuverable fleet would defeat the armada and end the threat of invasion by Spain. Most historians agree that the defeat of the armada is a milestone in England's emergence as a great power and colonizer.

My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honor and my blood, even the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England, too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonor should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean my lieutenant general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince

commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and by your valor in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over the enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.

Elizabeth I of England—1588

Source: "Spanish Armada," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. J. H. Pollen. New York: Robert Appleton, 1907.

Instructions for the Virginia Colony (1606)

In 1606, a number of merchants who had organized the Virginia Company were issued a charter by James I for the settlement of a colony in North America. Wishing to emulate the Spanish, the stockholders of the Virginia Company hoped that the colonists would find precious metals and entice the people of the region to work for them. Given the following instructions, three small ships set forth for the Chesapeake Bay in 1607. Finding no precious metals and a native population most definitely unwilling to work for them, the colonists barely survived the starvation and disease that faced them in the new land during their first decade there.

As we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-West for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you make election of the strongest,

most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your caske, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out; and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprised as the French were in Florida by Melindus, and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure [store] at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts; whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other you may employ in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. The other forty you may employ for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie any high lands or hills, Cap-

tain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the Thames; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tan[a]is and Dwina have three heads near joynd; and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals [natives], if you can eschew it; and employ some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other . . . victuals if you have any; and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that pass over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass; for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town; for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs; but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort: and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least some ill-dispositioned persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not mar your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after; and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever.

It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your street may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces,

you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of anything that may discourage others.

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

Source: Avalon Project of the Yale Law School:
www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm.

Charter of Massachusetts Bay (1629)

Under Charles I, the English government became increasingly hostile to dissenters from the Church of England, most notably a group disparagingly called the Puritans. Believing themselves a “saving remnant” of England and hoping that their colony would prove to be an ideal “City upon a Hill,” which others in the home country would look to for inspiration, some 900 Puritans set sail for New England, where they established a colony on Massachusetts Bay in 1630. Under the charter, excerpted here, they set up a system of self-governance. The Charter of Massachusetts Bay, while hardly democratic in nature, remains a milestone in the establishment of the modern American state.

That the said Governour and Companye, and their Successors, maie have forever one comon Seale, to be used in all Causes and Occasions of the said Company, and the same Seale may alter, chaunge, breake, and newe make, from tyme to tyme, at their pleasures. And our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Us, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever, there shalbe one Governor, one Deputy Governor, and eighteene Assistants of the same Company, to be from tyme to tyme consti-

tuted, elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company, for the twyme being, in such Manner and Forme as hereafter in theis Presents is expressed, which said Officers shall applie themselves to take Care for the best disposing and ordering of the generall buynes and Affaires of, for, and concerning the said Landes and Premisses hereby mentioned, to be graunted, and the Plantation thereof, and the Government of the People there. And for the better Execution of our Royall Pleasure and Graunte in this Behalf, Wee doe, by theis presents, for Us, our Heires and Successors, nominate, ordeyne, make, and constitute; our wel-beloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the saide Thomas Goffe, to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the saide Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne, George Foxcrofte, William Vassall, and William Pinchion, to be the present Assistants of the saide Company, to continue in the saide several Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner, as in and by theis Presents is hereafter declared and appointed.

And further, Wee will, and by theis Presents, for Us, our Heires and Successors, doe ordeyne and graunte, That the Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, or in his Absence by Occasion of Sicknes or otherwise, the Deputie Governor for the tyme being, shall have Authoritie from tyme to tyme upon all Occasions, to give order for the assembling of the saide Company, and calling them together to consult and advise of the Bussineses and Affaires of the saide Company, and that the said Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company, for the tyme being, shall or maie once every Moneth, or oftener at their Pleasures, assemble and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves, for the better ordering and directing of their Affaires, and that any seaven or more persons of the Assistants, together with the Governor, or Deputie Governor soe assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the said Company, for the handling, ordering, and dispatching of all such Bussineses and Occur-

rents as shall from tyme to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or Plantation; and that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistants for the tyme being, upon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Termes respectivelie forever, one greate generall and solemne assemblie, which foure generall assemblies shalbe stiled and called the foure greate and generall Courts of the saide Company.

In all and every, or any of which saide greate and generall Courts soe assembled, Wee doe for Us, our Heires and Successors, give and graunte to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistants and Freeman of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater number of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and six of the Assistants at the least to be seaven, shall have full Power and authoritie to choose, nominate, and appointe, such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admitt; and to elect and constitute such officers as they shall thinke fill and requisite, for the ordering, manning, and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors; And to make Lawes and Ordinances for the Good and Welfare of the saide Company, and for the Government and ordering of the saide Landes and Plantation, and the People inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete, soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Realme of England.

And, our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Us, our Heires and Successors, establish and ordeyne, That yearely once in the yeare, for ever hereafter, namely, the last Wednesday in Easter Tearme, yearely, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants of the saide Company and all other officers of the saide Company shalbe in the Generall Court or Assembly to be held for that Day or Tyme, newly chosen for the Yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the said Company, for the Tyme being, then and there present, as is afore-

saide. And, if it shall happen the present governor, Deputy Governor, and assistants, by theis presents appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their Roomes, or any of them, or any other of the officers to be appointed for the said Company, to dye, or to be removed from his or their severall Offices or Places before the saide generall Day of Election (whome Wee doe hereby declare for any Misdemeanor or Defect to be removeable by the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company, or such greater Parte of them in any of the publique Courts to be assembled as is aforesaid) That then, and in every such Case, it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistants, and Company aforesaide, or such greater Parte of them soe to be assembled as is aforesaide, in any of their Assemblies, to proceade to a new Election of one or more others of their Company in the Roome or Place, Roomes or Places of such Officer or Officers soe dyeing or removed according to their Discretions, And, immediately upon and after such Election and Elections made of such Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistant or Assistants, or any other officer of the saide Company, in Manner and Forme aforesaid, the Authoritie, Office, and Power, before given to the former Governor, Deputie Governor, or other Officer and Officers soe removed, in whose Steade and Place newe shalbe soe chosen, shall as to him and them, and everie of them, cease and determine

Provided alsoe, and our Will and Pleasure is, That aswell such as are by theis Presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputie Governor, and Assistants of the said Company, as those that shall succeed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before they undertake the Execution of their saide Offices and Places respectivelie, take their Corporal Oathes for the due and faithfull Performance of their Duties in their severall Offices and Places, before such Person or Persons as are by theis Presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same. . . .

And, further our Will and Pleasure is, and Wee doe hereby for Us, our Heires and Successors, ordeyne and declare, and graunte to the saide Governor and Company and their Successors, That all and every the Subjects of Us, our Heires or Successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide Landes and Premisses hereby mentioned to

be graunted, and every of their Children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the Seas in going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subjects within any of the Domyinions of Us, our Heires or Successors, to all Intents, Constructions, and Purposes whatsoever, as if they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England. And that the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said Company for the Tyme being, or either of them, and any two or more of such of the saide Assistants as shalbe thereunto appointed by the saide Governor and Company at any of their Courts or Assemblies to be held as aforesaide, shall and maie at all Tymes, and from tyme to tyme hereafter, have full Power and Authoritie to minister and give the Oathe and Oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance, or either of them, to all and everie Person and Persons, which shall at any Tyme or Tymes hereafter goe or passe to the Landes and Premisses hereby mentioned to be graunted to inhabite in the same.

And, Wee doe of our further Grace, certen Knowledg and meere Motion, give and graunte to the saide Governor and Company, and their Successors, That it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor, and such of the Assistants and Freemen of the said Company for the Tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courts aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially sumoned and assembled for that Purpose, or the greater Parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor, and six of the Assistants to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme, to make, ordeine, and establishe all Manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances, Directions, and Instructions, not contrairie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, aswell for settling of the Formes and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy, fitt and necessary for the said Plantation, and the Inhabitants there, and for nameing and setting of all sorts of Officers, both superior and inferior, which they shall finde needefull for that Governement and Plantation, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, Powers, and Lymytts of every such Office and Place, and the Formes of such Oathes warrantable by the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministred unto them for the

Execution of the said severall Offices and Places; as also, for the disposing and ordering of the Elections of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall, and of such others as shalbe to succede in Case of Death or Removeall, and ministring the said Oathes to the newe elected Officers, and for Impositions of lawfull Fynes, Mulcts, Imprisonment, or other lawfull Correction, according to the Course of other Corporations in this our Realme of England, and for the directing, ruling, and disposing of all other Matters and Thinges, whereby our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversation, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which in our Royall Intention, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantation.

Willing, commaunding, and requiring, and by theis Presents for Us, our Heires, and Successors, ordeyning and appointing, that all such Orders, Lawes, Statuts and Ordinances, Instructions and Directions, as shalbe soe made by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and such of the Assistants and Freemen as aforesaide, and published in Writing, under their common Seale, shalbe carefullie and dulle observed, kept, performed, and putt in Execution, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the same; and theis our Letters- patents, or the Duplicate or exemplification thereof, shalbe to all and everie such Officers, superior and inferior, from Tyme to Tyme, for the putting of the same Orders, Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances, Instructions, and Directions, in due Execution against Us, our Heires and Successors, a sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

And Wee doe further, for Us, our Heires and Successors, give and graunt to the said Governor and Company, and their Successors by theis Presents, that all and everie such Chiefe Comaunders, Captaines, Governors, and other Officers and Ministers, as by the said Orders, Lawes, Statuts, Ordinances, Instructions, or Directions of the said Governor and Company for the Tyme being, shalbe from Tyme to Tyme hereafter imploied either in the Government of the saide Inhabitants and Plantation, or in the Waye by Sea thither, or from thence, according to the Natures and Lymytts of their Offices and Places respectively, shall from Tyme to Tyme hereafter for

ever, within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England hereby mentioned to be graunted and confirmed, or in the Waie by Sea thither, or from thence, have full and Absolute Power and Authoritie to correct, punishe, pardon, governe, and rule all such the Subjects of Us, our Heires and Successors, as shall from Tyme to Tyme adventure themselves in any Voyadge thither or from thence, or that shall at any Tyme hereafter, inhabite within the Precincts and Partes of Newe England aforesaid, according to the Orders, Lawes, Ordinances, Instructions, and Directions aforesaid, not being repugnant to the Lawes and Statutes of our Realme of England as aforesaid. . . .

Source: Avalon Project of the Yale Law School:
www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm.

Bacon's Declaration in the Name of the People (July 30, 1676)

For most of its first seventy years of existence, the Virginia colony was dominated by large landholders, many of whom ruthlessly exploited indentured servants from Britain for labor. Under standard indentured contracts, servants served seven years before being released and given small plots of land on the frontier. Confronting a hostile native population and paying an unfair share of the colony's taxes, many of these freed indentured servants were angry with the landholders of Virginia. Under the leadership of a recently arrived land-poor noble named Nathaniel Bacon, they rose up against large landholder rule in 1676. Briefly successful, the rebellion was crushed by the timely arrival of a British warship and the death of Bacon from malaria.

The Declaracon of the People.

1. For haveing upon specious pretences of publiqe works raised greate unjust taxes upon the Comonality for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but noe visible effects in any measure adequate, For not haveing dureing this long time of his Gouvernement in any measure advanced this hopefull Colony either by fortificacons Townes or Trade.

2. For haveing abused and rendred contemptable the Magistrates of Justice, by advancing to places of Judicature, scandalous and Ignorant favorites.

3. For haveing wronged his Majesties prerogative and interest, by assumeing Monopoly of the Beaver trade, and for haveing in that unjust gaine betrayed and sold his Majesties Country and the lives of his loyall subjects, to the barbarous heathen.

4. For haveing, protected, favoured, and Imboldned the Indians against his Majesties loyall subjects, never contriveing, requireing, or appointing any due or proper meanes of satisfaction for their many Invasions, robbories, and murthers comitted upon us.

5. For haveing when the Army of English, was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places burne, spoyle, murther and when we might with ease have destroyed them: who then were in open hostillity, for then haveing expressly countermanded, and sent back our Army, by passing his word for the peaceable demeanour of the said Indians, who imediately prosecuted their evill intentions, comitting horred murthers and robbories in all places, being protected by the said ingagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley, haveing ruined and laid desolate a greate part of his Majesties Country, and have now drawne themselves into such obscure and remote places, and are by their success soe imboldned and confirmed, by their confederacy soe strengthened that the cryes of blood are in all places, and the terror, and constimation of the people soe greate, are now become, not onely a difficult, but a very formidable enemy, who might at first with ease have bene destroyed.

6. And lately when upon the loud outcries of blood the Assembly had with all care raised and framed an Army for the preventing of further mischeife and safeguard of this his Majesties Colony.

7. For haveing with onely the privacy of some few favorites, without acquainting the people, onely by the alteracon of a figure, forged a Comission, by we know not what hand, not onely without, but even against the consent of the people, for the raiseing and effecting civill warr and distruction, which being happily and without blood shed prevented, for haveing the second time attempted the same, thereby calling downe our forces from the defence of the fronteeres and most weekly expoased places.

8. For the prevencon of civill mischeife and ruin amongst ourselves, whilst the barbarous enemy in

all places did invade, murthre and spoyle us, his majesties most faithfull subjects.

Of this and the aforesaid Articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who hath traiterously attempted, violated and Injured his Majesties interest here, by a loss of a greate part of this his Colony and many of his faithfull loyall subjects, by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shamefull manner expoased to the Incursions and murder of the heathen, And we doe further declare these the ensuing persons in this list, to have beene his wicked and pernicious councellours Confederates, aiders, and assisters against the Comonality in these our Civill comotions.

Sir Henry Chichley
 William Claiburne Junior
 Lieut. Coll. Christopher
 Thomas Hawkins Wormeley
 William Sherwood
 Phillip Ludwell
 John Page Clerke
 Robert Beverley
 John Cluffe Clerke
 Richard Lee
 John West
 Thomas Ballard
 Hubert Farrell
 William Cole
 Thomas Reade
 Richard Whitacre
 Matthew Kempe
 Nicholas Spencer
 Joseph Bridger

And we doe further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within fower days after the notice hereof, Or otherwise we declare as followeth.

That in whatsoever place, howse, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hidd, or protected, we declaire the owners, Masters or Inhabitants of the said places, to be confederates and trayters to the people and the estates of them is alsoe of all the aforesaid persons to be confiscated, and this we the Comons of Virginia doe declare, desiering a firme union amongst our selves that we may joyntly and with one accord defend our selves

against the common Enemy, and lett not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the inocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressours devide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are therefore in his majesties name to command you forthwith to seize the persons above mentioned as Trayters to the King and Country and them to bring to Midle plantacon, and there to secure them untill further order, and in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand itt in the name of the people in all the Counties of Virginia.

Nathaniel Bacon

Generall by Consent of the people.

Source: Avalon Project of the Yale Law School:
www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm.

“Rule Britannia” (1740)

“Rule Britannia” was written by composer Thomas Arne for his masque Alfred in 1740 and first performed in public for the Prince of Wales in 1745. The tune became an immediate favorite of the public and came to be an unofficial anthem of the country’s sea-borne empire for two centuries.

When Britain first, at heaven’s command,
 Arose from out the azure main,
 Arose, arose, arose from out the azure main.
 This was the charter, the charter of the land,
 And guardian angels sang the strain.

*Rule Britannia! Britannia rule the waves.
 Britons never, never, never shall be slaves.*

The nations not so blest as thee,
 Must in their turn to tyrants fall,
 Must in their turn, must in their turn,
 To tyrants fall,
 While thou shall flourish,
 Shall flourish great and free,
 The dread and envy of them all.

Chorus.

Still more majestic shalt thou rise,
 More dreadful from each foreign stroke.
 More dreadful, more dreadful
 From each foreign stroke.

As the loud blast that tears the skies,
Serves but to root thy native oak.

Chorus.

Thee haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame,
All their attempts to bend thee down,
All their attempts, all their attempts
To bend thee down,
Will but arouse thy generous flame.
But work their woe and thy renown.

Chorus.

To thee belongs the rural reign,
Thy cities shall with commerce shine,
Thy cities shall, thy cities shall
With commerce shine.
All thine shall be the subject main,
And every shore it circles thine.

Chorus.

The muses still, with freedom found,
Shall to thy happy coast repair,
Shall to thy happy coast,
Thy happy coasts repair,
Best isle of beauty,
With matchless beauty crowned,
And manly hearts to guard the fair.

Chorus.

Source: Arne, Thomas Augustine (composer). 1740. "Rule Britannia!" <http://www.expagne.com/guardsman19>.

Proclamation of 1763 (Indian Provisions)

Following their victory in the Seven Years' War (known in the United States as the French and Indian War), the British took possession of vast territories in Canada, the trans-Appalachian west, and Florida. Formerly administered by France, these territories were largely inhabited by Native Americans of many different tribes. In order to maintain peace in these regions, and to promote trade with the native peoples, the British issued the Proclamation of 1763. Among its provisions was a mandate to prevent white colonial encroachment west of the Appalachians. The Proclamation of 1763 was highly resented by the inhabitants of the thirteen American colonies and was one of the eventual

causes of the American Revolution a dozen years later.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds—We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments as described in their Commissions: as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid.

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands

within the Countries above described. or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that, if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government, they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose: And we do, by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever, provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside, and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit, by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade:

And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our Colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Reward, taking

especial Care to insert therein a Condition, that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly conjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever, who standing charged with Treason, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors, shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed, of which they stand accused, in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7th Day of October 1763, in the Third Year of our Reign.

God Save the King.

Source: Government of Nova Scotia website:
www.gov.ns.ca/abor/pubs/1763proc.PDF

India: Regulating Act (1773)

With the East India Company experiencing one of its periodic financial crises, the British government passed the Regulating Act for India in 1773. Under this act, the governor-general of British India and a council would be nominated both by the East India Company and the government. The Regulating Act was yet another milestone in the gradual shift of colonial authority from chartered company to crown, a process that would culminate with the shift to full crown rule in 1857, following the great Indian Mutiny.

An Act for Establishing Certain Regulations for the Better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as Well in India as in Europe

Whereas the several powers and authorities granted by charters to the united company of merchants in England trading to the East Indies have been found, by experience, not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses which have prevailed in the government and administration of the affairs of the said united company, as

well at home as in India, to the manifest injury of the public credit, and of the commercial interests of the said company; and it is therefore become highly expedient that certain further regulations, better adapted to their present circumstances and condition, should be provided and established: . . .

. . . And, for the better management of the said united company's affairs in India, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, for the government of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, there shall be appointed a governor-general, and four counsellors; and that the whole civil and military government of the said presidency, and also the ordering, management and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Orissa*, shall, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues shall remain in the possession of the said united company, be, and are hereby vested in the said governor-general and council of the said presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in like manner, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; as the same now are, or at any time heretofore might have been exercised by the president and council, or select committee, in the said kingdoms.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases whatsoever wherein any difference of opinion shall arise upon any question proposed in any consultation, the said governor-general and council shall be bound and concluded by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present: and if it shall happen that, by the death or removal, or by the absence, of any of the members of the said council, such governor-general and council shall happen to be equally divided; then, and in every such case, the said governor-general, or in his absence, the eldest counsellor present, shall have a casting voice, and his opinion shall be decisive and conclusive.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said governor-general and council, or the major part of them, shall have, and they are hereby authorised to have, power of superintending and countrolling the government and management of the presidencies of *Madras*, *Bombay*, and *Bencoolen* respectively.

Source: Horn, D. B., and Mary Ransome, eds. *English Historical Documents, 1714–1783*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1957.

Quebec Act (1774)

Britain's victory over France in the Seven Years' War—known in the United States as the French and Indian War—presented London with a number of problems. Among these was how to govern a population of 60,000 French-speaking Catholics. To assure their loyalty to the crown, the British government protected the Catholic faith in all territories once owned by France, including Quebec and much of the Mississippi Valley. To the largely Protestant settlers of the thirteen colonies, the Quebec Act was considered an outrage. To them, it assured Catholic domination over a hinterland they themselves hoped one day to settle. Thus, the Quebec Act became yet another instigating factor in the rebellion that would result, in the succeeding years, in an American declaration of independence from the British Empire.

Whereas his Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation bearing Date the seventh Day of October, in the third Year of his Reign, thought fit to declare the Provisions which had been made in respect to certain Countries, Territories, and Islands in America, ceded to his Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the tenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three:

And whereas, by the Arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation a very large Extent of Country, within which there were several Colonies and Settlements of the Subjects of France who claimed to remain therein under the Faith of the said Treaty, was left, without any Provision being made for the Administration of Civil Government therein; and certain Parts of the Territory of Canada, where sedentary Fisheries had been established and carried on by the Subjects of France, Inhabitants of the said Province of Canada under Grants and Concessions from the Government thereof, were annexed to the Government of Newfoundland.

“II. Provided always that nothing herein contained, relative to the Boundary of the Province of Quebec shall in anywise affect the Boundaries of any other Colony.

“III. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to make void, or to vary or alter any Right, Title, or Possession, derived under any Grant, Conveyance, or otherwise howsoever, of

or to any Lands within the said Province, or the Provinces thereto adjoining; but that the same shall remain and be in Force, and have Effect, as if this Act had never been made.

“IV. And whereas the Provisions, made by the said Proclamation, in respect to the Civil Government of the said Province of Quebec, and the Powers and Authorities given to the Governor and other Civil Officers of the said Province, by the Grants and Commissions issued in consequence thereof, have been found, upon Experience, to be inapplicable to the State and Circumstances of the said Province, the Inhabitants whereof amounted, at the Conquest, to above sixty-five thousand Persons professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and enjoying an established Form of Constitution and System of Laws, by which their Persons and Property had been protected, governed, and ordered, for a long Series of Years, from the first Establishment of the said Province of Canada;” be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid. That the said Proclamation, so far as the same relates to the said Province of Quebec, and the Commission under the Authority whereof the Government of the said Province is at present administered.

V. And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That his Majesty’s Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec. may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King’s Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion.

VI. Provided nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, to make such Provision out of the rest of the said accustomed Dues and Rights, for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall from Time to Time think necessary and expedient.

“VII Provided always and be it enacted, That no Person professing the Religion of the Church of

Rome, and residing in the said Province, shall be obliged to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, or any other Oaths substituted by any other Act in the Place thereof; but that every such Person who, by the said Statute, is required to take the Oath therein mentioned, shall be obliged, and is hereby required, to take and subscribe the following Oath before the Governor, or such other Person in such Court of Record as his Majesty shall appoint, who are hereby authorized to administer the same;

“I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person. Crown, and Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts, which I shall know to be against him, or any of them; and all this I do swear without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation, and renouncing all Pardons and Dispensations from any Power or Person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me GOD.”

And every such Person, who shall neglect or refuse to take the said Oath before mentioned, shall incur and be liable to the same Penalties, Forfeitures, Disabilities, and Incapacities, as he would have incurred and been liable to for neglecting or refusing to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

“VIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty’s Canadian Subjects within the Province of Quebec. the religious orders and Communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, together with all Customs and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights . . .

Source: American Historical Documents, 1000–1904.
Cambridge, MA: Harvard Classics, 1909.

Proclamation of Rebellion (August 23, 1775)

In April 1775, colonists in Massachusetts opened fire on British troops at Lexington and Concord, initiating the armed conflict stage of the American Revo-

lution. The slow pace of trans-Atlantic communications in the eighteenth century meant that the news took several months to reach London. In this document, issued some four months after the fighting began, King George III expresses his outrage at the rebellion and the stern measures he plans to take to crush it. In fact, the American Revolution would continue for six years, taking the lives of more than 25,000 colonists.

GEORGE R. [King George III]

Whereas many of our subjects in divers parts of our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, misled by dangerous and ill designing men, and forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the power that has protected and supported them; after various disorderly acts committed in disturbance of the publick peace, to the obstruction of lawful commerce, and to the oppression of our loyal subjects carrying on the same; have at length proceeded to open and avowed rebellion, by arraying themselves in a hostile manner, to withstand the execution of the law, and traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us: And whereas, there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous correspondence, counsels and comfort of divers wicked and desperate persons within this realm: To the end therefore, that none of our subjects may neglect or violate their duty through ignorance thereof, or through any doubt of the protection which the law will afford to their loyalty and zeal, we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring, that not only all our Officers, civil and military, are obliged to exert their utmost endeavours to suppress such rebellion, and to bring the traitors to justice, but that all our subjects of this Realm, and the dominions thereunto belonging, are bound by law to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous conspiracies and attempts against us our crown and dignity; and we do accordingly strictly charge and command all our Officers, as well civil as military, and all others our obedient and loyal subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to withstand and suppress such rebellion, and to disclose and make known all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which they shall know to be against us, our crown and dignity; and for that purpose, that they transmit to one of our principal Secretaries of

State, or other proper officer, due and full information of all persons who shall be found carrying on correspondence with, or in any manner or degree aiding or abetting the persons now in open arms and rebellion against our Government, within any of our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, in order to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs.

Given at our Court at St. James's the twenty-third day of *August*, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

Source: MacDonald, William. *Documentary Source Book of American History*. New York: Macmillan, 1909.

U.S. Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776)

In the wake of Britain's imperial war with France of the 1750s and 1760s, the government in London began imposing new taxes and restrictions on its thirteen colonies on the North American mainland. Feeling unrepresented in Parliament, many colonists gradually came to the conclusion that their interests would best be served in an independent nation. A young Virginia planter and intellectual, Thomas Jefferson, drafted the colonies' declaration of independence, which was passed at the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in the summer of 1776. While a powerful expression of humanity's right to liberty, its provenance is laced with irony, as the document's author was himself a slaveholder and the declaration itself said nothing about the nearly half million African slaves in the thirteen colonies.

The Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen Colonies

In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain [George III] is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole

purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:
For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its

Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our

Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

The signers of the Declaration represented the new states as follows:

New Hampshire:

Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts:

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island:

Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery

Connecticut:

Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott

New York:

William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris

New Jersey:

Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania:

Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross

Delaware:

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean

Maryland:

Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Virginia:

George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton

North Carolina:

William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn

South Carolina:

Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton

Georgia:

Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton

Instructions for Arthur Phillip, Governor of New South Wales (April 25, 1787)

For much of the eighteenth century, Britain transported its criminals to the colony of Georgia. Following the American Revolution, this was no longer possible. In 1779, Joseph Banks, a botanist traveling with explorer James Cook, suggested Australia's Botany Bay as a new penal colony. The following are instructions from King George III to Arthur Phillip of the Royal Navy, who commanded the first shipment of penal colonists to Botany Bay and served as the latter's first governor general. Notable amid the instructions for managing the convicts, cultivating the land, and exploring Australia is an order to protect the Aborigines and establish friendly relations with them. Still, the presumption was that Australia was land that belonged to no one and could thus be settled freely by the British. The full title of the document is "Instructions for our well beloved Arthur Phillip Esq. Our Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over Our Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, or to the Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief of the said Territory for the time being. Given at Our Court at St. James the 25th day of April 1787."

With these Our Instructions you will receive Our Commission under Our Great seal constituting and appointing you to be Our Captain General and Governor in Chief of Our Territory called New South Wales extending from the Northern Cape or Extremity of the Coast called Cape York in the Latitude of Ten Degrees thirty seven Minutes south, to the Southern Extremity of the said Territory of New South Wales, or South Cape, in the Latitude of Forty three Degrees Thirty nine Minutes south,

and of all the Country Inland to the Westward as far as the One hundred and Thirty fifth Degree of East Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of Greenwich including all the Islands adjacent in the Pacific-Ocean within the Latitudes aforesaid of 10° 37_ South, and 43° 39_ South, and of all Towns, Garrisons, Castles, Forts, and all other Fortifications, or other Military Works which may be hereafter erected upon the said Territory, or any of the said Islands, with directions to obey such Orders and Instructions as shall from time to time be given to you under Our Signet and Sign Manual, or by Our Order in our Privy Council; You are therefore to fit Yourself with all convenient speed, and to hold yourself in readiness to repair to Your said Command, and being arrived, to take, upon the execution of the trust We have reposed in You, and as soon as conveniently may be with all due solemnity to cause our said Commission under our Great Seal of Great Britain constituting you Our Governor and Commander in chief as aforesaid, to be read and published. And whereas we have ordered that about 600 Male, and 180 Female Convicts now under sentence or order of Transportation whose names are contained in the List hereunto annexed, should be removed out the Gaols and other places of Confinement in this Our Kingdom, and be put on board of the several Transport Ships which have been taken up for their reception. It is our Royal Will and Pleasure that as soon as the said Convicts, the several persons composing the Civic Establishments, and the Stores, Provisions etc. provided for their use shall be embarked on board the Supply Tender, and the Transport Ships named in the Margin, and be in readiness to depart, that you do take them under your protection and proceed in the Sirius with the said Tender and Transports to the Port on the Coast of New South Wales, situated in the Latitude of 33°41_ called by the name of Botany Bay, agreeably to the Instructions with which you will be furnished by the Commissioner of Our Admiralty, in pursuance of our Royal Commands already signified to them.

And Whereas it may happen upon your Passage to New South Wales that you may find it necessary and expedient to call with the Ships and Vessels under your Convoy, at the Island of Teneriffe, at the Rio di Janeiro, and also at the Cape of Good Hope, for Supplies of Water, and other Refreshments for

the Voyage; It is Our further Will and Pleasure, that you do, upon your arrival at the former of, those places, take on board any of the ships of the Convoy which you may think proper, such quantities of Wine as may be requisite for the supply of the said settlement, according to the Instructions with which the Commissary of Stores and Provisions will be furnished by the Commissioners of Our Treasury, taking care that the Quantities purchased do not exceed the proportions to be issued to the several Persons composing the said settlements entitled thereto, agreeably to the said Instructions, for the time to which they have confined the Supply of that article; and for the Amount of such purchases, You will direct the Commissary to draw Bills of Exchange upon them properly certified by you, or Our Lieut: Governor of the said intended settlement, with the other usual attestations, that the same has been obtained at the most reasonable Rates, transmitting at the same time an account thereof to them in order that You may be released from any Imprest which such purchases might occasion. Notwithstanding there is already a considerable quantity of Corn and other seed Grain put onboard the Ships of the Convoy, probably more than may be immediately necessary for raising supplies for the settlement; We are disposed to guard as much as possible against accidents which may happen, or Injuries which these articles might sustain during the Passage; It is therefore Our further Will and Pleasure, that you do upon your arrival at any of the Places you may have occasion to touch at, endeavour to obtain such further Quantities of Seed Grain as You may think requisite for the Tillage of the Land, at the place of your Destination; And also that You do take onboard any number of Black Cattle, Sheep, Goats or Hogs which you can procure, and the Ships of the Convoy can contain, in order to propagate the Breed of these Animals for the general Benefit of the intended settlement, causing the Commissary of Stores and Provisions to draw Bills for the same as in before directed for such Supplies, as well as for any Fresh Provisions which it may be requisite to procure for the use of the Marines or Convicts, at those places, and transmitting information to the Commissioners of Our Treasury such proceedings.

And Whereas it is intended that several of the Transport Ships and Victuallers which are to ac-

company you to New South Wales, should be employed in bringing home Cargoes of Tea, and other Merchandise, from China, for the use of our the East India Company; provided they can arrive at Canton in due time whereby a very considerable saving would arise to the Public in the Freight of these Vessels; It is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that upon your arrival at Botany Bay, on the said Coast of New South Wales, You do cause every possible exertion to be made use of for disembarking the Officers and Men composing the Civil and Military Establishments, together with the Convicts, Stores, Provisions etc. and having so done you are to discharge all the said Transports or Victuallers, in order that such of them as may be engaged by the East India Company may proceed to China, and that the rest may return home; You will however take care, before the said Transport Ships are discharged, to obtain an assignment to You or the Governor in chief for the time being, from the Masters of them, of the servitude of the several Convicts, for the remainder of the Times or Terms specified in their several sentences or Orders of Transportation.

According to the best Information which We have obtained, Botany Bay appears to be the most eligible situation upon the said Coast for the first Establishment, possessing a commodious Harbour and other Advantages which no part of the Coast hitherto discovered affords. It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that you do immediately upon your landing after taking Measures for securing Yourself and the people who accompany you, as much as possible from any attacks or Interruptions of the Natives of that Country, as well as for the preservation and safety of the Public Stores, proceed to the Cultivation of the Land, distributing the Convicts for that purpose in such manner, and under such Inspectors or Overseers and under such Regulations as may appear to You to be necessary and best calculated for procuring Supplies of Grain and Ground Provisions. The Assortment of Tools and Utensils which have been provided for the use of the Convicts and other Persons who are to compose the intended settlement, are to be distributed according to Your discretion, and according to the employment, assigned to the several persons. In the Distribution however, you will use every proper degree of economy, be careful that the Commissary do transmit an Account

of the Issues from time to time to the Commissioners of Our Treasury, to enable them to judge of the propriety or expediency of granting farther supplies. The Clothing of the Convicts and the Provisions issued to them, and the Civil and Military Establishments must be accounted for in the same manner. And Whereas the Commissioners of Our Admiralty have appointed Capt. Hunter to repair on board the Sirius to assist you in the execution of Your Duty, and to take the Command of the Ship whenever you may see occasion to detach her from the Settlement, and also to station the supply Tender under Your Orders, and to be assisting to You upon occasional services after your arrival. And whereas it is Our Royal Intention that Measures should be taken in addition to those which are specified in the Article of these Our Instructions, for obtaining Supplies of Live Stock, and having in consequence of such Intention, caused a Quantity of Arms and other Articles of Merchandise to be provided, and sent out in the Ships under your Convoy, in order to barter with the Natives either on the Territory of New South Wales, or the Islands adjacent in those Seas; It is our Will and Pleasure that as soon as either of these Vessels can be spared with safety from the Settlements that you do detach one or both of them for that purpose, confining their Intercourse as much as possible to such parts as are not in the possession or under the Jurisdiction of other European Powers; The Increase of the Stock of Animals, must depend entirely upon the measures you may adopt on the outset for their preservation, and as the settlement will be amply supplied with vegetable production and most likely with Fish, Fresh Provisions, excepting for the Sick and Convalescents, may in a great degree be dispensed with; For these Reasons it will become you to be extremely cautious in permitting any Cattle, Sheep Hogs etc. intended for propagating the Breed of such animals being to be slaughtered, until a competent stock may be acquired to admit of Your supplying the settlement from it with animal Food without having further recourse to the places from whence such stock may have originally been obtained. It is our Will and Pleasure that the Productions of all Descriptions acquired by the Labour of the Convicts shall be considered as a Public Stock and which we so far leave to your disposal, that such parts there of as may be requi-

site for the subsistence of the said Convicts and their Families, or the Subsistence of the Civil and Military Establishments of the Settlement may be applied by you to that use. The remainder of such Productions you will reserve as a provision for a further number of Convicts which you may expect will shortly follow you from hence, to be employed under your direction in the manner pointed out in these our Instructions to you. From the natural Increase of Corn and other vegetable food from a common Industry after the Ground has been once cultivated, as well as of Animals; It cannot be expedient that all the Convicts which accompany you, should be employed in attending only to the object of Provisions. And as it has been humbly represented unto us that advantages may be derived from the Flax Plant which is found in the Islands not far distant from the intended Settlement, not only as a means of acquiring Clothing for the Convicts and other persons who may become settlers, but from its superior excellence for a variety of maritime purposes and as it may ultimately may become an Article of Export.

It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that you do particularly attend to its Cultivation, and that you do send home by every opportunity which may offer, Samples of that Article, in order that a Judgment may be formed whether it may not be necessary to instruct you further upon this Subject.

And Whereas We are desirous that some further Information should be obtained of the several Ports or Harbours upon the Coast and the Islands contiguous thereto within the Limits of Your Government; you are, whenever the Sirius or the Supply Tender, can conveniently be spared, to send one, or both of them, upon that service. Norfolk Island situated in the Lat: and Long: East from Greenwich about being represented as a spot which may hereafter become useful; you are, as soon as circumstances will admit of it, to send a small Establishment thither to secure the same to us, and prevent its being occupied by the subjects of any other European Power, and you will cause any Remarks or Observations which you obtain in consequence of this Instruction to be transmitted to Our Principal Secretary of State for Plantation affairs for Our Information.

And Whereas it may happen, when the Settlement shall be brought into some state of Regulation, that the service of the Sirius may not be nec-

essary at the said settlement; and as we are desirous to diminish as much as possible the Expences which the intended Establishment occasions; You will, whenever the service of the said ship can be dispensed with, and or Capt. Hunter to return with to England; And as from such an arrangement, the Emoluments of your station will be diminished, It is our Royal Intention, that the same shall be made good to you by Bills to be drawn by you upon the Commissioners of Our Treasury.

You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an Intercourse with the Natives and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all Our Subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of Our Subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary Interruption in the exercise of their several occupations. It is our Will and Pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the Offence. You will endeavour to procure an account of the Numbers inhabiting the Neighbourhood of the intended settlement and report your opinion to one of our Secretaries of State in what manner Our Intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of this country.

And whereas from the great disproportion of Female Convicts, those of the Males, who are put under your Superintendance, it, appears advisable that a further number of the latter should be introduced into the new intended Settlements; You are, whenever the Sirius or the Tender shall touch at any of the Islands in the Seas, to instruct their Commanders to take on board any of the women who may be disposed to accompany them to the said settlements; you will however take special care, that the Officers who may happen to be employed upon this Service, do not upon any account, exercise any compulsive measures, or make use of fallacious pretences for bringing away any of the said Woman from the places of their present Residence.

Whereas We have by our Commission bearing date given and granted unto you other acknowledgements whatsoever full power and authority to emancipate and discharge from their Servitude, any of the Convicts under your superintendance, who shall from their good conduct and a disposition to Industry, be deserving of favor; It is our Will and Pleasure that in every such case you do

issue your Warrant to the Surveyor of Lands to make surveys of, and mark out in Lots such Lands upon the said Territory as may be necessary for their use; and when that shall be done, that you do pass Grants thereof with all convenient speed to any of the said Convicts so emancipated, in such proportions, and under such conditions and acknowledgements, as shall hereafter be specified viz. To every Male shall be granted, 30 Acres of land, and in case he shall be married, 20 Acres more, and for every child who may be with them at the Settlement, at the time of making the said Grant, a further quantity of 10 Acres, free of all Fees, Taxes, Quit Rents, or, for the space of Ten years, provided that the person to whom the said Land shall be been granted, shall reside within the same, and proceed to the cultivation and improvement thereof. Reserving only to us such Timber as may be growing, or to grow hereafter, upon the said Land, which may be fit for Naval purposes, and an annual Quit Rent after the expiration of the term or time before mentioned. You will cause Copies of such Grants as may be passed to be preserved, and make a regular return of the said Grants to the Commissioners of Our Treasury and the Lords of the Committee of Our Privy Council for Trade and Plantations.

And Whereas it is likely to happen that the Convicts, who may, after their Emancipation, in consequence of this Instruction, be put in possession of Lands, will not have the means of proceedings to their Cultivation without the Public Aid; it is Our Will and Pleasure that you do cause every such person you may so emancipate, to be supplied with such a Quantity of Provisions as may be sufficient, for the subsistence of himself and also of this family for twelve months, together with an assortment of Tools and Utensils, and such a proportion of Seed Grain, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs etc. as may be proper, and can be spared from the general stock of the Settlement.

And Whereas many of Our subjects, employed upon Military service, at the said Settlement, and others who may resort thither upon their private occupations, may hereafter be desirous of proceedings to the cultivation and Improvement of the Land, and as we are dispersed to afford them every reasonable Encouragement in such an undertaking; It is Our Will and Pleasure that you do with all convenient speed transmit a report of the

actual state and Quality of the Soil at and near the said intended Settlement, the probable and most effectual means of Improving and Cultivating the same and of the mode and upon what terms and conditions according to the best of your Judgements the said Lands should be granted, that proper Instructions and authorities may be given to you for that purpose.

And Whereas It is Our Royal Intention that every sort of Intercourse between the intended settlement at Botany Bay, or other places which may be hereafter-established on the coast of New South Wales, and its Dependencies, and the settlements of Our East India Company, as well as the Coasts of China, and the Islands situated in that part of the World, to which any Intercourse has been established by any European Nation, should be prevented by every possible means; It is Our Royal Will and Pleasure that you do not upon any account allow Craft of any sort to be built for the use of private Individuals, which might enable them to effect such Intercourse, and that you do prevent any Vessels which may at any time hereafter arrived the said settlement from any of the Ports before mentioned, from having communication with any of the Inhabitants residing within your Government, without first receiving especial permission from you for that purpose.

Source: Commonwealth of Australia. *Documenting a Democracy: Australia's Story*, 2000.
www.foundingdocs.gov.au/places/transcripts/nsw/ns_w_pdf/nsw2_doc_1787.pdf.

William Bentinck: On Ritual Murder in India (1829)

The practice of sati (anglicized as suttee), whereby widows were burned on the funeral pyres of their husbands, had persisted, if rarely practiced, among the Hindu population of India for centuries before the British East India Company began assuming administrative control over parts of the subcontinent in the eighteenth century. Authorities of the East India Company, including Governor-General William Bentinck, who served in that post after 1828, found the practice appalling. In this 1829 report, Bentinck explains why the company should outlaw the practice and why such a ban would not result in major unrest.

Whether the question be to continue or to discontinue the practice of *sati*, the decision is equally surrounded by an awful responsibility. To consent to the consignment year after year of hundreds of innocent victims to a cruel and untimely end, when the power exists of preventing it, is a predicament which no conscience can contemplate without horror. But, on the other hand, if heretofore received opinions are to be considered of any value, to put to hazard by a contrary course the very safety of the British Empire in India, and to extinguish at once all hopes of those great improvements—affecting the condition not of hundreds and thousands but of millions—which can only be expected from the continuance of our supremacy, is an alternative which even in the light of humanity itself may be considered as a still greater evil. It is upon this first and highest consideration alone, the good of mankind, that the tolerance of this inhuman and impious rite can in my opinion be justified on the part of the government of a civilized nation. While the solution of this question is appalling from the unparalleled magnitude of its possible results, the considerations belonging to it are such as to make even the stoutest mind distrust its decision. On the one side, Religion, Humanity, under the most appalling form, as well as vanity and ambition—in short, all the most powerful influences over the human heart—are arrayed to bias and mislead the judgment. On the other side, the sanction of countless ages, the example of all the Mussulman [Muslim] conquerors, the unanimous concurrence in the same policy of our own most able rulers, together with the universal veneration of the people, seem authoritatively to forbid, both to feeling and to reason, any interference in the exercise of their natural prerogative. In venturing to be the first to deviate from this practice it becomes me to show that nothing has been yielded to feeling, but that reason, and reason alone, has governed the decision.

. . . So far from being chargeable with political rashness, as this departure from an established policy might infer, I hope to be able so completely to prove the safety of the measures as even to render unnecessary any calculation of the degree of risk which for the attainment of so great a benefit might wisely and justly be incurred. . . . With the firm undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the

crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been already stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list, which might perhaps have been prevented by a more early submission of the present question . . .

. . . When we had powerful neighbours and had greater reason to doubt our own security, expediency might recommend an indirect and more cautious proceeding, but now that we are supreme my opinion is decidedly in favour of an open, avowed, and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the moral goodness of the act and our power to enforce it; and so decided is my feeling against any half measure that, were I not convinced of the safety of total abolition, I certainly should have advised the cessation of all interference.

Of all those who have given their advice against the abolition of the rite, and have described the ill effects likely to ensue from it, there is no one to whom I am disposed to pay greater deference than Mr. Horace Wilson. I purposely select his opinion because, independently of his vast knowledge of Oriental literature, it has fallen to his lot, as secretary to the Hindu College, and possessing the general esteem both of the parents and of the youths, to have more confidential intercourse with natives of all classes than any man in India. While his opportunity of obtaining information has been great beyond all others, his talents and judgement enable him to form a just estimate of its value. I shall state the most forcible of his reasons, and how far I do and do not agree with him.

1st. Mr. Wilson considers it to be a dangerous evasion of the real difficulties to attempt to prove that *satis* are not "essentially a part of the Hindu religion." I entirely agree in this opinion. The question is not what the rite is but what it is supposed to be, and I have no doubt that the conscientious belief of every order of Hindus, with few exceptions, regards it as sacred.

2nd. Mr. Wilson thinks that the attempt to put down the practice will inspire extensive dissatisfaction. I agree also in this opinion. He thinks that success will only be partial, which I doubt. He does not imagine that the promulgated prohibition will lead to any immediate and overt act of insubordination, but that affrays and much agitation of the public mind must ensue. But he conceives that, if once they suspect that it is the intention of the

British Government to abandon this hitherto inviolate principle of allowing the most complete toleration in matters of religion, there will arise in the minds of all so deep a distrust of our ulterior designs that they will no longer be tractable to any arrangement intended for their improvement, and that principle of a purer morality, as well as of a more virtuous and exalted rule of action, now actively inculcated by European education and knowledge, will receive a fatal check. I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native, Ram Mohun Roy, a warm advocate for the abolition of *sati* and of all other superstitions and corruptions engrafted on the Hindu religion, which he considers originally to have been a pure Deism. It was his opinion that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police. He apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension, that the reasoning would be, "While the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their profession, and the next will probably be, like the Muhammadan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion."

Admitting, as I am always disposed to do, that much truth is contained in these remarks, but not at all assenting to the conclusions which, though not described, bear the most unfavourable import, I shall now inquire into the evil and the extent of danger which may practically result from this measure.

It must be first observed that of the 463 *satis* occurring in the whole of the Presidency of Fort William, 420 took place in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, or what is termed the Lower Provinces, and of these latter 287 in the Calcutta Division alone.

It might be very difficult to make a stranger to India understand, much less believe, that in a population of so many millions of people as the Calcutta Division includes, and the same may be said of all the Lower Provinces, so great is the want of courage and of vigour of character, and such the habitual submission of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of

the ruling power may be affirmed to be an impossible danger. . . .

Were the scene of this sad destruction of human life laid in the Upper instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, I might speak with less confidence upon the question of safety. In these Provinces the *satis* amount to forty-three only upon a population of nearly twenty millions. It cannot be expected that any general feeling, where combination of any kind is so unusual, could be excited in defense of a rite in which so few participate, a rite also notoriously made too often subservient to views of personal interest on the part of the other members of the family. . . .

But I have taken up too much time in giving my own opinion when those of the greatest experience and highest official authority are upon our records. In the report of the Nizam Adalat for 1828, four out of five of the Judges recommended to the Governor-General in Council the immediate abolition of the practice, and attest its safety. . . . No documents exist to show the opinions of the public functionaries in the interior, but I am informed that nine-tenths are in favour of the abolition. . . .

Having made inquiries, also, how far *satis* are permitted in the European foreign settlements, I find from Dr. Carey that at Chinsurah no such sacrifices had ever been permitted by the Dutch Government. That within the limits of Chandarnagar itself they were also prevented, but allowed to be performed in the British territories. The Danish Government of Serampur has not forbidden the rite, in conformity to the example of the British Government. . . . Mr. Wilson also is of opinion that no immediate overt act of insubordination would follow the publication of the edict. The Regulation of Government may be evaded, the police may be corrupted, but even here the price paid as hush money will operate as a penalty, indirectly forwarding the object of Government.

I venture, then, to think it completely proved that from the native population nothing of extensive combination, or even of partial opposition, may be expected from the abolition. . . .

I have now to submit for the consideration of Council the draft of a regulation enacting the abolition of *satis*. . . . It is only in the previous processes, or during the actual performance of the

rite, when the feelings of all may be more or less roused to a high degree of excitement, that I apprehend the possibility of affray or of acts of violence through an indiscreet and injudicious exercise of authority. It seemed to me prudent, therefore, that the police, in the first instance, should warn and advise, but not forcibly prohibit, and if the *sati*, in defiance of this notice, were performed, that a report should be made to the magistrate, who would summon the parties and proceed as in any other case of crime. . . .

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then, when no longer under this brutalizing excitement, view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men, "No innocent blood shall be spilt," there can be no exception; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others, which stand in the way of their improvement, may likewise pass away, and that, thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their first places among the great families of mankind? I disown in these remarks, or in this measure, any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel.

Source: "Lord William Bentinck on the Suppression of *Sati*, 8 November 1829," in *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750–1921*, ed. Arthur Keith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.

Daniel O'Connell: Justice for Ireland (February 4, 1836)

Daniel O'Connell, known as the "liberator" in Ireland, was first elected to the British Parliament from Ire-

land in 1828, forcing the British government to pass the Catholic Emancipation Act, allowing Catholics to serve in Parliament, the following year. O'Connell, however, was far from satisfied with this token gesture and demanded full equality for Catholic Irish citizens within the British system. Eventually, O'Connell would be supplanted by younger radicals who sought an independent Ireland. At the time of this speech, however, O'Connell was at the peak of his popularity and his oratorical powers, pointing out the gross inequities of British rule in Ireland, arguably England's first overseas colony.

It appears to me impossible to suppose that the House will consider me presumptuous in wishing to be heard for a short time on this question, especially after the distinct manner in which I have been alluded to in the course of the debate. If I had no other excuse, that would be sufficient; but I do not want it; I have another and a better—the question is one in the highest degree interesting to the people of Ireland. It is, whether we mean to do justice to that country—whether we mean to continue the injustice which has been already done to it, or to hold out the hope that it will be treated in the same manner as England and Scotland. That is the question. We know what “lip service” is; we do not want that. There are some men who will even declare that they are willing to refuse justice to Ireland; while there are others who, though they are ashamed to say so, are ready to consummate the iniquity, and they do so.

England never did do justice to Ireland—she never did. What we have got of it we have extorted from men opposed to us on principle—against which principle they have made us such concessions as we have obtained from them. The right honorable baronet opposite [Sir Robert Peel] says he does not distinctly understand what is meant by a principle. I believe him. He advocated religious exclusion on religious motives; he yielded that point at length, when we were strong enough to make it prudent for him to do so.

Here am I calling for justice to Ireland; but there is a coalition tonight—not a base unprincipled one—God forbid!—it is an extremely natural one; I mean that between the right honorable baronet and the noble lord the member for North Lancashire [Lord Stanley]. It is a natural coalition, and it is impromptu; for the noble lord informs us he

had not even a notion of taking the part he has until the moment at which he seated himself where he now is. I know his candor; he told us it was a sudden inspiration which induced him to take part against Ireland. I believe it with the most potent faith, because I know that he requires no preparation for voting against the interests of the Irish people. [Groans.] I thank you for that groan—it is just of a piece with the rest. I regret much that I have been thrown upon arguing this particular question, because I should have liked to have dwelt upon the speech which has been so graciously delivered from the throne today—to have gone into its details, and to have pointed out the many great and beneficial alterations and amendments in our existing institutions which it hints at and recommends to the House. The speech of last year was full of reforms in words, and in words only; but this speech contains the great leading features of all the salutary reforms the country wants; and if they are worked out fairly and honestly in detail, I am convinced the country will require no further amelioration of its institutions, and that it will become the envy and admiration of the world. I, therefore, hail the speech with great satisfaction.

It has been observed that the object of a king's speech is to say as little in as many words as possible; but this speech contains more things than words—it contains those great principles which, adopted in practice, will be most salutary not only to the British Empire, but to the world. When speaking of our foreign policy, it rejoices in the cooperation between France and this country; but it abstains from conveying any ministerial approbation of alterations in the domestic laws of that country which aim at the suppression of public liberty, and the checking of public discussion, such as call for individual reprobation, and which I reprobate as much as any one. I should like to know whether there is a statesman in the country who will get up in this House and avow his approval of such proceedings on the part of the French government. I know it may be done out of the House amid the cheers of an assembly of friends; but the government have, in my opinion, wisely abstained from reprobating such measures in the speech, while they have properly exulted in such a union of the two countries as will contribute to the national independence and the public liberty of Europe.

Years are coming over me, but my heart is as young and as ready as ever in the service of my country, of which I glory in being the pensionary and the hired advocate. I stand in a situation in which no man ever stood yet—the faithful friend of my country—its servant—its slave, if you will—I speak its sentiments by turns to you and to itself. I require no £20,000,000 on behalf of Ireland—I ask you only for justice: will you—can you—I will not say dare you refuse, because that would make you turn the other way. I implore you, as English gentlemen, to take this matter into consideration now, because you never had such an opportunity of conciliating. Experience makes fools wise; you are not fools, but you have yet to be convinced. I cannot forget the year 1825. We begged then as we would for a beggar's boon; we asked for emancipation by all that is sacred amongst us, and I remember how my speech and person were treated on the Treasury Bench, when I had no opportunity of reply. The other place turned us out and sent us back again, but we showed that justice was with us. The noble lord says the other place has declared the same sentiments with himself; but he could not use a worse argument. It is the very reason why we should acquiesce in the measure of reform, for we have no hope from that House—all our hopes are centered in this; and I am the living representative of those hopes. I have no other reason for adhering to the ministry than because they, the chosen representatives of the people of England, are anxiously determined to give the same measure of reform to Ireland as that which England has received. I have not fatigued myself, but the House, in coming forward upon this occasion. I may be laughed and sneered at by those who talk of my power; but what has created it but the injustice that has been done in Ireland? That is the end and the means of the magic, if you please—the groundwork of my influence in Ireland. If you refuse justice to that country, it is a melancholy consideration to me to think that you are adding substantially to that power and influence, while you are wounding my country to its very heart's core; weakening that throne, the monarch who sits upon which, you say you respect; severing that union which, you say, is bound together by the tightest links, and withholding that justice from Ireland which she will not cease to seek till it is obtained; every man must admit that

the course I am taking is the legitimate and proper course—I defy any man to say it is not. Condemn me elsewhere as much as you please, but this you must admit. You may taunt the ministry with having coalesced me, you may raise the vulgar cry of “Irishman and Papist” against me, you may send out men called ministers of God to slander and calumniate me; they may assume whatever garb they please, but the question comes into this narrow compass. I demand, I respectfully insist: on equal justice for Ireland, on the same principle by which it has been administered to Scotland and England. I will not take less. Refuse me that if you can.

Source: Modern History Sourcebook (on-line):
www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html.

Treaty of Waitangi (1840)

In 1840, the British and the leaders of the Maori, the native people of New Zealand, signed the Treaty of Waitangi, granting Britain sovereignty over the islands. The treaty was intended to prevent violent disputes between British settlers and Maoris by creating a mechanism for the peaceful purchase of lands. But misunderstandings and violence continued between the British and the Maori, most notably in the Maori War of the 1860s.

Signed at Waitangi, February 1840, and afterwards by over 500 chiefs.

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her kind (gracious) thoughtfulness to the Chiefs and Hapū of New Zealand, and her desire to preserve to them their chieftainship and their land, and that peace and quietness may be kept with them, because a great number of the people of her tribe have settled in this country, and (more) will come, has thought it right to send a chief (an officer) as one who will make a statement to (negotiate with) Māori people of New Zealand. Let the Māori chiefs accept the governorship (Kawanatanga) of the Queen over all parts of this country and the Islands. Now, the Queen desires to arrange the governorship lest evils should come to the Māori people and the Europeans who are living here without law. Now, the Queen has been pleased to send me, William Hobson, a Captain in the Royal Navy to be Governor for all places of New Zealand which are now given up or which shall be given up to the

Queen. And she says to the Chiefs of the Confederation of the Hapū of New Zealand and the other chiefs, these are the laws spoken of.

This is the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation, and all these chiefs who have not joined in that Confederation give up to the Queen of England for ever all the Governorship (Kawanatanga) of their lands.

This is the Second

The Queen of England agrees and consents to the Chiefs, hapū, and all the people of New Zealand the full chieftainship (rangatiratanga) of their lands, their villages and all their possessions (taonga: everything that is held precious) but the Chiefs give to the Queen the purchasing of those pieces of land which the owner is willing to sell, subject to the arranging of payment which will be agreed to by them and the purchaser who will be appointed by the Queen for the purpose of buying for her.

This is the Third

This is the arrangement for the consent to the governorship of the Queen. The Queen will protect all the Māori people of New Zealand, and give them all the same rights as those of the people of England.

William Hobson, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

Now, we the Chiefs of the Confederation of the Hapū of New Zealand, here assembled at Waitangi, and we, the chiefs of New Zealand, see the meaning of these words and accept them, and we agree to all of them. Here we put our names and our marks.

This was done at Waitangi on the 6th day of February in the year of our Lord 1840.

At a meeting before any of the Chiefs had signed the Treaty, Hobson agreed under questioning from the Catholic Bishop Pompallier to read the following statement which was a record of discussion on religious freedom and customary law, which the Bishop Pompallier had had with the Anglican Missionary William Colenso.

E mea ana te Kawana ko ngā wakapono katoa o Ingarani, o ngā Weteriana, o Roma, me te ritenga Māori hoki e tiakina ngāhatia e ia.

Translation:

The Governor says that the several faiths (beliefs) of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also Māori custom shall alike be protected by him.

This is sometimes referred to as the fourth article or protocol.

Source: Government of New Zealand website.

<http://www.govt.nz/en/aboutnz/?id=a32f7d70e71e9632aad1016cb343f900>.

British Admiralty: Negotiating with African Chiefs (1844)

While Britain profited from the international trade in African slaves for centuries, the country outlawed the practice in 1807 and made its suppression a central part of its foreign and naval policy for much of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the suppression of the slave trade became one of the justifications for British intervention in Africa during the mid- to late nineteenth century. The following document is a set of British Admiralty instructions to officers outlining the methods for getting coastal African chiefs to suppress the slave trade.

1. The suppression of the Slave Trade may be materially assisted by obtaining the co-operation of the Native Chiefs of Africa in the object; you are therefore authorized to conclude engagements for this purpose with the African Chiefs; but you must strictly adhere to the regulations herein laid down on the subject.

2. You will procure the fullest and most correct information as to the state of those parts of the coast in which Slave Trade is carried on, so as to enable you to determine, with what Chiefs it may be expedient to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of Engagements. With this in view, you will endeavor to ascertain the power and influence of the several Chiefs; their personal character, and the habits of the people; the extent and force of the country; the sources, amount, and description of the legitimate trade carried on. You will endeavor to obtain the most accurate information as to the Slave Trade; its present extent, and whether it has recently increased or diminished: . . . You will investigate the means whereby the Slave Trade may most effectually and speedily be extinguished, and you will enquire into the inclination and the power of the Chief to carry into effect an Engagement for

that purpose, and the means which Great Britain may have for enforcing it. . . .

4. When you shall desire to open negotiations with any African Chief, you will, after taking every proper precaution for the safety of yourself and your people, at the same time avoiding giving offence to the Natives, obtain a personal interview with the Chiefs, and endeavor to induce them to conclude an Engagement . . .

6. Every opportunity is to be taken of impressing the minds of the Native Chiefs and their people with a conviction of the efforts Great Britain has made for their benefit, and of her earnest desire to raise them in the scale of nations. It is most desirable to excite in them an emulation of the habits of the Christian world, and to enable them to make the first practical step towards civilization by the abandonment of the Slave Trade.

7. Special care must be taken not to offend the prejudices of the Natives; and every respect must be paid to their peculiar usages, so far as the same are not of an inhuman character; and allowance must be made for any jealousy or distrust that may be shown by them. . . .

9. Threats or intimidation are never to be used to induce the Native Chiefs to conclude the Engagement: on the contrary, forbearance and conciliation must be in all cases the rule of conduct; and if the Native Chiefs refuse the Engagement, every means must be taken to encourage in them feelings of confidence, and to leave a favorable impression that may facilitate the renewal of negotiations at a future period. . . .

11. Immediately after the conclusion of the Engagement, you will require the Chiefs to proclaim a law to their people by which its stipulations shall be publicly made known.

12. In case the Slave Trade is actually carried on within the jurisdiction of the Chief at the time the Engagement is concluded, . . . you will then require that all the Slaves held for exportation shall be delivered up to you to be made free at a British colony. You will also demand that all implements of the Slave Trade, such as shackles, bolts, and handcuffs, chains, whips, branding irons, etc., or articles of Slave equipment for fitting up vessels to carry Slaves, shall be given up to you, or destroyed in your presence. You will also insist on the immediate destruction of the barracons, or buildings exclusively devoted to the re-

ception of Slaves, and, if necessary, you will enforce all these demands. . . .

14. You are not, without the signed consent in writing of a Native Chief, to take any step upon his territory for putting down the Slave Trade by force, excepting when, by Engagement, Great Britain is entitled to adopt coercive measures on shore for that purpose.

15. . . . You will cause a vigilant watch to be kept over the proceedings of the Chiefs, until you are satisfied of their fidelity to their Engagements. After which, you will visit the Chiefs in person, or send a Commander of one of Her Majesty's Ships, at least once in six months, to see to the due execution of the Engagements on the part of the Chiefs.

16. In the event, however, of ultimate failure of the negotiations you will finally state to the Chief that every civilized Naval Power in the world has declared that it has abandoned the Slave Trade; that most nations have united with Great Britain in endeavors to put it down; that Great Britain will not allow the subjects of the Chief . . . to carry Slaves for sale to or from any places beyond the limits of his own territory, and that Her Majesty's Officers have orders to liberate Slaves when found embarked in boats of his subjects for that purpose. . . .

Source: http://home.planet.nl/~pbdavis/Slave_1.htm#First.

Treaty of Amritsar (March 16, 1846)

As was the case in many areas of the Indian subcontinent, the British preferred to rule the northern provinces of Jammu and Kashmir indirectly, through compliant local nobles, or rajahs. In this case, the British turned over a predominantly Muslim regime to a Hindu rajah. Upon independence 100 years later, the descendants of the rajah decided to affiliate with Hindu India rather than Muslim Pakistan. An unhappy Muslim population, supported by Pakistan, has been in revolt ever since.

The treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharajah Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq. and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of her Britannic Majesty's

most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General of the possessions of the East India Company, to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person—1846.

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharajah Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharajah Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing article Maharajah Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on or before the 1st October of the current year, A.D., 1846.

Article 4

The limits of territories of Maharajah Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharajah Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighboring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Forces, the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages never to take to retain in his service any British subject nor the

subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V, VI and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharajah Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq. and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under directions of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General. Done at Amritsar the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubeel-ul-Awal (1262 Hijree).

(Signed) H. Hardinge (Seal)

(Signed) F. Currie

(Signed) H. M. Lawrence

Source: www.kashmir.no/treaty_of_amritsar.htm.

John Stuart Mill: "On Colonies and Colonization" (1848)

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a British economist and proponent of a then-radical philosophical school known as utilitarianism, which argued that all right beliefs and actions should promote the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people. In his 1848 work, "On Colonies and Colonization," Mill argued that the establishment and settling of colonies would lead to the greatest good for the greatest number, in that it promoted economic effi-

ciency adding "to the joint wealth of the old and the new country." Mill also argued that only government had the capacity to effectively promote this kind of colonization and settlement.

If it is desirable, as no one will deny it to be, that the planting of colonies should be conducted, not with an exclusive view to the private interests of the first founders, but with a deliberate regard to the permanent welfare of the nations afterwards to arise from these small beginnings; such regard can only be secured by placing the enterprise, from its commencement, under regulations constructed with the foresight and enlarged views of philosophical legislators; and the government alone has power either to frame such regulations, or to enforce their observance.

The question of government intervention in the work of Colonization involves the future and permanent interests of civilization itself, and far outstretches the comparatively narrow limits of purely economical considerations. But even with a view to those considerations alone, the removal of population from the overcrowded to the unoccupied parts of the earth's surface is one of those works of eminent social usefulness, which most require, and which at the same time best repay, the intervention of government. To appreciate the benefits of colonization, it should be considered in its relation, not to a single country, but to the collective economical interests of the human race. The question is in general treated too exclusively as one of distribution; of relieving one labor market and supplying another. It is this, but it is also a question of production, and of the most efficient employment of the productive resources of the world.

Much has been said of the good economy of importing commodities from the place where they can be bought cheapest; while the good economy of producing them where they can be produced cheapest, is comparatively little thought of. If to carry consumable goods from the places where they are superabundant to those where they are scarce, is a good pecuniary speculation, is it not an equally good speculation to do the same thing with regard to labor and instruments? The exportation of laborers and capital from old to new countries, from a place where their productive power is less, to a place where it is greater, in-

creases by so much the aggregate produce of the labor and capital of the world. It adds to the joint wealth of the old and the new country, what amounts in a short period to many times the mere cost of effecting the transport. There needs be no hesitation in affirming that Colonization, in the present state of the world, is the best affair of business, in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage.

It is equally obvious, however, that Colonization on a great scale can be undertaken, as an affair of business, only by the government, or by some combination of individuals in complete understanding with the government; except under such very peculiar circumstances as those which succeeded the Irish famine. Emigration on the voluntary principle rarely has any material influence in lightening the pressure of population in the old country, though as far as it goes it is doubtless a benefit to the colony. Those laboring persons who voluntarily emigrate are seldom the very poor; they are small farmers with some little capital, or laborers who have saved something, and who, in removing only their own labor from the crowded labor market, withdraw from the capital of the country a fund which maintained and employed more laborers than themselves. Besides, this portion of the community is so limited in number, that it might be removed entirely, without making any sensible impression upon the numbers of the population, or even upon the annual increase. Any considerable emigration of labor is only practicable, when its cost is defrayed, or at least advanced, by others than the emigrants themselves.

Who then is to advance it? Naturally, it may be said, the capitalists of the colony, who require the labor, and who intend to employ it. But to this there is the obstacle, that a capitalist, after going to the expense of carrying out laborers, has no security that he shall be the person to derive any benefit from them. If all the capitalists of the colony were to combine, and bear the expense by subscription, they would still have no security that the laborers, when there, would continue to work for them. After working for a short time and earning a few pounds, they always, unless prevented by the government, squat on unoccupied land, and work only for themselves. The experiment has been repeatedly tried whether it was possible to enforce contracts for labor, or the re-

payment of the passage money of emigrants to those who advanced it, and the trouble and expense have always exceeded the advantage. The only other resource is the voluntary contributions of parishes or individuals, to rid themselves of surplus laborers who are already, or who are likely to become, locally chargeable on the poor rate. Were this speculation to become general, it might produce a sufficient amount of emigration to clear off the existing unemployed population, but not to raise the wages of the employed; and the same thing would require to be done over again in less than another generation.

One of the principal reasons why Colonization should be a national undertaking, is that in this manner alone, save in highly exceptional cases, can emigration be self-supporting. The exportation of capital and labor to a new country being, as before observed, one of the best of all affairs of business, it is absurd that it should not, like other affairs of business, repay its own expenses. Of the great addition which it makes to the produce of the world, there can be no reason why a sufficient portion should not be intercepted, and employed in reimbursing the outlay incurred in effecting it. For reasons already given, no individual, or body of individuals, can reimburse themselves for the expense; the government, however, can. It can take from the annual increase of wealth, caused by the emigration, the fraction which suffices to repay with interest what the emigration has cost. The expenses of emigration to a colony ought to be borne by the colony; and this, in general, is only possible when they are borne by the colonial government.

Of the modes in which a fund for the support of colonization can be raised in the colony, none is comparable in advantage to that which was first suggested, and so ably and perseveringly advocated, by Mr Wakefield: the plan of putting a price on all unoccupied land, and devoting the proceeds to emigration. The unfounded and pedantic objections to this plan have been answered in a former part of this chapter: we have now to speak of its advantages. First, it avoids the difficulties and discontents incident to raising a large annual amount by taxation; a thing which is almost useless to attempt with a scattered population of settlers in the wilderness, who, as experience proves, can seldom be compelled to pay direct taxes, except at a cost exceeding their

amount; while in an infant community indirect taxation soon reaches its limit. The sale of lands is thus by far the easiest mode of raising the requisite funds. But it has other and still greater recommendations. It is a beneficial check upon the tendency of a population of colonists to adopt the tastes and inclinations of savage life, and to disperse so widely as to lose all the advantages of commerce, of markets, of separation of employments, and combination of labor. By making it necessary for those who emigrate at the expense of the fund, to earn a considerable sum before they can become landed proprietors, it keeps up a perpetual succession of laborers for hire, who in every country are a most important auxiliary even to peasant proprietors: and by diminishing the eagerness of agricultural speculators to add to their domain, it keeps the settlers within reach of each other for purposes of co-operation, arranges a numerous body of them within easy distance of each center of foreign commerce and non-agricultural industry, and insures the formation and rapid growth of towns and town products. This concentration, compared with the dispersion which uniformly occurs when unoccupied land can be had for nothing, greatly accelerates the attainment of prosperity, and enlarges the fund which may be drawn upon for further emigration. Before the adoption of the Wakefield system, the early years of all new colonies were full of hardship and difficulty: the last colony founded on the old principle, the Swan River settlement, being one of the most characteristic instances. In all subsequent colonization, the Wakefield principle has been acted upon, though imperfectly, a part only of the proceeds of the sale of land being devoted to emigration: yet wherever it has been introduced at all, as in South Australia, Victoria, and New Zealand, the restraint put upon the dispersion of the settlers, and the influx of capital caused by the assurance of being able to obtain hired labor, has, in spite of many difficulties and much mismanagement, produced a suddenness and rapidity of prosperity more like fable than reality.

The self-supporting system of Colonization, once established, would increase in efficiency every year; its effect would tend to increase in geometrical progression: for since every able-bodied emigrant, until the country is fully peopled, adds

in a very short time to its wealth, over and above his own consumption, as much as would defray the expense of bringing out another emigrant, it follows that the greater the number already sent, the greater number might continue to be sent, each emigrant laying the foundation of a succession of other emigrants at short intervals without fresh expense, until the colony is filled up. It would therefore be worth while, to the mother country, to accelerate the early stages of this progression, by loans to the colonies for the purpose of emigration, repayable from the fund formed by the sales of land. In thus advancing the means of accomplishing a large immediate emigration, it would be investing that amount of capital in the mode, of all others, most beneficial to the colony; and the labor and savings of these emigrants would hasten the period at which a large sum would be available from sales of land. It would be necessary, in order not to overstock the labor market, to act in concert with the persons disposed to remove their own capital to the colony. The knowledge that a large amount of hired labor would be available, in so productive a field of employment, would insure a large emigration of capital from a country, like England, of low profits and rapid accumulation: and it would only be necessary not to send out a greater number of laborers at one time, than this capital could absorb and employ at high wages.

Inasmuch as, on this system, any given amount of expenditure, once incurred, would provide not merely a single emigration, but a perpetually flowing stream of emigrants, which would increase in breadth and depth as it flowed on; this mode of relieving overpopulation has a recommendation, not possessed by any other plan ever proposed for making head against the consequences of increase without restraining the increase itself: there is an element of indefiniteness in it; no one can perfectly foresee how far its influence, as a vent for surplus population, might possibly reach. There is hence the strongest obligation on the government of a country like our own, with a crowded population, and unoccupied continents under its command, to build, as it were, and keep open, in concert with the colonial governments, a bridge from the mother country to those continents, by establishing the self-supporting system of colonization on such a scale,

that as great an amount of emigration as the colonies can at the time accommodate, may at all times be able to take place without cost to the emigrants themselves.

The importance of these considerations, as regards the British islands, has been of late considerably diminished by the unparalleled amount of spontaneous emigration from Ireland; an emigration not solely of small farmers, but of the poorest class of agricultural laborers, and which is at once voluntary and self-supporting, the succession of emigrants being kept up by funds contributed from the earnings of their relatives and connections who had gone before. To this has been added a large amount of voluntary emigration to the seats of the gold discoveries, which has partly supplied the wants of our most distant colonies, where, both for local and national interests, it was most of all required. But the stream of both these emigrations has already considerably slackened, and though that from Ireland has since partially revived, it is not certain that the aid of government in a systematic form, and on the self-supporting principle, will not again become necessary to keep the communication open between the hands needing work in England, and the work which needs hands elsewhere.

Source: Mill, John Stuart. *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Arthur T. Hadley. New York: P. F. Collier, 1900.

Sample Native Treaty, Royal Niger Company (1880s)

During the late nineteenth century, the various European powers began to acquire vast holdings in the interior of Africa. The "great scramble" involved Britain, France, and Germany in a headlong rush to claim as much territory as possible. In order to expedite the process, European powers and the European trading companies that spearheaded the colonizing effort coerced or tricked indigenous leaders into signing treaties that offered goods in exchange for lands. The following is a sample treaty used by the Royal Niger Company with blanks to be filled in by agents negotiating with local leaders.

We, the undersigned Chiefs of., with the view of bettering the condition of our country and people, do this day cede to the Royal Niger Company

(Chartered and Limited), for ever, the whole of our territory extending from.

We also give to the said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) full power to settle all native disputes arising from any cause whatever, and we pledge ourselves not to enter into any war with other tribes without the sanction of the said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited).

We understand that the said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) have full power to mine, farm, and build in any portion of our country.

We bind ourselves not to have any intercourse [i.e., transactions or communications] with any strangers or foreigners except through the said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited).

In consideration of the foregoing, the said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) bind themselves not to interfere with any of the native laws or customs of the country, consistently with the maintenance of order and good government

The said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) agree to pay native owners of land a reasonable amount for any portion they may require.

The said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) bind themselves to protect the said Chiefs from the attacks of any neighbouring aggressive tribes.

The said Royal Niger Company (Chartered and Limited) also agree to pay the said Chiefs native value.

We, the undersigned witnesses, do hereby solemnly declare that the. Chiefs whose names are placed opposite their respective crosses have in our presence affixed their crosses of their own free will and consent, and that the said. has in our presence affixed his signature.

Done in triplicate at. this. day of., 188.

Declaration by Interpreter.

I, of, do hereby solemnly declare that I am well acquainted with the language of the country, and that of the. day of., 188., I truly and faithfully explained the above Agreement to all the Chiefs present, and that they understood its meaning.

Source: web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob43.html.

Major-General Charles Gordon: The Siege of Khartoum (1884)

British interest in the Sudan dates back to London's administrative takeover in the 1870s of Egypt and the Suez Canal, the latter a waterway critical to imperial trade with India. Working with the local ruler, Ismail Pasha, an experienced British officer named Charles Gordon was appointed governor of the Sudan and established trading posts along the Nile River. Ill health forced him to resign and return to England in 1880. In 1884, London recalled Gordon to the Sudan to help evacuate British-led Egyptian forces threatened by an anti-British uprising in the Sudan, led by the mystical Islamic leader Muhammed Ahmad al-Mahdi (al-Mahdi meaning "messiah" in Arabic). Gordon, however, was besieged in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, and eventually killed, along with his forces, by the rebels. His tenacious defense, recorded in his journal, and his death gave Gordon a martyr's status among the British people.

December 3—This morning Arabs fired eight rounds at us, and we replied; one of our shells struck their casemate. Numbers of Arabs left Mahdi's camp for the north. Arabs fired nine rounds into the town at night from the south lines. One shell fell into the garden of the Palace; this from the south lines. A shell from Arabs at Goba fell in the garden, so it will be seen the attention which is being paid to the Palace.

Twenty shells fell in town yesterday, but none did any harm.

I think this is the programme, and though it is of doubtful morality, perhaps it is the shortest route out of a mess. "British Expedition comes up to relieve British subjects in distress, nothing else; it finds one of its subjects acting as ruler; it takes him away, and he, on going away, appoints Zubair ruler, subject to approval of Towfik, Zubair having been allowed to come up to Kartoum, as a private individual, to look after his family."

Now who can say anything to the British Government? It has had nothing to do with the appointment of Zubair, or with the Government of Towfik; it came up to relieve its subjects, and "Gordon is entirely responsible for the appointment of Zubair;" "even Towfik is not responsible, for Gordon did it on his own responsibility." This will be a

splendid dodge; it first clears Her Majesty's Government of any blame, it puts the blame on me, and in the storm that is caused, I shall have been so effectually blackened that every one will forget the—well! we did not say it in direct words (count the months), we will call the DELAY; in fact, I expect the public will rather blame the Government for having sent any Expedition at all for such a style of British subject; the Government will chuckle over it all, and will preserve the fiction that they have nought to do with the Soudan or Egypt.

The Opposition will be perfectly wild at seeing the Ministry get out of the mess, with what one may call really credit, while the Anti-Slavery Society and Europe at large will empty their vials of wrath on me. Towfik and his pashas will wring their hands openly over such an act. . . . will get such kudos! For my part I shall get out of any of those wretched honours, for the Ministry will be only too glad to say, "We could not, you know, confer any honours on him after such very disreputable conduct," knowing well enough I would not take them if offered; and as I am not going to England again, and shall not see the papers, I shall not much mind the abuse. I think it is a splendid programme. Zubair must be given either £200,000 or £300,000 a year for two years, replenished magazines, and stores of all sorts, all the Expedition's boats and steamers, &c., and must be aided for two months in small expeditions; besides the £200,000 or £300,000 for two years, he must have down on the nail £150,000 to £200,000.

I must clear, in disgrace, out of the country, to prevent any appearance of any connivance on the part of . . . in this arrangement, which he will or ought officially to deplore. I do not think Zubair will care for the Equator Province; he will agree to give that up; he will agree to uphold the Treaty of 1877 Slave Convention, and laugh as he does so. As for the Bahr Gazelle, I expect the Mahdi has it, and if so, his people will move up there, when Zubair by his politics recaptures Obeyed.

What a fearful row there will be. I know one man who will write: "Better, my dear Gordon, far better! to have died, than have so very far departed from the right path; nothing, no nothing can explain it away. A happy Christmas to you." . . . "This news from the Soudan is very satisfactory; I call it a great triumph, for it not only delivers us out of a

dilemma, but it effectually settles our friends, and vitiates anything he may say as to the Delay." Any military operations undertaken after the proclamation of Zubair will be put down "as measures necessary to be undertaken to secure the return, unmolested, of the expeditionary force." 5 P.M. Artillery duel going on between our two guns and the Arab gun; our practice is very bad. The shells the Arabs fire from their Krupp gun reach the Palace Garden, but the report of their gun is not to be heard. The Arab shells from Goba fall just about 200 yards short of the Palace; but in its line there is just the second of suspense (after seeing them fire), while one hears the soft sighing of their shells coming nearer and nearer, till they strike. 7 P.M. Another battle! (the third to-day). The Arabs came down to the river and fired on the Palace; we could not stand that. 7.10 P.M. Battle over; we are as we were, minus some cartridges. 7.20 P.M. Battle begun again, because the buglers played "Salaam Effendina," the Arabs wasting ammunition. 8 P.M. The Arabs are firing from the south at the Krupps on the Palace; they (i.e., the Arabs) are at least 4000 yards distant; one hears the shells burst, but not the report of their gun; they reached the river close to the Palace.

December 4—Omdurman Fort all right. They had a man wounded yesterday. There was a small battle at Bourré this morning. The Arabs at Goba are quiet after the exertions of yesterday. Firing was heard (on north) towards Shoboloha last night. Report in town says the steamers are near there.

Should the Zubair arrangement be accepted, then comes the question of the military action during two months, at end of which time the expeditionary force should be wending its way back. The driving away of the Arabs from the Dem at the north of the Palace will be immediate on the arrival of the troops; the Arabs will then hold on to El foun and to Giraffe. They will vacate the vicinity of Omdurman Fort; 1000 men will deal with El foun and Giraffe, supported by our tagrag. First Giraffe, then El foun; but at the same time as this takes place, the retreat of Arabs ought to be cut off at Gitana from Kordofan by the steamers and another 1000 men; the Mahdi will return to Schatt, and the town will be free, and all the troops defending the lines will be available. Then comes the question of going inland and at-

tacking the family of the Sheikh el Obeyed's son, two and a half hours inland, or else going on and attacking Mesalamieh. I think Sheikh el Obeyed's family will give in as soon as the Arabs are driven from El foun (an affair of an hour, D.V.). I tried to entice the Arabs at Goba into a fight this evening, but they would not be drawn, and only replied by two shells, which fell in the river. We played on them with the mitrailleuse, and made them move their gun, and then they fired two more shells, one which fell near the Palace in the river. With a good mitrailleuse, and a sharp operator, with telescope sight, no gun could be served with impunity at 2000 yards range, though it could be served against artillery fire, for at that range there is plenty of time to dodge under cover after seeing the flash ere the shell arrives. The band, principally of small boys, the men being on the lines, went on to the roof of the Palace to play (they always come on the eve of their Sabbath, the Friday). The Arabs heard them, and fired a volley at them; they, furious, threw down their instruments, and flew to arms, and a regular fusillade went on for some moments, the other places supporting the fire. The buglers are bugling now "Come to us, come to us," to the Arabs. (The Egyptian Government have the French calls, and can converse by bugle; I do not think we have.) Last night a renegade Dervish bugler in the Arab ranks replied, "Come to us, come to us."

December 5—Small church parades. Three caravans of some size came in from the north to Mahomet Achmet's camp this morning. Two deserters came in from the Arabs Fort at Omdurman all right. In store 737 ardebs of dhoora, 121,300 okes of biscuit.

We are going to make an attempt to relieve Omdurman Fort (really things are looking very black). The men who came in say the Mahdi is short of ammunition. The Arabs fired three shells at the palace this afternoon, which fell in the river. A soldier deserted to-day to the Arabs. 5 P.M. The Arabs fired two shells at the palace, which fell into the water (if they only knew! that if they sank the trail they would touch us up! their line is quite correct). 6.30 P.M. Since 3 P.M. we have been firing on them, and they on us, only wasting ammunition, for though our bullets reach them, few of theirs reach us. According to the men who came in from the Arabs, it is the pet detachment of the Mahdi

who are opposite the Palace; they do not number more than one hundred, and are principally our Soudan soldiers. I have almost given up all idea of saving the town; it is a last resource, this attempt we make to open the route to the Omdurman Fort.

December 6—(Certainly every fortified place ought to be provided with a hundred good telescopes.) The steamers went down and fired on the Arabs at Omdurman. We have £150 in cash in the treasury. In the affair to-day we had three killed and thirty-six wounded in the steamers, and Fer-ratch Ullah Bey reports he had five wounded at Omdurman Fort. The Arabs came down in good force, and must have lost.

I have given up all idea of landing at Omdurman: we have not the force to do it. The Arabs fired forty-five rounds from their guns at Mogrim and the steamers. We had two men wounded at Mogrim, and one killed. This is most distressing to have these poor fellows wounded and killed. To-morrow it will be 270 days 9 months that we have endured one continuous misery and anxiety. The Greeks who were at Mogrim say at least 300 or 400 Arabs were killed and wounded in to-day's engagement. The Ismailia was struck by four, and the Bordeen by two shells, but not in vital parts. I visited the steamers, and had weariness of heart at hearing the complaint of the men as to the robbery of their rations by the officers.

December 7—The 270th day of our imprisonment. The Arabs fired from their guns at Boga 8 shells, one of which fell in the town near Palace, but did no harm. Omdurman reports the fort all right, one more man wounded there. A great force of Arabs strayed down near Omdurman last night, and left at dawn. The cock turkey has killed one of his companions, reason not known. (Supposed to be correspondence with Mahdi, or some harem infidelity.) Report in town that Berber surrendered, "sans coup férir." I hope so. We are going to send the steamers down again to attack the Arabs at Omdurman at noon to-morrow. The Arabs fired nine shells at Bourré, and begun again their practice on the Palace, firing five shells, one of which came close to the roof of Palace.

A soldier escaped from the Arabs and came in; he says the Expeditionary Force has captured Berber. Two soldiers deserted to the Arabs to-day! The Arabs at Goba fired three shells this evening at

the Palace; two fell close to it, one fell in the water. One shell from the Arabs at Bourré fell in the hospital. One of the shells of the Arabs this evening struck the building next the Palace, and stuck in the wall, about 9 feet from the ground. A man came in from the Arabs, who says the Expeditionary Force is approaching. I saw a body of horsemen going north to-day, very fast, from El foun. In the Ismailia were eighty bullet holes on the water line of her hull; in the Bordeen there were seventy-five bullet holes, ditto in the last engagement!!! These holes were stopped by screws made for the purpose. As for the bullet marks elsewhere they are not to be counted.

My belief is that the Mahdi business will be the end of slavery in the Soudan. The Arabs have invariably put their slaves in the front and armed them; and the slaves have seen that they were plucky, while their masters shirked: is it likely that those slaves will ever yield obedience to those masters as heretofore?

December 8—The Arabs this morning fired twelve rounds from guns at Bourré, and five rounds at the North Fort and Palace. Two men came in from the Arabs; they say no Arabs have gone down towards Berber; that the report in the Arab camp was that Berber was captured; this report was four days old. 10 A.M. The steamers are going down to attack. Omdurman Fort reports "All right." 10.30 A.M. The steamers are engaged; the Arabs have two nasty wasp batteries with regular embrasures, quite à l'Europe. (Query Slatin Bey's design.) Though we have protected the steam-chests of the steamers, one cannot help being very anxious. The Arabs at Goba are silent. Another soldier from the Arabs came in and states report of advance of the Expeditionary Force, who are coming by land. Every time I hear the guns fire I have a twitch of the heart of gnawing anxiety for my penny steamers. 11.30 A.M. The battle is over, and my penny boats are safe, thank God! (not in words only, but from my heart). We had two wounded on board the Bordeen, none on board the Ismailia. We are meditating an attack with 500 men on the 50 Arabs, who with their gun, are at Goba. The Bordeen was struck by four shells, the Ismailia by two shells, one of which destroyed a cabin: they had not much musketry fire, but the Arabs fired a great number of rounds; they had six guns playing on the steamers. At noon Arabs fired five shells at

Bourré. In the evening they fired three shells against the Palace from Goba which fell in the town. Had we not cased the steam-chest of the Ismailia with wood she would have had her boiler blown up by one of the shells. The Arab rifle force of Goba is completely innocuous; we do not even hear their bullets, yet our bullets reach them, for they cannot stay in the open, and we can see the dust the bullets throw up that we fire. Wadji Barra, an Ameer of the Mahdi, on the north side, sent me a letter (in Appendix AB) asking me to surrender, and saying it is all lies about the Expedition, the Mahdi is evidently (like H.M.G.) offended with my curt answer to his last, and so his holiness will not write direct. Whenever we have what we call a victory we fire some fireworks at the main posts of our lines, which infuriates the Arabs, and puzzles them as to the reason. They were very angry tonight, and came down in a good number, and fired on the Palace several volleys. I ordered up the three buglers, who put them to flight. The letter Wadji Barra sent me was sent by a woman who came to the North Fort. I telegraphed the officer "Open the letter and tell me contents." He did so, and I answered, "Send the woman back to the Ameer and tell him to go, &c." I expect this irritated the Ameer, who ordered the advance of his men, and consequent expenditure of his ammunition.

December 9—A party of sixty men, with ammunition, camels, and some horsemen, left the Dem of the Mahdi, and went north this morning. The Arabs on the right bank of the White Nile came over to the left bank of the Blue Nile, and went through some antics, so we suppose something is up. A man was wounded yesterday at Omdurman, which fort reports all right. Letter sent by Wadji Barra in Appendix AB. The Arabs fired yesterday not rifled shell, but round shell, which they must have got at Obeyed, which shows they are out of ammunition of the regulation sort. What called forth the letter from Wadji Barra (Appendix AB) was a paper I issued (Appendix CD) to the town, when I received Towfik's telegram saying he would hold the Soudan, and which I gave to a man to send to the Arabs. If Lord Palmerston was alive (or Forster was Premier) he would never leave the Soudan, without proclaiming the emancipation of the slaves. On 18th December, 1862, Lincoln proclaimed abolition of slavery in the United States; this would be a good day to issue such a proclama-

tion in the Soudan. Wadji Barra's letter calls me Pasha of Kartoum, and says I have been deaf to all their entreaties. Stewart left this place three months ago! to-day. A man was wounded by the Arab fire at Bourré: they fired twelve rounds from these guns at the fort. I feel sure that the cause of the Mahdi's coming here is, that he got hold of Herbin's 'French Consul's' journal, written in a hostile critical spirit, and thinking it true, he advanced from Schatt. I expect Hansall, the Austrian Consul, also wrote in the style of Lamentations, for he also sent down a journal by the Abbas. It is remarkable that the very effort which I made to obtain the ear of Europe should have thus recoiled on us. I have for the present abandoned the attack on the Arabs at Goba, as Omdurman is more important, and as I expect the Arabs there have taken away their gun; it has not (up to 2 P.M.) fired to-day. I would like to ask the Mahdi—allowing pro forma that he is the Mahdi—what will be his ultimate work? Certainly his present work is not exhilarating, firing on his fellow-creatures night and day. The siege of Sevastopol lasted 326 days. We are at our 271st day. In their case they had always their communication open, and they dealt with an enemy who would recognise the rights of war; whereas we are not so placed. They, the Russians, were united, and had no civil population to deal with; yet I cannot say I think we are over great heroes (the fact is, that, if one analyses human glory, it is composed of nine-tenths twaddle, perhaps ninety-nine hundredths twaddle). We are only short of the duration of siege of Sevastopol 57 days, and we have had no respite, like the Russians had, during the winter of 1854–55; and neither Nicholas nor Alexander speculated on (well, we will not say what, but we will put it) "counting the months." Of course it will be looked on as very absurd to compare the two blockades, that of Sevastopol and Kartoum; but if properly weighted, one was just as good as the other. The Russians had money, we had none; they had skilled officers, we had none; they had no civil population, we had forty thousand; they had their route open and had news, we had neither.

December 10—A slave came in to-day, he had been with Slatin. He says Slatin is still in chains, that there are two insurrections in Kordofan, and rumour is rife that the Expeditionary force is near. Fort Omdurman is all right. The slave says the Arabs have not much ammunition. The Arabs

fired thirty-one rounds at Bourré to-day, and wounded four men (one an officer, a Major Souleiman Effi, fatally). The Arabs have been firing stones to-day. Goba is quiet, they did not fire their gun to-day, or yesterday. I expect it has gone down to the riverbank. The slave who came in says the Mahdi's return to Kordofan is cut off by the insurrection in his rear; so we and he are like two rats in a box. (I wish he was out of the box!) I have ordered the two steamers to stay up at Bourré, towards which place the Arabs seem to be directing an unpleasant degree of attention. (Truly I am worn to a shadow with the food question; it is one continual demand.) Five men deserted to-day. The Arabs shape the stones they fire, like to the shells of their guns; they will soon spoil the rifling of their guns if they continue this.

December 11—The Arabs fired their gun from Goba three times; one shell fell into the water before the Palace—two passed over it. I put down more mines at Bourré. I have given the whole garrison an extra month's pay in addition to the three months they had before received—I will not hesitate to give them £100,000, if I think it will keep the town.

Three soldiers came in from the Arabs who report advance of the Expedition towards Berber. The Arabs fired fourteen rounds from their guns at Bourré. The officers say that there is a European directing the Arab guns there. (I wonder if it is that Frenchman who came from Dongola, and who, I thought, might have been Renan.) Sennaar is holding out and in great force (so say the three soldiers), so is Kassala. The Dem of the Mahdi is altered in appearance. They say he has sent off the families of his adherents into the interior.

3.30 P.M.—The Arabs fired three shells at the Palace from Goba; two went into the water, one passed over the Palace. This always irritates me, for it is so personal, and from one's own soldiers too! It is not very pleasant also to feel at any moment you may have a shell in your room, for the creatures fire at all hours. The steamers fired on the Arabs at Bourré this morning, and one of the Arab shells struck one steamer, and another struck a santal which we have there to defend the flank; but neither did any harm. Two soldiers deserted to the Arabs to-day—these men are generally those who have before been with the Arabs, and had deserted to us. The Arabs fired another shell at the Palace this evening, which burst in the air.

December 12—Small Church Parade. I sincerely hope this will be the last we shall have to witness. We have in hand 1,796,000 rounds Remingtons ammunition; 540 rounds Krupp; 6000 rounds mountain gun ammunition; £140 in specie; £18,000 in paper in treasury!! £60,000 in town in paper; 110,000 oke of biscuits; 700 ardebs of dhoora. This morning I was told a long story of report concerning the expeditionary force being at El Damer, near the Atbara river; of how Berber had surrendered, &c. On tracing it, I found it was a fib put in circulation by one of the chief Ulemas, to encourage the people.

3.30 P.M.—The Arabs fired two shells at the Palace; one burst in the air, the other fell in the water in a direct line with the window I was sitting at, distant about a hundred yards.

3.40 P.M.—They fired another shell, which fell only fifty yards short of the Palace; another burst in the air. I have sent the buglers up to stop this target practice. All these shells are in good line for the west wing, in which the Arabs know I stop. They fired seven shells in all in this affair; though the Arabs have fired over two thousand shells at us, I do not think we have lost by artillery fire more than three men.

December 13—The steamers went up and attacked the Arabs at Bourré (certainly this day-after-day delay has a most disheartening effect on every one. To-day is the 276th day of our anxiety). The Arabs appear, by all accounts, to have suffered to-day heavily at Bourré. We had none wounded by the Arabs; but one man, by the discharge of a bad cartridge, got a cut in neck: this was owing to the same cause as nearly blew out my eyes the other day. We are going to send down the Bordeen the day after to-morrow, and with her I shall send this journal. If some effort is not made before ten days' time the town will fall. It is inexplicable, this delay. If the Expeditionary Forces have reached the river and met my steamers, one hundred men are all that we require, just to show themselves.

I send this journal, for I have little hopes of saving it if the town falls. I put in the sort of arrangement I would make with Zubair Pasha for the future government of the Soudan. Ferratch Pasha is really showing an amount of vigour I did not give him credit for. Even if the town falls under the nose of the Expeditionary Force, it will not, in my opinion, justify the abandonment of Senaar and Kas-

sala, or of the Equatorial Province, by Her Majesty's Government. All that is absolutely necessary is, for fifty of the Expeditionary Force to get on board a steamer and come up to Halfeyeh, and thus let their presence be felt; this is not asking much, but it must happen at once; or it will (as usual) be too late. A soldier deserted to the Arabs to-day from the North Fort. The buglers on the roof, being short of stature, are put on boxes to enable them to fire over the parapet; one with the recoil of rifle was knocked right over, and caused considerable excitement. We thought he was killed, by the noise he made in his fall. The Arabs fired their Krupps continually into town from the south front, but no one takes any notice of it. The Arabs at Goba only fired one shell at the Palace to-day, which burst in the air.

December 14—Arabs fired two shells at the Palace this morning; 546 ardebs dhoora! in store; also 83,525 oke of biscuit! 10.30 A.M. The steamers are down at Omdurman, engaging the Arabs, consequently I am on tenterhooks! 11.30 A.M. Steamers returned; the Bordeen was struck by a shell in her battery; we had only one man wounded. We are going to send down the Bordeen to-morrow with this journal. If I was in command of the two hundred men of the Expeditionary Force, which are all that are necessary for the movement, I should stop just below Halfeyeh, and attack the Arabs at that place before I came on here to Kartoum. I should then communicate with the North Fort, and act according to circumstances. Now mark this, if the Expeditionary Force, and I ask for no more than two hundred men, does not come in ten days, the town may fall; and I have done my best for the honour of our country. Good bye.

C. G. Gordon

Gordon, Major-General Charles George. *The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C. B., at Kartoum.* London, 1885, 378–395.

Rudyard Kipling: "The White Man's Burden" (1899)

Born in British India in 1865 and educated in the United Kingdom, Rudyard Kipling was, in effect, the unofficial poet laureate of the British Empire at its height in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Presenting British imperialism as an essen-

tially benevolent enterprise, Kipling wrote this—arguably his most famous poem—as a plea to Americans to take up the role of Anglo-Saxon governance of the non-European world. The poem was written shortly after the Spanish-American War, during a time of great debate about whether the United States should hold onto the Philippines as a colony.

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden—
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour (Ah, slowly!) toward the
light:—
“Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?”

Take up the White Man's burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden—
Have done with childish days—
The lightly preferred laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!

Source: Kipling, Rudyard. The Works of Rudyard Kipling. London: Edinburgh Society, 1909.

A Proclamation to the Orange Free State Burghers (1900)

As the descendents of the Dutch settlers in South Africa, the Boers, or Afrikaners, fled British rule in the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-nineteenth century, establishing an independent republic known as the Orange Free State in 1854. But the discovery of gold and diamonds in the nearby Transvaal precipitated British expansion into the interior of South Africa, resulting in an uprising of the Afrikaners known as the Boer War. Britain's victory resulted in a half-century of Boer exclusion from the government in South Africa. In this declaration, Orange Free State President M. T. Stein outlines the Boer grievances against the British imperialists. Little mention, however, is made of the African population, which the Boer settlers themselves had displaced.

Burghers of the Orange Free State: The time which we had so much desired to avoid, the moment when we as a nation are compelled with arms to oppose injustice and shameless violence, is at hand. Our sister Republic to the north of the Vaal River is about to be attacked by an unscrupulous enemy, who for many years has prepared himself, and sought pretexts for the violence of

which he is now guilty, whose purpose it is to destroy the existence of the Afrikander race.

With our sister Republic we are not only bound by ties of blood, of sympathy and of common interest, but also by formal treaty, which has been necessitated by circumstances. This treaty demands of us that we assist her if she should be unjustly attacked, which we, unfortunately, for a long time have had too much reason to expect. We, therefore, cannot passively look on while injustice is done her, and while also our own dearly bought freedom is endangered, but are called as men to resist, trusting the Almighty, firmly believing that He will never permit injustice and unrighteousness to triumph.

Now that we thus resist a powerful enemy, with whom it has always been our honest desire to live in friendship, notwithstanding injustice and wrong done by him to us in the past, we solemnly declare, in the presence of the Almighty God, that we are compelled thereto by the injustice done to our kinsmen, and by the consciousness that the end of their independence will make our existence as an independent State of no significance, and that their fate, should they be obliged to bend under an overwhelming power, will also soon after be our own fate.

Solemn treaties have not protected our sister Republic against annexation; against conspiracy; against the claim of an abolished suzerainty; against the continuous oppression and interference, and now against a renewed attack, which aims only at her downfall.

Our own unfortunate experiences in the past have also made it sufficiently clear to us that we cannot rely on the most solemn promises and agreements of Great Britain, when she has at her helm a Government prepared to trample on treaties, to look for feigned pretexts for every violation of good faith by her committed. This is proved among other things by the unjust and unlawful British intervention, after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier, as also by the forcible appropriation of the dominion over part of our territory where the discovery of diamonds had caused the desire for this appropriation, although contrary to existing treaties.

The desire and intention to trample on our rights as an independent and sovereign nation,

notwithstanding a solemn convention existing between this State and Great Britain, have also been more than once, and are now again, shown by the present Government by giving expression in public documents to an unfounded claim of paramountcy over the whole of South Africa, and, therefore, also over this State.

With regard to the South Africa Republic, Great Britain has, moreover, refused until the present to allow her to regain her original position in respect to foreign affairs, a position which she had lost in no sense by her own faults. The original intention of conventions, to which the Republic has consented under pressure of circumstances, has been perverted and continually been used by the present British administration as a means for the practice of tyranny and of injustice, and, among other things, for the support of a revolutionary propaganda within the Republic in favor of Great Britain.

And while no redress has been offered, as justice demands, for injustice done to the South Africa Republic on the part of the British Government, and while no gratitude is exhibited for the magnanimity shown at the request of the British Government to British subjects who had forfeited under the laws of the Republic their lives and property, yet no feeling of shame has prevented the British Government, now that the gold mines of immense value have been discovered in the country, to make claims of the Republic, the consequence of which, if allowed, will be that those who, or whose forefathers have saved the country from barbarism and have won it for civilization with their blood and their tears, will lose their control over the interests of the country, to which they are justly entitled according to divine and human laws. The consequence of these claims would be, moreover, that the greater part of the power will be placed in the hands of those who, foreigners by birth, enjoy the privilege of depriving the country of its chief treasure, while they have never shown any loyalty to a foreign government.

Besides, the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of these claims would be that the independence of the country as a self-governing, independent sovereign republic would be irreparably lost. For years past British troops in great numbers have been placed on the frontiers of our sister republic in order to compel her by fear to accede to

the demand which would be pressed upon her, and in order to encourage revolutionary disturbances and the cunning plans of those whose greed for gold is the cause of their shameless undertakings.

Those plans have now reached their climax in the open violence to which the present British Government now resorts. While we readily acknowledge the honorable character of thousands of Englishmen, who loathe such deeds of robbery and wrong, we cannot but abhor the shameless breaking of treaties, the feigned pretexts for the transgression of law, the violation of international law and of justice, and the numerous right-rending deeds of the British statesmen, who will now force a war upon the South African Republic. On their heads be the guilt of blood, and may a just Providence reward all as they deserve.

Burghers of the Orange Free State, rise as one man against the oppressor and the violator of right.

In the strife, to which we are now driven, have a care to commit no act unworthy of a Christian and of a Burgher of the Orange Free State. Let us look forward with confidence to a fortunate end of this conflict, trusting to that Higher Power, without whose help human weapons are of no avail.

May He bless our arms. Under His banner we advance to battle for liberty and for Fatherland.

M. T. STEIN, *State President*.

Source: Gordon, Ruth E., and Clive J. Talbot, eds. *From Dias to Vorster: Source Material on South African History*. Cape Town: Nasou, 1977.

An Act to Constitute the Commonwealth of Australia/ Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia (July 9, 1900)

In its administration of empire and its attitudes toward colonial lands, the British government distinguished sharply between colonies dominated by native, non-European peoples and the so-called settler colonies where colonists from Europe or their descendants were sufficient in numbers and/or power to effectively rule over whatever indigenous population existed. Thus, settler colonies like Australia were set on the road to independence, or Commonwealth membership, far earlier than nonsettler colonies in Asia and Africa.

An Act to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia.

WHEREAS the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and under the Constitution hereby established:

And whereas it is expedient to provide for the admission into the Commonwealth of other Australasian Colonies and possessions of the Queen:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act.

2. The provisions of this Act referring to the Queen shall extend to Her Majesty's heirs and successors in the sovereignty of the United Kingdom.

3. It shall be lawful for the Queen, with the advice of the Privy Council, to declare by proclamation that, on and after a day therein appointed, not being later than one year after the passing of this Act, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, and also, if Her Majesty is satisfied that the people of Western Australia have agreed thereto, of Western Australia, shall be united in a Federal Commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. But the Queen may, at any time after the proclamation, appoint a Governor-General for the Commonwealth.

4. The Commonwealth shall be established, and the Constitution of the Commonwealth shall take effect, on and after the day so appointed. But the Parliaments of the several colonies may at any time after the passing of this Act make any such laws, to come into operation on the day so appointed, as they might have made if the Constitution had taken effect at the passing of this Act.

5. This Act, and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth under the Constitution, shall be binding on the courts, judges, and people of every State and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of any State; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be in force on all British ships, the

Queen's ships of war excepted, whose first port of clearance and whose port of destination are in the Commonwealth.

6. "The Commonwealth" shall mean the Commonwealth of Australia as established under this Act.

"The States" shall mean such of the colonies of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia, including the northern territory of South Australia, as for the time being are parts of the Commonwealth, and such colonies or territories as may be admitted into or established by the Commonwealth as States; and each of such parts of the Commonwealth shall be called "a State."

"Original States" shall mean such States as are parts of the Commonwealth at its establishment.

7. The Federal Council of Australasia Act, 1885, is hereby repealed, but so as not to affect any laws passed by the Federal Council of Australasia and in force at the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Any such law may be repealed as to any State by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, or as to any colony not being a State by the Parliament thereof.

After the passing of this Act the Colonial Boundaries Act, 1895, shall not apply to any colony which becomes a State of the Commonwealth; but the Commonwealth shall be taken to be a self-governing colony for the purposes of that Act . . .

*Source: Commonwealth of Australia. Documenting a Democracy: Australia's Story, 2000.
www.foundingdocs.gov.au/places/cth/cth1.htm.*

Mohandas K. Gandhi: Indian Home Rule (1909)

Even while living in South Africa, Mohandas K. Gandhi held strong views on the independence of his homeland India from British colonial rule. In this imaginary interview from 1909, Gandhi, as the "editor" addresses a hypothetical "reader" about the "extremists" demanding full independence for India. Gandhi makes it clear that he sides with the "extremists" and moreover sees their position as nonextremist, but quite rational and justified.

EDITOR:

I would say to the extremists: "I know that you want Home Rule (1) for India; it is not to be had

for your asking. Everyone will have to take it for himself. What others get for me is not Home Rule but foreign rule; therefore, it would not be proper for you to say that you have obtained Home Rule if you have merely expelled the English. I have already described the true nature of Home Rule. This you would never obtain by force of arms. Brute-force is not natural to Indian soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal." I would say to the moderates: "Mere petitioning is derogatory; we thereby confess inferiority. To say that British rule is indispensable, is almost a denial of the Godhead. We cannot say that anybody or anything is indispensable except God. Moreover, common sense should tell us that to state that, for the time being, the presence of the English in India is a necessity, is to make them conceited.

"If the English vacated India, bag and baggage, it must not be supposed that she would be widowed. It is possible that those who are forced to observe peace under their pressure would fight after their withdrawal. There can be no advantage in suppressing an eruption; it must have its vent. If, therefore, before we can remain at peace, we must fight amongst ourselves, it is better that we do so. (2) There is no occasion for a third party to protect the weak. It is this so-called protection which has unnerved us. Such protection can only make the weak weaker. Unless we realize this, we cannot have Home Rule. I would paraphrase the thought of an English divine (3) and say that anarchy under Home Rule were better than orderly foreign rule. Only, the meaning that the learned divine attached to Home Rule is different from Indian Home Rule according to my conception. We have to learn, and to teach others, that we do not want the tyranny of either English rule or Indian rule."

If this idea were carried out, both the extremists and the moderates could join hands. There is no occasion to fear or distrust one another.

READER:

What then, would you say to the English?

EDITOR:

To them I would respectfully say: "I admit you are my rulers. It is not necessary to debate the question whether you hold India by the sword or by my consent. I have no objection to your remaining in my country, but although you are the rulers;

you will have to remain as servants of the people. It is not we who have to do as you wish, but it is you who have to do as we wish. You may keep the riches that you have drained away from this land, but you may not drain riches henceforth. Your function will be, if you so wish, to police India; you must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us. We hold the civilization that you support to be the reverse of civilization. We consider our civilization to be far superior to yours. If you realize this truth, it will be to your advantage and, if you do not, according to your own proverb, (4) you should only live in our country in the same manner as we do. You must not do anything that is contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef, and for the sake of Mahomedans (5) you should avoid bacon and ham. We have hitherto said nothing because we have been cowed down, but you need not consider that you have not hurt our feelings by your conduct. We are not expressing our sentiments either through base selfishness or fear, but because it is our duty now to speak out boldly. We consider your schools and courts to be useless. We want our own ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should, therefore, learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our national language.

“We cannot tolerate the idea of your spending money on railways and the military. We see no occasion for either. You may fear Russia; we do not. When she comes we shall look after her. If you are with us, we may then receive her jointly. We do not need any European cloth. We shall manage with articles produced and manufactured at home. You may not keep one eye on Manchester (6) and the other on India. We can work together only if our interests are identical.

(1) Independence, self-government.

(2) Gandhi thus foresees the possibility of something like the divisive violence that occurred at Independence, even though it was to break his heart and take his life.

(3) Clergyman.

(4) “When in Rome, do as the Romans do.”

(5) An old English term for “Muslim.” Note that Gandhi is already trying to be sensitive to both religions. This was the issue that in the end defeated him.

(6) The center of the English cotton-weaving trade. One of Gandhi’s most important campaigns was to persuade Indians to wear only traditional Indian homespun garments, boycotting English imports.

Source: Gandhi, Mohandas. *Indian Home Rule*. Phoenix, Natal, South Africa: International Printing Press, 1910.

McMahon-Hussein Correspondence (1915–1916)

In his hopes of gaining Arab support in the fight against the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East during World War I, British High Commissioner for Egypt Sir Henry McMahon corresponded with the Sharif Hussein of Mecca, the scion of the Hashemite dynasty. In this critical exchange of letters, McMahon promised Hussein that Britain would support independent Arab states after the war. Even as McMahon was making this promise, however, the British and the French were secretly negotiating, in the contemporary Sykes-Picot Treaty, to divide former Ottoman domains in the Middle East between them. This betrayal bedeviled relations between the European powers and the Arabs for decades.

Letter from Sharif Hussein, 14 July 1915

Whereas the whole of the Arab nation without any exception have decided in these last years to accomplish their freedom, and grasp the reins of their administration both in theory and practice; and whereas they have found and felt that it is in the interest of the Government of Great Britain to support them and aid them in the attainment of their firm and lawful intentions (which are based upon the maintenance of the honour and dignity of their life) without any ulterior motives whatsoever unconnected with this object;

And whereas it is to their (the Arabs’) interest also to prefer the assistance of the Government of Great Britain in consideration of their geographic position and economic interests, and also of the attitude of the above-mentioned Government, which is known to both nations and therefore need not be emphasized;

For these reasons the Arab nation sees fit to limit themselves, as time is short, to asking the Government of Great Britain, if it should think fit,

for the approval, through her deputy or representative, of the following fundamental propositions, leaving out all things considered secondary in comparison with these, so that it may prepare all means necessary for attaining this noble purpose, until such time as it finds occasion for making the actual negotiations:—

Firstly.- England will acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries, bounded on the north by Mersina and Adana up to the 37th degree of latitude, on which degree fall Birijik, Urfa, Mardin, Midiat, Jezirat (Ibn 'Umar), Amadia, up to the border of Persia; on the east by the borders of Persia up to the Gulf of Basra; on the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of the position of Aden to remain as it is; on the west by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina. England to approve the proclamation of an Arab Khalifate of Islam.

Secondly.- The Arab Government of the Sherif will acknowledge that England shall have the preference in all economic enterprises in the Arab countries whenever conditions of enterprises are otherwise equal.

Thirdly.- For the security of this Arab independence and the certainty of such preference of economic enterprises, both high contracting parties will offer mutual assistance, to the best ability of their military and naval forces, to face any foreign Power which may attack either party. Peace not to be decided without agreement of both parties.

Fourthly.- If one of the parties enters into an aggressive conflict, the other party will assume a neutral attitude, and in case of such party wishing the other to join forces, both to meet and discuss the conditions.

Fifthly.- England will acknowledge the abolition of foreign privileges in the Arab countries, and will assist the Government of the Sherif in an International Convention for confirming such abolition.

Sixthly.- Articles 3 and 4 of this treaty will remain in vigour for fifteen years, and, if either wishes it to be renewed, one year's notice before lapse of treaty is to be given.

Consequently, and as the whole of the Arab nation have (praise be to God) agreed and united for the attainment, at all costs and finally, of this noble object, they beg the Government of Great Britain to answer them positively or negatively in a period

of thirty days after receiving this intimation; and if this period should lapse before they receive an answer, they reserve to themselves complete freedom of action. Moreover, we (the Sherif's family) will consider ourselves free in work and deed from the bonds of our previous declaration which we made through Ali Effendi.

Letter from Sir Henry McMahon, 24 October 1915

I have received your letter of the 29th Shawal, 1333, with much pleasure and your expressions of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction.

I regret that you should have received from my last letter the impression that I regarded the question of the limits and boundaries with coldness and hesitation; such was not the case, but it appeared to me that the time had not yet come when that question could be discussed in a conclusive manner.

I have realised, however, from your last letter that you regard this question as one of vital and urgent importance. I have, therefore, lost no time in informing the Government of Great Britain of the contents of your letter, and it is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement, which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction:—

The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded.

With the above modification, and without prejudice of our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits.

As for those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interest of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter:—

1. Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca.

2. Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognise their inviolability.

3. When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.

4. On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisers and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound form of administration will be British.

5. With regard to the vilayets of Bagdad and Basra, the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression, to promote the welfare of the local populations and to safeguard our mutual economic interests.

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, the immediate results of which will be the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples from the Turkish yoke, which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

I have confined myself in this letter to the more vital and important questions, and if there are any other matters dealt with in your letter which I have omitted to mention, we may discuss them at some convenient date in the future.

It was with very great relief and satisfaction that I heard of the safe arrival of the Holy Carpet and the accompanying offerings which, thanks to the clearness of your directions and the excellence of your arrangements, were landed without trouble or mishap in spite of the dangers and difficulties occasioned by the present sad war. May God soon bring a lasting peace and freedom to all peoples!

I am sending this letter by the hand of your trusted and excellent messenger, Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Arif Ibn Uraifan, and he will inform you of the various matters of interest, but of less vital importance, which I have not mentioned in this letter.

Source: World Zionist Organization website:
www.wzo.org.il/home/politic/d148a.htm.

Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917)

Since the late nineteenth century, Jewish leaders in Europe, including Lord Rothschild, had been encouraging emigration to Palestine. During World War I, the British army took Palestine from the Ottoman Empire. While the majority Arab inhabitants of the region received British promises that the land would become an independent state after the war, British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour issued this declaration to Rothschild, promising a "national home" for the Jewish people. The declaration's promise, along with its dismissal of the Arab majority in Palestine as merely "non-Jewish communities," angered many Arabs, setting the stage for future conflicts between Arabs and the British and between Arabs and Jews.

Foreign Office

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely, Arthur James Balfour

Source: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/balfour.htm>.

League of Nations: Palestine Mandate (1922)

For several centuries before World War I, Palestine had been a province of the Ottoman Empire. To enlist Arab support against the Ottomans in that war, Britain promised the former independence. At the same time, the British also made promises to the

new Jewish immigrants in Palestine that they would be given a "national home" in Palestine. In the wake of World War I, however, Britain reneged on its promises to the Arabs, while hedging on the meaning of a "national home" for the Jews. Ultimately, the western-dominated League of Nations made the province a British mandate. In this document establishing the mandate, the League of Nations sets the rules by which Britain will try to reconcile the two increasingly hostile populations, a mandate that the British would wholly fail to fulfill.

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of au-

thority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations; confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ART. 2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ART. 3. The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ART. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ART. 5. The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign Power.

ART. 6. The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ART. 7. The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so

as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ART. 8. The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately reestablished in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

ART. 9. The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ART. 10. Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

ART. 11. The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to

develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ART. 12. The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ART. 13. All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ART. 14. A special commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

ART. 15. The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the

inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ART. 16. The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ART. 17. The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ART. 18. The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ART. 19. The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

ART. 20. The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ART. 21. The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1) "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700 A. D.

(2) The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3) No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4) Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5) No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6) Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7) Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8) The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

ART. 22. English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ART. 23. The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ART. 24. The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ART. 25. In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to

those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

ART. 26. The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

ART. 27. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

ART. 28. In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

Source: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00pr0.

British White Paper on Palestine (June 1922)

Shortly before issuing this official government White Paper, the League of Nations had granted Britain a mandate over Palestine. Under the mandate system, the mandatory power was supposed to prepare the mandated territory for eventual independence. In Palestine, there were complications, however. In 1917, Britain had declared its intent—with the Balfour Declaration—to create a Jewish

“national home” in the territory, thereby antagonizing Arab inhabitants. To placate the latter, Britain issued the following White Paper, dividing the mandate into two territories: Palestine proper (later Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza) and Trans-Jordan (later the nation of Jordan), with Jews forbidden to emigrate to the latter. This, however, did little to resolve the situation in Palestine, which continued to be plagued by Jewish-Arab strife.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has given renewed consideration to the existing political situation in Palestine, with a very earnest desire to arrive at a settlement of the outstanding questions which have given rise to uncertainty and unrest among certain sections of the population. After consultation with the High Commissioner for Palestine [Sir Herbert Samuel] the following statement has been drawn up. It summarizes the essential parts of the correspondence that has already taken place between the Secretary of State and a delegation from the Moslem Christian Society of Palestine, which has been for some time in England, and it states the further conclusions which have since been reached.

The tension which has prevailed from time to time in Palestine is mainly due to apprehensions, which are entertained both by sections of the Arab and by sections of the Jewish population. These apprehensions, so far as the Arabs are concerned are partly based upon exaggerated interpretations of the meaning of the [Balfour] Declaration favouring the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on 2nd November, 1917.

Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become “as Jewish as England is English.” His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated, as appears to be feared by the Arab delegation, the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language, or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home,

but that such a Home should be founded “in Palestine.” In this connection it has been observed with satisfaction that at a meeting of the Zionist Congress, the supreme governing body of the Zionist Organization, held at Carlsbad in September, 1921, a resolution was passed expressing as the official statement of Zionist aims “the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development.”

It is also necessary to point out that the Zionist Commission in Palestine, now termed the Palestine Zionist Executive, has not desired to possess, and does not possess, any share in the general administration of the country. Nor does the special position assigned to the Zionist Organization in Article IV of the Draft Mandate for Palestine imply any such functions. That special position relates to the measures to be taken in Palestine affecting the Jewish population, and contemplates that the organization may assist in the general development of the country, but does not entitle it to share in any degree in its government.

Further, it is contemplated that the status of all citizens of Palestine in the eyes of the law shall be Palestinian, and it has never been intended that they, or any section of them, should possess any other juridical status. So far as the Jewish population of Palestine are concerned it appears that some among them are apprehensive that His Majesty's Government may depart from the policy embodied in the *Declaration of 1917*. It is necessary, therefore, once more to affirm that these fears are unfounded, and that that Declaration, re-affirmed by the Conference of the Principle Allied Powers at San Remo and again in the Treaty of Sevres, is not susceptible of change.

During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of whom about one fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organization for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is con-

ducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew Press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious, and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact "national" characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on the sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.

This, then, is the interpretation which His Majesty's Government place upon the *Declaration of 1917*, and, so understood, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it does not contain or imply anything which need cause either alarm to the Arab population of Palestine or disappointment to the Jews.

For the fulfillment of this policy it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment. Hitherto the immigration has fulfilled these conditions. The number of immigrants since the British occupation has been about 25,000.

It is necessary also to ensure that persons who are politically undesirable be excluded from Palestine, and every precaution has been and will be taken by the Administration to that end.

It is intended that a special committee should be established in Palestine, consisting entirely of members of the new Legislative Council elected by the people, to confer with the administration upon matters relating to the regulation of immigration. Should any difference of opinion arise between this committee and the Administration, the matter will be referred to His Majesty's Government, who will give it special consideration. In addition, under Article 81 of the draft Palestine Order in Council, any religious community or considerable section of the population of Palestine will have a general right to appeal, through the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State, to the League of Nations on any matter on which they may consider that the terms of the Mandate are not being fulfilled by the Government of Palestine.

With reference to the Constitution which it is now intended to establish in Palestine, the draft of which has already been published, it is desirable to make certain points clear. In the first place, it is not the case, as has been represented by the Arab Delegation, that during the war His Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that an independent national government should be at once established in Palestine. This representation mainly rests upon a letter dated the 24th October, 1915, from Sir Henry McMahon, then His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, to the Sharif of Mecca, now King Hussein of the Kingdom of the Hejaz. That letter is quoted as conveying the promise to the Sherif of Mecca to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories proposed by him. But this promise was given subject to a reservation made in the same letter, which excluded from its scope, among other territories, the portions of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus. This reservation has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering the vilayet of Beirut and the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir. Henry McMahon's pledge.

Nevertheless, it is the intention of His Majesty's government to foster the establishment of a full measure of self government in Palestine. But they are of the opinion that, in the special circumstances of that country, this should be accomplished by gradual stages and not suddenly. The first step was taken when, on the institution of a

Civil Administration, the nominated Advisory Council, which now exists, was established. It was stated at the time by the High Commissioner that this was the first step in the development of self governing institutions, and it is now proposed to take a second step by the establishment of a Legislative Council containing a large proportion of members elected on a wide franchise. It was proposed in the published draft that three of the members of this Council should be non official persons nominated by the High Commissioner, but representations having been made in opposition to this provision, based on cogent considerations, the Secretary of State is prepared to omit it. The legislative Council would then consist of the High Commissioner as President and twelve elected and ten official members. The Secretary of State is of the opinion that before a further measure of self government is extended to Palestine and the Assembly placed in control over the Executive, it would be wise to allow some time to elapse. During this period the institutions of the country will have become well established; its financial credit will be based on firm foundations, and the Palestinian officials will have been enabled to gain experience of sound methods of government. After a few years the situation will be again reviewed, and if the experience of the working of the constitution now to be established so warranted, a larger share of authority would then be extended to the elected representatives of the people.

The Secretary of State would point out that already the present administration has transferred to a Supreme Council elected by the Moslem community of Palestine the entire control of Moslem Religious endowments (Waqfs), and of the Moslem religious Courts. To this Council the Administration has also voluntarily restored considerable revenues derived from ancient endowments which have been sequestered by the Turkish Government. The Education Department is also advised by a committee representative of all sections of the population, and the Department of Commerce and Industry has the benefit of the co-operation of the Chambers of Commerce which have been established in the principal centres. It is the intention of the Administration to associate in an increased degree similar representative committees with the various Departments of the Government.

The Secretary of State believes that a policy upon these lines, coupled with the maintenance of the fullest religious liberty in Palestine and with scrupulous regard for the rights of each community with reference to its Holy Places, cannot but commend itself to the various sections of the population, and that upon this basis may be built up that a spirit of cooperation upon which the future progress and prosperity of the Holy Land must largely depend.

Source: Winer, Joel H. *Great Britain: Foreign Policy and the Span of Empire, 1689–1971, A Documentary History*, vol. 4. New York: Chelsea House, 1972.

Statute of Westminster (1931)

The 1931 Statute of Westminster was a major milestone in Britain's long march from empire. Under the law, Britain recognized that the various dominions established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—most notably Canada, Australia, and South Africa—were autonomous and that the British Parliament had no right to pass laws for them. In effect, the statute was the founding document of the British Commonwealth and, while it affected only white-settler-dominated former colonies, it would be extended after World War II to most of Britain's former colonies in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean.

Preamble. Whereas the delegates to His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland, at Imperial Conferences . . . at Westminster in the years of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-six and nineteen hundred and thirty did concur in making the declarations and resolutions set forth in the Reports of the said Conference: And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol to the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any al-

teration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom: And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion. And whereas it is necessary for the ratifying, confirming and establishing of certain of the said declarations and resolutions of the said Conferences that a law be made and enacted in due form by authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom: And whereas the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland have severally requested and consented to the submission of a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom for making such provision with regard to the matters aforesaid as is hereafter in this Act contained: Now, therefore, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Section 1 In this Act the expression "Dominion" means any of the following Dominions, that is to say, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland.

Section 2 (1) The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, shall not apply to any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion. (2) No law and no provision of any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule, or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Parliament of a Dominion shall include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as the same is part of the law of the Dominion.

Section 3 It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

Section 4 No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof.

Section 5 Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions of this Act, sections seven hundred and thirty-five and seven hundred and thirty-six of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, shall be construed as though reference therein to the Legislature of a British possession did not include reference to the Parliament of a Dominion.

Section 6 Without prejudice to a generality of the foregoing provisions of this Act, section four of the Colonial Courts of Admiralty Act, 1890 (which requires certain laws to be reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure or to contain a suspending clause), and so much of section seven of that Act as requires the approval of His Majesty in Council to any rules of Court for regulating the practice and procedure of a Colonial Court of Admiralty, shall cease to have effect in any Dominion as from the commencement of this Act.

Section 7 (1) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to apply to the repeal, amendment or alteration of the British North America Acts, 1867 to 1930, or any order, rule or regulation made thereunder. (2) The provisions of section two of this Act shall extend to laws made by any of the Provinces of Canada and to the powers of the legislatures of such Provinces. (3) The powers conferred by this Act upon the Parliament of Canada or upon the legislatures of the Provinces shall be restricted to the enactment of laws in the relation to matters within the competence of the Parliament of Canada or of any of the legislatures of the Provinces respectively.

Section 8 Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to confer any power to repeal or alter the Constitution or the Constitution Act of the Commonwealth of Australia or the Constitution Act of the Dominion of New Zealand otherwise than in accordance with the law existing before the commencement of this Act.

Section 9 (1) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to authorize the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia to make laws on any matter within the authority of the States of Australia, not being a matter within the authority of the Parliament or Government of the Commonwealth of Australia. (2) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to require the concurrence of the Parliament or Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, in any law made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom with respect to any matter within the authority of the States of Australia, not being a matter within the authority of the Parliament or Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, in any case where it would have been in accordance with the constitutional practice existing before the commencement of this Act that the Parliament of the United Kingdom should make that law without such concurrence. (3) In the application of this Act to the Commonwealth of Australia the request and consent referred to in section four shall mean the request and consent of the Parliament and Government of the Commonwealth.

Section 10 (1) None of the following sections of this Act, that is to say, sections two, three, four, five and six, shall extend to a Dominion to which this section applies as part of the law of that Dominion unless that section is adopted by the Parliament of the Dominion, and any Act of that Parliament adopting any section of this Act may provide that the adoption shall have effect either from the commencement of this Act or from such later date as is specified in the adopting Act. (2) The Parliament of any such Dominion as aforesaid may at any time revoke the adoption of any section referred to in subsection (1) of this section. (3) The Dominions to which this section applies are the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and Newfoundland.

Section 11 Notwithstanding anything in the Interpretation Act, 1889, the expression "Colony" shall not, in any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act, include a Dominion or any Province or State forming a part of a Dominion.

Section 12 This Act may be cited as the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

Source: 22 George V, Chapter 4; 11th December, 1931.
Solon Law Archive website. <http://www.solon.org/>

Constitutions/Canada/English/StatuteofWestminster.html.

British White Paper for Palestine (1939)

Ever since it received a mandate over Palestine in 1922, Britain had faced the problem of reconciling two distinctly hostile populations in the territory: incoming Jews and native Arabs. Over the course of two decades, the British had tried to placate both parties but only succeeded in antagonizing them. In this official White Paper, issued in 1938 and following a major Arab uprising, the British decided to create a single Palestinian state, governed by Jews and Arabs, within ten years. But the mutual hostility of the two groups resulted in a separate Jewish state and Palestinian areas governed by Jordan and Egypt.

In the statement on Palestine, issued on 9 November, 1938, His Majesty's Government announced their intention to invite representatives of the Arabs of Palestine, of certain neighboring countries and of the Jewish Agency to confer with them in London regarding future policy. It was their sincere hope that, as a result of full, free and frank discussions, some understanding might be reached. Conferences recently took place with Arab and Jewish delegations, lasting for a period of several weeks, and served the purpose of a complete exchange of views between British Ministers and the Arab and Jewish representatives. In the light of the discussions as well as of the situation in Palestine and of the Reports of the Royal Commission and the Partition Commission, certain proposals were formulated by His Majesty's Government and were laid before the Arab and Jewish Delegations as the basis of an agreed settlement. Neither the Arab nor the Jewish delegation felt able to accept these proposals, and the conferences therefore did not result in an agreement. Accordingly His Majesty's Government are free to formulate their own policy, and after careful consideration they have decided to adhere generally to the proposals which were finally submitted to and discussed with the Arab and Jewish delegations.

The *Mandate for Palestine*, the terms of which were confirmed by the Council of the League of

Nations in 1922, has governed the policy of successive British Governments for nearly 20 years. It embodies the *Balfour Declaration* and imposes on the Mandatory four main obligations. These obligations are set out in *Article 2, 6 and 13* of the Mandate. There is no dispute regarding the interpretation of one of these obligations, that touching the protection of and access to the Holy Places and religious building or sites. The other three main obligations are generally as follows:

To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People. To facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and to encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the Land.

To safeguard the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion, and, whilst facilitating Jewish immigration and settlement, to ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced.

To place the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the development of self governing institutions.

The Royal Commission and previous commissions of Enquiry have drawn attention to the ambiguity of certain expressions in the Mandate, such as the expression “a national home for the Jewish people,” and they have found in this ambiguity and the resulting uncertainty as to the objectives of policy a fundamental cause of unrest and hostility between Arabs and Jews. His Majesty’s Government are convinced that in the interests of the peace and well being of the whole people of Palestine a clear definition of policy and objectives is essential. The proposal of partition recommended by the Royal Commission would have afforded such clarity, but the establishment of self supporting independent Arab and Jewish States within Palestine has been found to be impracticable. It has therefore been necessary for His Majesty’s Government to devise an alternative policy which will, consistent with their obligations to Arabs and Jews, meet the needs of the situation in Palestine. Their views and proposals are set forth below under three heads, Section I, “The Constitution,” Section II. Immigration and Section III. Land.

Section I. “The Constitution”

It has been urged that the expression “a national home for the Jewish people” offered a prospect that Palestine might in due course become a Jewish State or Commonwealth. His Majesty’s Government do not wish to contest the view, which was expressed by the Royal Commission, that the Zionist leaders at the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration recognised that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration. But, with the Royal Commission, His Majesty’s Government believe that the framers of the *Mandate* in which the *Balfour Declaration* was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country. That Palestine was not to be converted into a Jewish State might be held to be implied in the passage from the *Command Paper of 1922* which reads as follows

“Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that ‘Palestine is to become as Jewish as England is English.’ His Majesty’s Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated. . . . the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the (Balfour) Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine*.”

But this statement has not removed doubts, and His Majesty’s Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish State against their will.

The nature of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was further described in the *Command Paper of 1922* as follows

“During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community now

numbering 80,000, of whom about one fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organisation for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organisations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact 'national' characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognised to rest upon ancient historic connection."

His Majesty's Government adhere to this interpretation of the (*Balfour*) *Declaration of 1917* and regard it as an authoritative and comprehensive description of the character of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It envisaged the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world. Evidence that His Majesty's Government have been carrying out their obligation in this respect is to be found in the facts that, since the statement of 1922 was published, more than 300,000 Jews have immigrated to Palestine, and that the population of the National Home has risen to some 450,000, or approaching a third of the entire population of the country. Nor has the Jewish community failed to

take full advantage of the opportunities given to it. The growth of the Jewish National Home and its achievements in many fields are a remarkable constructive effort which must command the admiration of the world and must be, in particular, a source of pride to the Jewish people.

In the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, in October, 1915, undertook to recognise and support Arab independence. The validity of this claim, based on the terms of the correspondence which passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sharif of Mecca, was thoroughly and carefully investigated by the British and Arab representatives during the recent conferences in London. Their report, which has been published, states that both the Arab and the British representatives endeavoured to understand the point of view of the other party but that they were unable to reach agreement upon an interpretation of the correspondence. There is no need to summarize here the arguments presented by each side. His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere, for the reasons given by their representatives in the Report, to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State.

His Majesty's Government are charged as the Mandatory authority "to secure the development of self governing institutions" in Palestine. Apart from this specific obligation, they would regard it as contrary to the whole spirit of the Mandate system that the population of Palestine should remain forever under Mandatory tutelage. It is proper that the people of the country should as early as possible enjoy the rights of self-government which are exercised by the people of neighbouring countries. His Majesty's Government are unable at present to foresee the exact constitutional forms which government in Palestine will eventually take, but their objective is self government, and they desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine State. It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and

Jews, share authority in government in such a way that the essential interests of each are shared.

The establishment of an independent State and the complete relinquishment of Mandatory control in Palestine would require such relations between the Arabs and the Jews as would make good government possible. Moreover, the growth of self governing institutions in Palestine, as in other countries, must be an evolutionary process. A transitional period will be required before independence is achieved, throughout which ultimate responsibility for the Government of the country will be retained by His Majesty's Government as the Mandatory authority, while the people of the country are taking an increasing share in the Government, and understanding and cooperation amongst them are growing. It will be the constant endeavour of His Majesty's Government to promote good relations between the Arabs and the Jews.

In the light of these considerations His Majesty's Government make the following declaration of their intentions regarding the future government of Palestine:

The objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine State in such treaty relations with the United Kingdom as will provide satisfactorily for the commercial and strategic requirements of both countries in the future. The proposal for the establishment of the independent State would involve consultation with the Council of the League of Nations with a view to the termination of the *Mandate*.

The independent State should be one in which Arabs and Jews share government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded.

The establishment of the independent State will be preceded by a transitional period throughout which His Majesty's Government will retain responsibility for the country. During the transitional period the people of Palestine will be given an increasing part in the government of their country. Both sections of the population will have an opportunity to participate in the machinery of government, and the process will be carried on whether or not they both avail themselves of it.

As soon as peace and order have been sufficiently restored in Palestine steps will be taken to carry out this policy of giving the people of Pal-

estine an increasing part in the government of their country, the objective being to place Palestinians in charge of all the Departments of Government, with the assistance of British advisers and subject to the control of the High Commissioner. Arab and Jewish representatives will be invited to serve as heads of Departments approximately in proportion to their respective populations. The number of Palestinians in charge of Departments will be increased as circumstances permit until all heads of Departments are Palestinians, exercising the administrative and advisory functions which are presently performed by British officials. When that stage is reached consideration will be given to the question of converting the Executive Council into a Council of Ministers with a consequential change in the status and functions of the Palestinian heads of Departments.

His Majesty's Government make no proposals at this stage regarding the establishment of an elective legislature. Nevertheless they would regard this as an appropriate constitutional development, and, should public opinion in Palestine hereafter show itself in favour of such a development, they will be prepared, provided that local conditions permit, to establish the necessary machinery.

At the end of five years from the restoration of peace and order, an appropriate body representative of the people of Palestine and of His Majesty's Government will be set up to review the working of the constitutional arrangements during the transitional period and to consider and make recommendations regarding the constitution of the independent Palestine State.

His Majesty's Government will require to be satisfied that in the treaty contemplated by sub-paragraph (6) adequate provision has been made for:

the security of, and freedom of access to the Holy Places, and protection of the interests and property of the various religious bodies.

the protection of the different communities in Palestine in accordance with the obligations of His Majesty's Government to both Arabs and Jews and for the special position in Palestine of the Jewish National Home.

such requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by

His Majesty's Government in the light of the circumstances then existing. His Majesty's Government will also require to be satisfied that the interests of certain foreign countries in Palestine, for the preservation of which they are at present responsible, are adequately safeguarded.

His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into being within 10 years. If, at the end of 10 years, it appears to His Majesty's Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of the independent State, they will consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations and the neighbouring Arab States before deciding on such a postponement. If His Majesty's Government come to the conclusion that postponement is unavoidable, they will invite the co-operation of these parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date.

During the transitional period steps will be taken to increase the powers and responsibilities of municipal corporations and local councils.

Section II. Immigration

Under *Article 6 of the Mandate*, the Administration of Palestine, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," is required to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." Beyond this, the extent to which Jewish immigration into Palestine is to be permitted is nowhere defined in the Mandate. But in the *Command Paper of 1922* it was laid down that for the fulfilment of the policy of establishing a Jewish National Home:

"It is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment."

In practice, from that date onwards until recent times, the economic absorptive capacity of the

country has been treated as the sole limiting factor, and in the letter which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister, sent to Dr. Weizmann in February 1931 it was laid down as a matter of policy that economic absorptive capacity was the sole criterion. This interpretation has been supported by resolutions of the Permanent Mandates Commissioner. But His Majesty's Government do not read either the Statement of Policy of 1922 or the letter of 1931 as implying that the *Mandate* requires them, for all time and in all circumstances, to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine subject only to consideration of the country's economic absorptive capacity. Nor do they find anything in the Mandate or in subsequent Statements of Policy to support the view that the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine cannot be effected unless immigration is allowed to continue indefinitely. If immigration has an adverse effect on the economic position in the country, it should clearly be restricted; and equally, if it has a seriously damaging effect on the political position in the country, that is a factor that should not be ignored. Although it is not difficult to contend that the large number of Jewish immigrants who have been admitted so far have been absorbed economically, the fear of the Arabs that this influx will continue indefinitely until the Jewish population is in a position to dominate them has produced consequences which are extremely grave for Jews and Arabs alike and for the peace and prosperity of Palestine. The lamentable disturbances of the past three years are only the latest and most sustained manifestation of this intense Arab apprehension. The methods employed by Arab terrorists against fellow Arabs and Jews alike must receive unqualified condemnation. But it cannot be denied that fear of indefinite Jewish immigration is widespread amongst the Arab population and that this fear has made possible disturbances which have given a serious setback to economic progress, depleted the Palestine exchequer, rendered life and property insecure, and produced a bitterness between the Arab and Jewish populations which is deplorable between citizens of the same country. If in these circumstances immigration is continued up to the economic absorptive capacity of the country, regardless of all other considerations, a fatal enmity between the two peoples will be perpetuated, and the situation

in Palestine may become a permanent source of friction amongst all peoples in the Near and Middle East. His Majesty's Government cannot take the view that either their obligations under the Mandate, or considerations of common sense and justice, require that they should ignore these circumstances in framing immigration policy.

In the view of the Royal Commission the association of the policy of the Balfour Declaration with the Mandate system implied the belief that Arab hostility to the former would sooner or later be overcome. It has been the hope of British Governments ever since the *Balfour Declaration* was issued that in time the Arab population, recognizing the advantages to be derived from Jewish settlement and development in Palestine, would become reconciled to the further growth of the Jewish National Home. This hope has not been fulfilled. The alternatives before His Majesty's Government are either (i) to seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration, against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country; or (ii) to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it. The former policy means rule by force. Apart from other considerations, such a policy seems to His Majesty's Government to be contrary to the whole spirit of *Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations*, as well as to their specific obligations to the Arabs in the Palestine Mandate. Moreover, the relations between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine must be based sooner or later on mutual tolerance and goodwill; the peace, security and progress of the Jewish National Home itself requires this. Therefore His Majesty's Government, after earnest consideration, and taking into account the extent to which the growth of the Jewish National Home has been facilitated over the last twenty years, have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle the second of the alternatives referred to above.

It has been urged that all further Jewish immigration into Palestine should be stopped forthwith. His Majesty's Government cannot accept such a proposal. It would damage the whole of the financial and economic system of Palestine and thus effect adversely the interests of Arabs and Jews alike. Moreover, in the view of His Majesty's Government, abruptly to stop further immigration would be unjust to the Jewish National Home. But,

above all, His Majesty's Government are conscious of the present unhappy plight of large numbers of Jews who seek refuge from certain European countries, and they believe that Palestine can and should make a further contribution to the solution of this pressing world problem. In all these circumstances, they believe that they will be acting consistently with their Mandatory obligations to both Arabs and Jews, and in the manner best calculated to serve the interests of the whole people of Palestine, by adopting the following proposals regarding immigration:

Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if economic absorptive capacity permits, will bring the Jewish population up to approximately one third of the total population of the country. Taking into account the expected natural increase of the Arab and Jewish populations, and the number of illegal Jewish immigrants now in the country, this would allow of the admission, as from the beginning of April this year, of some 75,000 immigrants over the next five years. These immigrants would, subject to the criterion of economic absorptive capacity, be admitted as follows:

For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed on the understanding that a shortage one year may be added to the quotas for subsequent years, within the five year period, if economic absorptive capacity permits.

In addition, as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance is ensured, special consideration being given to refugee children and dependents.

The existing machinery for ascertaining economic absorptive capacity will be retained, and the High Commissioner will have the ultimate responsibility for deciding the limits of economic capacity. Before each periodic decision is taken, Jewish and Arab representatives will be consulted.

After the period of five years, no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it.

His Majesty's Government are determined to check illegal immigration, and further preventive measures are being adopted. The numbers of any Jewish illegal immigrants who, despite these measures, may succeed in coming into the country and

cannot be deported will be deducted from the yearly quotas.

His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, when the immigration over five years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in facilitating, nor will they be under any obligation to facilitate, the further development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the wishes of the Arab population.

Section III. Land

The Administration of Palestine is required, under *Article 6 of the Mandate*, "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," to encourage "close settlement by Jews on the land," and no restriction has been imposed hitherto on the transfer of land from Arabs to Jews. The Reports of several expert Commissions have indicated that, owing to the natural growth of the Arab population and the steady sale in recent years of Arab land to Jews, there is now in certain areas no room for further transfers of Arab land, whilst in some other areas such transfers of land must be restricted if Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to be created. In these circumstances, the High Commissioner will be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land. These powers will date from the publication of this statement of policy and the High Commissioner will retain them throughout the transitional period.

The policy of the Government will be directed towards the development of the land and the improvement, where possible, of methods of cultivation. In the light of such development it will be open to the High Commissioner, should he be satisfied that the "rights and position" of the Arab population will be duly preserved, to review and modify any orders passed relating to the prohibition or restriction of the transfer of land.

In framing these proposals His Majesty's Government have sincerely endeavoured to act in strict accordance with their obligations under the Mandate to both the Arabs and the Jews. The vagueness of the phrases employed in some instances to describe these obligations has led to controversy and has made the task of interpretation difficult. His Majesty's Government cannot hope to satisfy the

partisans of one party or the other in such controversy as the Mandate has aroused. Their purpose is to be just as between the two people in Palestine whose destinies in that country have been affected by the great events of recent years, and who, since they live side by side, must learn to practice mutual tolerance, goodwill and co-operation. In looking to the future, His Majesty's Government are not blind to the fact that some events of the past make the task of creating these relations difficult; but they are encouraged by the knowledge that as many times and in many places in Palestine during recent years the Arab and Jewish inhabitants have lived in friendship together. Each community has much to contribute to the welfare of their common land, and each must earnestly desire peace in which to assist in increasing the well being of the whole people of the country. The responsibility which falls on them, no less than upon His Majesty's Government, to cooperate together to ensure peace is all the more solemn because their country is revered by many millions of Moslems, Jews and Christians throughout the world who pray for peace in Palestine and for the happiness of her people.

Source: The Jerusalem Fund for Education and Community Development website. www.palestine-center.org/cpap/documents/british.html.

British Government Statement: Policy in India (1946)

Britain's decision to grant its colony in India independence shortly after World War II was complicated by many factors, most notably the insistence by the Muslim minority that they be given a separate nation of their own, the future Pakistan. The resulting partition of India into Hindu-majority and Muslim-majority states led to one of the bloodiest episodes in post-World War II history, as hundreds of thousands of people were slain and millions forced to flee their homes. Historians differ significantly on the responsibility of the British for this carnage. The following is an official statement by the British government announcing its hope that India, once independent, will elect to stay within the newly formed British Commonwealth. As it turns out, India, although becoming a republic and eschewing the queen as official head of state, chose to remain inside the Commonwealth.

1. On the 15th March last, just before the dispatch of the Cabinet Mission to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:

My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision . . .

I hope that the Indian people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that she will find great advantages in doing so . . .

But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.

2. Charged in these historic words, we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try to reach a settlement, but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached, we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India, and an interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead

to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence which has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very, genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule. This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign state of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas: one in the North-West consisting of the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the North-East consisting of the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate state of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of government according to their wishes, and, secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The setting up of a separate sovereign state of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of

Pakistan can equally, in our view, be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the percentage of the Muslim population is 23.6 per cent. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign state of Pakistan would provide all acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military, considerations . . .

10. Finally, there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan state are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign states.

12. This decision does not, however, blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element. To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which provinces would have full autonomy subject only

to a minimum of central subjects, such as foreign affairs, defence and communications.

Under this scheme provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a central executive and legislature in which some ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces who had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the central legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their provinces were not concerned were under discussion. Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way . . .

14. Before putting forward our recommendations we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States . . .

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties and would at the same time be

most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: foreign affairs, defence, and communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an executive and a legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any province could by a majority vote of its legislative assembly call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter. . . .

23. While the constitution-making proceeds the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy tasks of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered, there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a government having popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started

discussions to this end and hopes soon to form an interim government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible . . .

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope, in any event, that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be, we look forward with you to your ever-increasing prosperity among the greatest nations of the world and to a future even more glorious than your past.

Source: India: Statement by the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy, Cmd 6821. London: HMSO, 1946.

Treaty between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Provisional Government of Burma/Burma Independence Act (1947)

As in many countries in Southeast Asia, the World War II occupation by Japanese forces broke the back of European colonial rule in Burma (now Myanmar). The anti-Japanese struggle of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League metamorphosed into an anti-British campaign after the war, one that included communist elements. Recognizing their own stretched resources and fearful of a communist takeover, the British agreed to Burmese independence in 1947, drawing up a treaty for independence that guaranteed British defense rights in the new country as well as protection of British and foreign property holdings. The treaty and independence act are followed by correspondence between British and Burmese officials.

Treaty between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Provisional Government of Burma

London, 17th October, 1947

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Provisional Government of Burma;

Considering that it is the intention of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to invite Parliament to pass legislation at an early date providing that Burma shall become an independent State; Desiring to define their future relations as the Governments of independent States on the terms of complete freedom, equality and independence and to consolidate and perpetuate the cordial friendship and good understanding which subsist between them; and Desiring also to provide for certain matters arising from the forthcoming change in the relations between them, Have decided to conclude a treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:- The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: The Right Hon. Clement Richard Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury. The Provisional Government of Burma: The Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister Who have agreed as follows:—

Article 1

The Government of the United Kingdom recognize the Republic of the Union of Burma as a fully Independent Sovereign State. The contracting Governments agree to the exchange of diplomatic representatives duly accredited.

Article 2

All obligations and responsibilities heretofore devolving on the Government of the United Kingdom which arise from any valid international instrument shall henceforth, in so far as such instrument may be held to have application to Burma, devolve upon the Provisional Government of Burma. The rights and benefits heretofore enjoyed by the Government of the United Kingdom in virtue of the application of any such international instrument to Burma shall henceforth be enjoyed by the Provisional Government of Burma.

Article 3

Any person who at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty is, by virtue of the Constitution of the Union of Burma, a citizen thereof and who is, or by virtue of a subsequent election is deemed to be, also a British subject, may make a declaration of alienage in the manner prescribed by the law of the Union, and thereupon shall cease

to be a citizen of the Union. The Provisional Government of Burma undertake to introduce in the Parliament of the Union as early as possible, and in any case within a period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, legislation for the purpose of implementing the provisions of this Article.

Article 4

The relations of the contracting Governments in the sphere of Defence shall be regulated by the Agreement concluded between them on 29th August, 1947, the provisions of which are set out in the Annex hereto and which shall have force and effect as integral parts of the present Treaty.

Article 5

The Provisional Government of Burma reaffirm their obligation to pay to British subjects domiciled on the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in any country other than India and Pakistan all pensions, proportionate pensions, gratuities, family pension fund and provident fund payments and contributions, leave salaries and other sums payable to them from the revenues of Burma or other funds under the control of the executive authority of Burma, in virtue of all periods of service prior to that date under the rules applicable immediately prior thereto.

Article 6

The contracting Governments agree that the following provisions shall constitute a final settlement of the financial questions dealt with in this Article:—

1. The Provisional Government of Burma reaffirm their agreement to pay over in full proceeds of the sale of Army stores. The Government of the United Kingdom agree to make no claim on the Provisional Government of Burma for repayment of the cost of the Civil Affairs Administration prior to the restoration of civil government.

2. The Government of the United Kingdom agree to cancel 15 million of the sums advanced towards the deficits on the Ordinary Budget and the Frontier Areas Budget. The balance of the sums will be repaid by Burma in twenty equal yearly instalments beginning not later than 1st April, 1952, no interest being chargeable. The cancellation of this amount of Burma's indebtedness is accepted by the Provisional Government of Burma as a further contribution by the Government of the United Kingdom towards the restora-

tion of Burma's financial position and as a final liquidation of their claim in respect of the cost of supplies and services furnished to the British Military Administration in Burma.

3. The Provisional Government of Burma agree to repay in full the sums advanced by the Government of the United Kingdom towards expenditure on Projects (including Public Utilities, etc.). In accordance with existing agreements, repayment will continue to be made from current receipts in excess of necessary outgoings and working capital and from the proceeds of liquidation, and the balance of advances outstanding will be repaid by the Provisional Government of Burma in twenty equal yearly instalments beginning not later than 1st April, 1952, no interest being chargeable.

4. The Government of the United Kingdom agree to continue to reimburse the Provisional Government of Burma for expenditure in respect of claims for supplies and services rendered to the Burma Army in the Burma campaign of 1942; and release benefits payable on demobilisation to Burma Army personnel for war service.

5. Except in so far as they are specifically modified or superseded by the terms of this Agreement and of the Defence Agreement of 29th August, 1947, the provisions of the Financial Agreement of 30th April, 1947 [Hansard, 22nd May, 1947, Columns 276-7.] between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of Burma remain in force.

Article 7

(a) All contracts other than contracts for personal service made in the exercise of the executive authority of Burma before the coming into force of the Constitution of the Union of Burma to which any person being a British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom or any Company, wherever registered, which is mainly owned, or which is managed and controlled by British subjects so domiciled, was a party, or under which any such person or company was entitled to any right or benefit, shall as from that date, have effect as if made by the Provisional Government of Burma as constituted on and from that date; and all obligations that were binding on the Provisional Government of Burma immediately prior to the said date, and all liabilities, contractual or otherwise, to which that Government was then subject, shall, in so far as any such person or company as aforesaid is in-

terested, devolve on the Provisional Government of Burma as so constituted.

(b) In so far as any property, or any interest in any property vested in any person or authority in Burma before the coming into force of the Constitution of the Union of Burma, or the benefit of any contract entered into by any such person or authority before that date, is thereafter transferred to, or vested in the Provisional or any successor Government of Burma, it shall be so transferred or vested subject to such rights as may previously have been created and still subsist therein, or in respect thereof, in favour of any person or company of the status or character described in the preceding sub-article.

Article 8

The contracting Governments being resolved to conclude at the earliest possible date a mutually satisfactory Treaty of Commerce and Navigation have agreed for a period of two years from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty or until the conclusion of such a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation to conduct their commercial relations in the spirit of Nos. 1-3 of the Exchange of Notes annexed hereto, provided that, at any time after six months from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, either party may give three months' notice to terminate the undertaking set out therein.

Article 9

The contracting Governments agree to maintain postal services, including Air Mail services and Money Order services, on the existing basis, subject to any alteration in matters of detail which may be arranged between their respective Postal Administrations as occasion may arise.

Article 10

The Provisional Government of Burma agree to negotiate Treaty arrangements in respect of the care and upkeep of war cemeteries and/or war graves of the British Commonwealth and Empire in Burma with the Governments represented on the Imperial War Graves Commission and, pending negotiation of such arrangements, to recognize the Imperial War Graves Commission as the sole authority responsible for dealing with such war cemeteries and/or war graves and to accord to the Commission the privileges set out in Nos. 4 and 5 of the Exchange of Notes annexed to the present Treaty.

Article 11

The contracting Governments will accord to each other the same treatment in civil aviation matters as heretofore, pending the conclusion of an Agreement in regard to them, provided that this arrangement may be terminated on six months' notice given by either side.

Article 12

The contracting Governments agree to conclude at the earliest possible date an agreement for the avoidance of double taxation.

Article 13

Nothing in the present Treaty is intended to or shall in any way prejudice the rights and obligations which devolve or may devolve upon either of the contracting parties under the Charter of the United Nations or from any special agreements concluded in virtue of Article 43 of the Charter.

Article 14

Should any difference arise relative to the application or the interpretation of the present Treaty, and should the contracting parties fail to settle such difference by direct negotiations, the difference shall be deferred to the International Court of Justice unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

Article 15

The present Treaty shall be ratified and shall come into force immediately upon the exchange of Instruments of Ratification, which shall take place on the day on which Burma becomes independent in accordance with the appropriate legislation to be introduced in the United Kingdom for that purpose.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their Seals. Done in duplicate in London this 17th day of October, 1947.

Clement Richard Attlee.

Thakin Nu.

Burma Independence Act

17th October, 1947.

Burma Independence (A.D. 1947) a bill to Provide for the independence of Burma as a country not within His Majesty's dominions and not entitled to His Majesty's protection, and for consequential and connected matters. Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parlia-

ment assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Independence of Burma 1. —

(1) On the appointed day, Burma shall become an independent country, neither forming part of His Majesty's dominions nor entitled to His Majesty's protection.

(2) In this Act, the expression "the appointed day" means the fourth day of January, nineteen hundred and forty-eight.

(3) The suzerainty of His Majesty over the part of Burma known as the Karenni States shall lapse as from the appointed day, and with it all treaties and agreements in force between His Majesty and the rulers of the Karenni States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty with respect to the Karenni States, all obligations of His Majesty towards the Karenni States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty in or in relation to the Karenni States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise.

Certain persons to cease to be British Subjects 2. —

(1) Subject to the provisions of this section, the persons specified in the First Schedule to this Act, being British subjects immediately before the appointed day, shall on that day cease to be British subjects: Provided that a woman who immediately before the appointed day is the wife of a British subject shall not cease by virtue of this sub-section to be a British subject unless her husband ceases by virtue of this sub-section to be a British subject.

(2) A person who by virtue of sub-section (1) of this section ceases to be a British subject on the appointed day and is immediately before that day domiciled or ordinarily resident in either —

- (a) any part of the United Kingdom;
- (b) any of the Channel Islands;
- (c) the Isle of Man;
- (d) Newfoundland;
- (e) any colony;
- (f) any territory in respect of which a mandate from the League of Nations was accepted by His Majesty, being a territory under the sole administration of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom;
- (g) any territory administered under the trusteeship system of the United Nations, being

a territory under the sole administration of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom;
 (h) any British protectorate;
 (i) any British protected state outside Burma;
 or
 (j) any other place outside Burma in which, by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance or other lawful means, His Majesty has jurisdiction over British subjects.

may, by a declaration made before the expiration of the two years beginning with the appointed day to such person and in such manner as may be prescribed, elect to remain a British subject, and if he so elects, the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section (including the proviso thereto) shall be deemed never to have applied to or in relation to him or, except so far as the declaration otherwise provides, any child of his who is under the age of eighteen years at the date of the declaration: Provided that a declaration under this sub-section shall be of no effect unless it is registered in the prescribed manner in pursuance of an application made within, or within the prescribed period after the expiration of, the said two years. In this sub-section, the expression "prescribed" means prescribed by regulations of the Secretary of State or of such Government, authority or person as may be authorized in that behalf by the Secretary of State, and different provision may be made under this sub-section for different classes of cases.

(3) A person who by virtue of sub-section (1) of this section ceases to be a British subject on the appointed day, not being such a person as is mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, shall, if on that day he neither becomes, nor becomes qualified to become, a citizen of the independent country of Burma for which provision is made by section one of this Act, have the like right of election as is provided for by sub-section (2) of this section, and the said sub-section (2) shall have effect accordingly.

(4) If provision is made by the law of any part of His Majesty's dominions not mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section for the exercise by any persons, being persons domiciled or ordinarily resident in that part of His Majesty's dominions or in any territory administered by the Government thereof, of a right to elect not to cease to be British

subjects on the appointed day by reason of Burma becoming an independent country on that day, then, so far as is necessary to give effect under the law of the United Kingdom to the results flowing under the law of that part of His Majesty's dominions from the exercise of the right of election, the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section shall be deemed never to have applied to or in relation to, or to or in relation to the children of, the persons who duly exercise that right.

(5) Save as provided in this section, no person who is a British subject immediately before the appointed day shall cease to be a British subject by reason of Burma ceasing on that day to be part of His Majesty's dominions.

(6) The exercise by a person of any such right of election as is referred to in sub-section (2), sub-section (3) and sub-section (4) of this section shall not render unlawful anything done before the date of the election which would have been lawful if the election had not been made.

Temporary continuation of customs preferences 3. —

(1) Notwithstanding any of the provisions of this Act, the enactments relating to customs (including the enactments relating to customs in the Isle of Man) shall, on and after the appointed day, have effect, until such date as may be specified by His Majesty by Order in Council, as if Burma were part of His Majesty's dominions: Provided that His Majesty may by Order in Council direct that as from a specified date all goods or goods of specified classes or descriptions shall be charged under said enactments either as if preceding provisions of this section had not passed or at such rates as may be specified in Order not being rates higher than would have been chargeable if said provision had not passed.

(2) Any Order in Council made under this sub-section may be revoked or varied by a subsequent Order in Council made thereunder.

(3) Any Order in Council made under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament after it is made and if, within a period of forty days beginning with the day on which any such Order is so laid before it, either House of Parliament presents an Address to His Majesty praying that the Order may be revoked, His Majesty may revoke the Order accordingly, but without prejudice to the making of a new Order.

(4) In reckoning the said period of forty days, no account shall be taken of any time during which Parliament is dissolved or prorogued, or during which both Houses are adjourned for more than four days.

(5) Section one of the Rules Publication Act, 1893 (which requires notice to be given of a proposal to make statutory rules) shall not apply to any Order in Council made under this section.

Legal proceedings 4. —

(1) Any appeal to His Majesty in Council from any court in Burma which is pending on the appointed day shall abate on that day.

(2) No proceedings shall be brought in any court on or after the appointed day against the Secretary of State in any such case as is mentioned in section one hundred and thirty-three of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, and any proceedings brought by or against the Secretary of State by virtue of that section which are pending immediately before the appointed day shall abate on that day so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction of the High Court in England or the Court of Session in Scotland under the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Acts, 1926 and 1940, as respects decrees or orders made in Burma which, before the appointed day, have been registered in those Courts respectively under those Acts: Provided that —

- (a) notwithstanding anything in those Acts, the said Courts may entertain applications for the modification or discharge of orders notwithstanding that the person on whose petition the decree for dissolution was pronounced is resident in Burma; and
- (b) no regard shall be had to any order made in Burma on or after the appointed day modifying or discharging any decree or order made before the appointed day.

Short Title, interpretation, repeals and construction of existing Orders in Council and other instruments 5. —

(1) This Act may be cited as the Burma Independence Act, 1947.

(2) Any reference in this Act to any other enactment shall be construed as a reference to that enactment as amended by any subsequent Act or by

an order or other instrument made under any subsequent Act, including, without prejudice to the generality of the preceding words, the Government of India (Adaptation of Acts of Parliament) Order, 1937 and any subsequent Orders in Council made under sub-section (5) of section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935.

(3) The enactments specified in the Second Schedule [Not reproduced.] to this Act are hereby repealed as from the appointed day to the extent specified in that Schedule; Provided that if, by the law of Burma, any such enactment is continued on or after the appointed day as part of the law of Burma, nothing in this repeal shall be taken to prevent the recognition outside Burma of that enactment as part of the law of Burma.

(4) It is hereby declared that references (however worded) to Burma or British Burma in Orders in Council and other instruments made before the passing of this Act under any enactments not repealed by this Act do not include references to, or to any part of, the independent country of Burma for which provision is made by section one of this Act, but nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as affecting any power to make a new Order in Council or other instrument under any such enactment in relation to the said independent country.

Persons who cease to be British Subjects

1. The persons who, being British subjects immediately before the appointed day, are, subject to the provisions of section two of this Act, to cease on that day to be British subjects are the following persons, that is to say —

- (a) persons who were born in Burma or whose father or paternal grandfather was born in Burma, not being persons excepted by paragraph 2 of this Schedule from the operations of this sub-paragraph; and
- (b) women who were aliens at birth and became British subjects by reason only of their marriage to any such person as is specified in sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph.

2. (1) A person shall be deemed to be excepted from the operation of sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph 1 of this Schedule if he or his father or his paternal grandfather was born outside Burma in a place which, at the time of the birth, —

(a) was within His Majesty's dominions, was a British protectorate, was a British protected state, was a territory in respect of which a mandate from the League of Nations had been accepted by His Majesty and which was under the administration of the Government of any part of His Majesty's dominions or was a territory under the trusteeship system of the United Nations which was under the administration of the Government of any part of His Majesty's dominions; or

(b) was a place where, by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance or other lawful means, His Majesty had jurisdiction over British subjects: Provided that a person shall not be excepted under this sub-paragraph from the operation of the said sub-paragraph (a) by virtue of the place of birth of his father or paternal grandfather unless his father or, as the case may be, his paternal grandfather, was at some time before the appointed day a British subject.

(2) A person shall also be deemed to be excepted from the operation of the said sub-paragraph (a) if he or his father or his paternal grandfather became a British subject by naturalization or by annexation of any territory which is outside Burma.

(3) Where, in pursuance of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, the name of a child has been included in a certificate of naturalization granted to his parent, or where, in pursuance of any Act repealed by that Act, any child has been deemed to be a naturalized British subject by reason of residence with his parent, that child shall, for the purposes of this paragraph, be deemed to have become a British subject by naturalization.

3. For the purposes of this Schedule, a person born in a ship, other than an unregistered ship, shall be deemed to have been born in the country in which the ship was registered.

4. In this Schedule the expression "Burma" means the territories which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in Burma.

Defence Agreement signed on 29th August, 1947, in Rangoon General

This Defence Agreement between the Government of Burma and the United Kingdom Government

has been freely concluded between the two countries and is without prejudice to any Military alliance which may be made in the future between the Government of Burma and the United Kingdom Government. It has been negotiated in relation to the treaty of transfer, the provisions of which in regard to the international obligations of either party, the settlement of disputes and to similar matters will apply in respect of this Agreement subject to the provisions of the treaty.

Evacuation of British Troops 2. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, the United Kingdom Government will move all United Kingdom troops out of Burma as soon as possible after the date of transfer of power. The margin of time necessary to effect this movement will be a matter for adjustment between the two Governments. The Government of Burma agree to afford all possible help and protection to His Majesty's Forces in the course of this evacuation.

Financial Concessions by the United Kingdom Government 3. The United Kingdom Government agree —

(a) to forego the financial claims made upon the Government of Burma in the letter to the Finance and Revenue Department of 22nd February, 1947, in respect of Defence charges in Burma subsequent to 1st April 1947;

(b) to make no charge in respect of the transfer of initial equipment for the Burma Army up to the scales agreed;

(c) to make no charge in respect of the transfer of initial maintenance reserves for the Burma Army up to the agreed scales;

(d) to transfer to the Government of Burma free of cost fixed assets of the Army and the Royal Air Force remaining in Burma at the date of the transfer of power: provided that the transfers agreed to in clauses (b), (c) and (d) above shall explicitly exclude all Lend/Lease material.

United Kingdom Service Mission 4. In accordance with the wishes of the Government of Burma the United Kingdom Government agree —

(i) to provide a Naval, Military and Air Force Mission to Burma;

(ii) that the Mission will, provided volunteers are available, include instructional and other staff for service with the Burma Forces;

(iii) to provide training facilities in His Majesty's establishment for personnel of the

Burma forces. The functions and composition of the Mission and of instructional and other staff, the terms and conditions of service of United Kingdom personnel and particulars of training facilities to be provided will fall to be negotiated separately between the two Governments. As a special arrangement to meet the circumstances giving rise to this Agreement, the United Kingdom Government are prepared to waive the cost of the Mission, excluding instructional and other staff under (ii) above, and the cost of training facilities in His Majesty's establishments for a period of three years from the transfer of power. The cost, other than Home effective and non-effective charges, of instructional and other staff for service with the Burma forces will be borne by the Burma Government.

Naval 5. The United Kingdom Government agree to transfer to the Government of Burma free of cost the Naval vessels set out in the Appendix to this Agreement.

Air Provisions 6. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement the United Kingdom Government agree —

(a) to contribute such portion of the cost of the maintenance of Mingaladon Airfield including the cost of technical personnel as may be agreed between the two Governments;

(b) to provide necessary technical personnel for the maintenance and operation of this airfield at appropriate standards to be agreed between the two Governments for such period, not exceeding one year, as will enable the Government of Burma to assume this responsibility;

(c) to contribute for a period of three years a sum not exceeding 40,000 annually to the maintenance at standards to be agreed between the two Governments of the landing grounds at Akyab and Mergui.

Supply of War Material 7. Having regard to the friendly relations signified by the conclusion of this Agreement, the United Kingdom Government agree to give all reasonable facilities for purchase by the Government of Burma of War Material.

Undertaking of the Government of Burma 8. The Government of Burma agree —

(a) to receive a Naval, Military and Air Force Mission from the United Kingdom Government and not from any Government outside the British Commonwealth;

(b) that, in view of the close association between His Majesty's Navy and the Burma Naval Forces and in accordance with customary peace-time practice with other friendly Powers, ships of either navy shall have the right of entry into the ports of the other party upon notification direct between their respective naval authorities on the spot;

(c) that, in view of the friendly association between the air forces of the two parties, military aircraft of either party shall have the right in accordance with customary peace-time practice upon notification direct between the respective air authorities, to fly over the territories of the other, and to enjoy staging facilities at airfields to be prescribed from time to time by agreement between the two Governments, including those referred to in Article 6;

(d) that His Majesty's forces bringing help and support to Burma by agreement with the Government of Burma or to any part of the Commonwealth by agreement with the Government of Burma and with the Government of that part of the Commonwealth shall be afforded all reasonable assistance including facilities of access and entry into Burma by air, land and sea.

Further Negotiations 9. Nothing in this Agreement shall preclude either party from opening fresh negotiations with the other on any matter within the defence sphere, but such negotiations shall not, except by agreement, affect the obligations of either party under this Agreement.

Duration 10. The provisions of this Agreement shall remain in operation in the first instance for three years from the transfer of power and thereafter subject to twelve months' notice on either side.

Bo Let Ya, John W. Freeman, 29th August, 1947

Appendix (Article 5) Vessels now on loan which His Majesty's Government agree to transfer free of cost to the Government of Burma:- One Ocean-going Vessel (His Majesty's Government require the frigate F.A.L. now on loan but will consider the offer of a corvette in substitution). Thirteen Harbour Defence Motor Launches. Three 90-ft. Motor Fishing Vessels. 6 61+-ft. Motor Fishing Vessels. One 45-ft. Motor Fishing Vessel. Five Harbour Launches, Petrol. Six Fast Motor Boats. Four Cargo

Lighters (viz., two R.C.L., two "Z" craft). Two Motor Minesweepers.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Bo Let Ya, Counsellor for Defence, Government of Burma, to J. Freeman, Esq., M.B.E., M.P., Chairman, British Defence Mission to Burma, dated Rangoon, the 29th August, 1947.

In connexion with Articles 4 (i) and 8 (a) of our Agreement about the provision of a British Naval, Military and Air Force Mission for Burma, I would like, if you agree, to place on record our expectation that as Burma has agreed to receive no Mission from outside the Commonwealth the United Kingdom Government will do their best to provide qualified advisers and other staff for the Mission in sufficient numbers, but that if this should prove impossible through lack of volunteers or other causes, it may become necessary for the two Governments to take advantage of Article 9 to terminate the provisions relating to the Mission.

Demi-official letter from J. Freeman, Esq., M.B.E., M.P., Chairman, British Defence Mission to Burma, to the Hon'ble Bo Let Ya, Counsellor for Defence, Government of Burma,—No. B.D.M.—6, dated Rangoon, the 29th August, 1947.

Thank you for your letter of 29th August. It is, of course, the intention of the United Kingdom Government, in concluding the Defence Agreement under reference, that it shall be made to work effectively. In the event of the United Kingdom Government being unable to provide a mission capable of carrying out its task effectively, I agree with you that a new situation would arise and both parties could properly re-examine the matter in the light of Clause 9.

Demi-official letter from J. Freeman, Esq., M.B.E., M.P., Chairman, British Defence Mission to Burma, to the Hon'ble Bo Let Ya, Counsellor for Defence, Government of Burma, dated Rangoon, the 29th August, 1947.

I think it somewhat below the dignity of our two Governments to include in a formal agreement between them the latter part of Article 5 relating to naval vessels in the latest draft of our Defence Agreement. On the other hand, the point relating to the use and disposal of the vessels is of some

importance, and I suggest that instead of writing it into the agreement you should let me have an acknowledgment of this present letter, and in it place on record the fact that your Government has agreed that the naval vessels referred to in the Appendix to Clause 5 of the Defence Agreement shall only be employed for Government purposes and shall not be sold for commercial or other uses.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Bo Let Ya, Counsellor for Defence, Government of Burma, to J. Freeman, Esq., M.B.E., M.P., Chairman, British Defence Mission to Burma, dated Rangoon, the 29th August, 1947.

I acknowledge with thanks your note of today's date. The Government of Burma have agreed that the naval vessels referred to in the Appendix to Clause 5 of the Defence Agreement shall only be employed for Government purposes and shall not be sold for commercial or other uses.

Exchange of notes

From the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to the Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Burma, dated London, the 17th October, 1947: With a view to the most friendly commercial relations with the new independent State of Burma, the Government of the United Kingdom are desirous to conclude a Commercial Treaty with the least possible delay, but realize that the complex nature of such a Treaty makes it impossible to hope to complete negotiations before the coming into force of the Constitution of the Union of Burma. At the same time the Government of the United Kingdom are sure that the Provisional Government of Burma share their view that the commercial relations of the two countries should not be left entirely unregulated in the meantime and that suitable transitional arrangements cannot but help the conclusion of a mutually satisfactory Treaty at as early a date as possible. 2. I have therefore to express the hope that the Provisional Government of Burma will not during this interim period take action which would prejudicially affect existing United Kingdom interests in Burma in the legitimate conduct of the businesses or professions in which they are now engaged, and that if the Provisional Government of Burma,

in the formulation of national policy, are convinced that such action must be taken in any particular case they will consult with the Government of the United Kingdom in advance with a view to reaching a mutually satisfactory settlement. For their part the Government of the United Kingdom will be glad to observe the same principles in regard to the treatment of Burma interests in the United Kingdom. 3. If the Provisional Government of Burma agree with the foregoing proposals, I suggest that this letter and your reply should constitute an understanding between our two Governments to that effect.

From the Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Burma, to the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated London, the 17th October, 1947: I have the honour on behalf of the Provisional Government of Burma, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date. The Provisional Government of Burma share the view of the Government of the United Kingdom that the commercial relations of the two countries should not be left entirely unregulated during the period which will elapse between the coming into force of the constitution of the Union of Burma and the conclusion of a mutually satisfactory Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. The Provisional Government of Burma therefore agree, subject to paragraph 2 below, that they will not take action which would prejudicially affect existing United Kingdom interests in Burma in the legitimate conduct of the businesses or professions in which they are now engaged. The Provisional Government of Burma also agree that if convinced of the necessity of such action in any particular case they will consult with the Government of the United Kingdom in advance with a view to reaching a mutually satisfactory settlement, although there may be occasional cases of emergency in which full prior consultation is impracticable and only short notice can be give to the United Kingdom Ambassador. The Provisional Government of Burma note with satisfaction that the Government of the United Kingdom will observe the same principles in regard to the treatment of Burma interests in the United Kingdom. 2. I have however to explain that the undertaking given in the preceding paragraph must be read as subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the

Union of Burma as now adopted, and in particular to the policy of State socialism therein contained to which my Government is committed. If however the implementation of the provisions of Articles 23 (4) and (5), 30, 218, or 219 of the Constitution should involve the expropriation or acquisition in whole or in part of existing United Kingdom interests in Burma, the Provisional Government of Burma will provide equitable compensation to the parties affected. 3. Finally I suggest that, in so far as questions arise which, in the opinion of either Government, do not appropriately fall within the scope of the preceding paragraphs of this letter, these should be discussed by representatives of our two Governments, and decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

From the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to the Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Burma, dated London, the 17th October, 1947: I have the honour, on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of today's date. The Government of the United Kingdom welcome both the Provisional Government of Burma's acceptance of the suggestion contained in my previous letter and their assurance of equitable compensation to United Kingdom interests in the circumstances set out in paragraph 2 of your letter. The Government of the United Kingdom readily accept the suggestion contained in paragraph 3 of your letter.

From the Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Burma, to the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated London, the 17th October, 1947: In connexion with Article 10 of the Treaty signed by us to-day, I have the honour to inform you that, pending the conclusion of a formal Agreement with the Governments represented on the Commission, the Provisional Government of Burma agree to permit the Imperial War Graves Commission—(1) to lay out, construct and maintain the war cemeteries and/or war graves in accordance with their usual practice; (2) to enjoy the use, free of cost, of the sites of such war cemeteries and/or

war graves for so long as they are used solely as cemeteries and/or graves; (3) to appoint and maintain staff to carry out their work and occupy the accommodation required for the purpose of their operations; (4) to import free of duty such materials and implements as may be required for the carrying out of their work.

From the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to the Hon'ble Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Burma, dated London, the 17th October, 1947: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today's date regarding the treatment which the Provisional Government of Burma propose to accord to the Imperial War Graves Commission pending the conclusion of a formal Agreement on the subject, and to state that the arrangement therein recorded have been noted with satisfaction by the Government of the United Kingdom.

Protocol of signature

On the signature this day of the Treaty between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Provisional Government of Burma the undersigned plenipotentiaries declare as follows:- Having regard to the close administrative relations which have hitherto existed between them, and the fact that it may not in every appropriate case have proved possible by the appointed date to complete such alternative arrangements as may be needed, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Provisional Government of Burma affirm their intention to co-operate to ensure that, pending the completion of such arrangements, the minimum of administrative inconvenience and disturbance shall be caused to one another.

Clement Richard Attlee. Thakin Nu.

Source: www.ibiblio.org/freeburma/docs/burma_independence_docs.html.

Jomo Kenyatta: "The Kenya Africa Union Is Not the *Mau Mau*" (July 26, 1952)

Among the many African liberation movements of the 1950s and 1960s, Kenya's Mau Mau (pronounced "mumu") were among the most militant,

calling for the expulsion of all white settlers from the country and, beginning in 1952, attacking white farmers who were occupying the traditional lands of the majority Kikuyu people. The British colonial authorities retaliated. Other nonviolent independence leaders, notably Jomo Kenyatta of the Kenya African Union, were jailed by the British. In this speech to the Kenya African Union meeting at Nyeri, given early in the history of the uprising, Kenyatta tried to dissuade KAU members from joining the Mau Mau and to encourage them to achieve self-determination by peaceful means.

. . . I want you to know the purpose of K.A.U. It is the biggest purpose the African has. It involves every African in Kenya and it is their mouthpiece which asks for freedom. K.A.U. is you and you are the K.A.U. If we unite now, each and every one of us, and each tribe to another, we will cause the implementation in this country of that which the European calls democracy. True democracy has no colour distinction. It does not choose between black and white. We are here in this tremendous gathering under the K.A.U. flag to find which road leads us from darkness into democracy. In order to find it we Africans must first achieve the right to elect our own representatives. That is surely the first principle of democracy. We are the only race in Kenya which does not elect its own representatives in the Legislature and we are going to set about to rectify this situation. We feel we are dominated by a handful of others who refuse to be just. God said this is our land. Land in which we are to flourish as a people. We are not worried that other races are here with us in our country, but we insist that we are the leaders here, and what we want we insist we get. We want our cattle to get fat on our land so that our children grow up in prosperity; we do not want that fat removed to feed others. He who has ears should now hear that K.A.U. claims this land as its own gift from God and I wish those who are black, white or brown at this meeting to know this. K.A.U. speaks in daylight. He who calls us the *Mau Mau* is not truthful. We do not know this thing *Mau Mau*. We want to prosper as a nation, and as a nation we demand equality, that is equal pay for equal work. Whether it is a chief, headman or labourer he needs in these days increased salary. He needs a salary that compares with a salary of a European who does equal work.

We will never get our freedom unless we succeed in this issue. We do not want equal pay for equal work tomorrow—we want it right now. Those who profess to be just must realize that this is the foundation of justice. It has never been known in history that a country prospers without equality. We despise bribery and corruption, those two words that the European repeatedly refers to. Bribery and corruption is prevalent in this country, but I am not surprised. As long as a people are held down, corruption is sure to rise and the only answer to this is a policy of equality. If we work together as one, we must succeed.

Our country today is in a bad state for its land is full of fools—and fools in a country delay the independence of its people. K.A.U. seeks to remedy this situation and I tell you now it despises thieving, robbery and murder for these practices ruin our country. I say this because if one man steals, or two men steal, there are people sitting close by lapping up information, who say the whole tribe is bad because a theft has been committed. Those people are wrecking our chances of advancement. They will prevent us getting freedom. If I have my own way, let me tell you I would butcher the criminal, and there are more criminals than one in more senses than one. The policeman must arrest an offender, a man who is purely an offender, but he must not go about picking up people with a small horn of liquor in their hands and march them in procession with his fellow policemen to Government and say he has got a *Mau Mau* amongst the Kikuyu people. The plain clothes man who hides in the hedges must, I demand, get the truth of our words before he flies to Government to present them with false information. I ask this of them who are in the meeting to take heed of my words and do their work properly and justly. . . .

. . . K.A.U. is not a fighting union that uses fists and weapons. If any of you here think that force is good, I do not agree with you: remember the old saying that he who is hit with a rungu returns, but he who is hit with justice never comes back. I do not want people to accuse us falsely—that we steal and that we are *Mau Mau*. I pray to you that we join hands for freedom and freedom means abolishing criminality. Beer harms us and those who drink it do us harm and they may be the so-called *Mau Mau*. Whatever grievances we

have, let us air them here in the open. The criminal does not want freedom and land—he wants to line his own pocket. Let us therefore demand our rights justly. The British Government has discussed the land problem in Kenya and we hope to have a Royal Commission to this country to look into the land problem very shortly. When this Royal Commission comes, let us show it that we are a good peaceful people and not thieves and robbers.

Source: Kenya African Union. Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1959–1960. Nairobi, 1960.

Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (November 11, 1965)

As Britain divested itself of its territories across Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s, two of its colonies in the southern part of the continent presented special problems. With significant white minorities, South Africa and Rhodesia refused to accept majority black rule. In 1965, white Rhodesians preempted British efforts to turn over power to a multiracial government by issuing the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, asserting white control over an independent Rhodesia. After fifteen years of guerrilla warfare against two black liberation armies, white Rhodesians were eventually forced to cede power to a black majority government, which changed the name of the country to Zimbabwe.

Whereas in the course of human affairs history has shown that it may become necessary for a people to resolve the political affiliations which have connected them with another people and to assume amongst other nations the separate and equal status to which they are entitled:

And whereas in such event a respect for the opinions of mankind requires them to declare to other nations the causes which impel them to assume full responsibility for their own affairs:

Now therefore, we, the Government of Rhodesia, do hereby declare:

That it is an indisputable and accepted historic fact that since 1923 the Government of Rhodesia have exercised the powers of self-government and have been responsible for the progress, development and welfare of their people;

That the people of Rhodesia having demonstrated their loyalty to the Crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom and elsewhere through two world wars, and having been prepared to shed their blood and give of their substance in what they believed to be the mutual interests of freedom-loving people, now see all that they have cherished about to be shattered on the rocks of expediency;

That the people of Rhodesia have witnessed a process which is destructive of those very precepts upon which civilization in a primitive country has been built, they have seen the principles of Western democracy, responsible government and moral standards crumble elsewhere, nevertheless they have remained steadfast;

That the people of Rhodesia fully support the requests of their government for sovereign independence but have witnessed the consistent refusal of the Government of the United Kingdom to accede to their entreaties;

That the government of the United Kingdom have thus demonstrated that they are not prepared to grant sovereign independence to Rhodesia on terms acceptable to the people of Rhodesia, thereby persisting in maintaining an unwarrantable jurisdiction over Rhodesia, obstructing laws and treaties with other states and the conduct of affairs with other nations and refusing assent to laws necessary for the public good, all this to the detriment of the future peace, prosperity and good government of Rhodesia;

That the Government of Rhodesia have for a long period patiently and in good faith negotiated with the Government of the United Kingdom for the removal of the remaining limitations placed upon them and for the grant of sovereign independence;

That in the belief that procrastination and delay strike at and injure the very life of the nation, the Government of Rhodesia consider it essential that Rhodesia should attain, without delay, sovereign independence, the justice of which is beyond question;

Now therefore, we the Government of Rhodesia, in humble submission to Almighty God who controls the destinies of nations, conscious that the people of Rhodesia have always shown unswerving loyalty and devotion to Her Majesty the Queen and earnestly praying that we and the

people of Rhodesia will not be hindered in our determination to continue exercising our undoubted right to demonstrate the same loyalty and devotion, and seeking to promote the common good so that the dignity and freedom of all men may be assured, do, by this proclamation, adopt, enact and give to the people of Rhodesia the constitution annexed hereto;

God Save The Queen

Given under Our Hand at Salisbury this eleventh day of November in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty five.

Source: Akers, Mary, ed. *Encyclopedia Rhodesia*. Salisbury, Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe): College Press, 1973.

Hong Kong Constitution (1990)

Between its seizure during the Opium War of 1840 and its return to China in 1997, Hong Kong was a colony of the British. Particularly in the years following World War II, Hong Kong flourished economically, a capitalist bastion on the coast of communist mainland China. As the end of the treaty granting Hong Kong to Britain approached, London and Beijing engaged in lengthy negotiations about the colony's future as part of China. Led by negotiator Chris Patten, the British insisted on basic western civil rights for Hong Kong's citizens. In the end, China agreed. Many experts believe that China was willing to grant these freedoms in order to preserve Hong Kong's economic freedom and vitality. Indeed, in the years since China began to adopt a market economy in the late 1970s, Hong Kong has served a critical role as China's liaison to the capitalist outside world.

Preamble

Hong Kong has been part of the territory of China since ancient times; it was occupied by Britain after the Opium War in 1840. On 19 December 1984, the Chinese and British Governments signed the Joint Declaration on the Question of Hong Kong, affirming that the Government of the People's Republic of China will resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong with effect from 1 July 1997, thus fulfilling the long-cherished common aspiration of the Chinese people for the recovery of Hong Kong.

Upholding national unity and territorial integrity, maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong, and taking account of its history and realities, the People's Republic of China has decided that upon China's resumption of the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong, a Hong Kong Special Administrative Region will be established in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, and that under the principle of "one country, two systems," the socialist system and policies will not be practised in Hong Kong. The basic policies of the People's Republic of China regarding Hong Kong have been elaborated by the Chinese Government in the Sino-British Joint Declaration.

In accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the National People's Congress hereby enacts the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, prescribing the systems to be practised in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, in order to ensure the implementation of the basic policies of the People's Republic of China regarding Hong Kong.

Chapter I General Principles

Article 1 The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China.

Article 2 The National People's Congress authorizes the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region to exercise a high degree of autonomy and enjoy executive, legislative and independent judicial power, including that of final adjudication, in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

Article 3 The executive authorities and legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be composed of permanent residents of Hong Kong in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Law.

Article 4 The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall safeguard the rights and freedoms of the residents of the Hong Kong Special

Administrative Region and of other persons in the Region in accordance with law.

Article 5 The socialist system and policies shall not be practised in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and the previous capitalist system and way of life shall remain unchanged for 50 years.

Article 6 The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall protect the right of private ownership of property in accordance with law.

Article 7 The land and natural resources within the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be State property. The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall be responsible for their management, use and development and for their lease or grant to individuals, legal persons or organizations for use or development. The revenues derived therefrom shall be exclusively at the disposal of the government of the Region.

Article 8 The laws previously in force in Hong Kong, that is, the common law, rules of equity, ordinances, subordinate legislation and customary law shall be maintained, except for any that contravene this Law, and subject to any amendment by the legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Article 9 In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region . . .

Article 11

(1) In accordance with Article 31 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the systems and policies practised in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, including the social and economic systems, the system for safeguarding the fundamental rights and freedoms of its residents, the executive, legislative and judicial systems, and the relevant policies, shall be based on the provisions of this Law. (2) No law enacted by the legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall contravene this Law.

Source: www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/hk00000_.html.

DUTCH EMPIRE

Charter of the Dutch West India Company (June 3, 1621)

Much exploration, colonization, and trade by Europeans in the early years of the continent's expansion into the rest of the world was financed and organized by chartered companies. Begun by the English and adopted by the Dutch and other colonizing countries, these companies were put together by investors, usually wealthy merchants or landowners well connected with the political authorities. They then received a royal charter that allowed them a monopoly over trade with a given region; in the case of the Dutch West India Company, this included West Africa and all of the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps the best-known accomplishment of the Dutch West India Company was the founding of New Amsterdam, a colony that later came to be known as New York under the English.

The States-General of the United Netherlands, to all who shall see these Presents, or hear them read, Greeting.

Be it known, that we knowing the prosperity of these countries, and the welfare of their inhabitants depends principally on navigation and trade, which in all former times by the said Countries were carried on happily, and with a great blessing to all countries and kingdoms; and desiring that the aforesaid inhabitants should not only be preserved in their former navigation, traffic, and trade, but also that their trade may be increased as much as possible in special conformity to the treaties, alliances, leagues and covenants for traffic and navigation formerly made with other princes,

republics and people, which we give them to understand must be in all parts punctually kept and adhered to: And we find by experience, that without the common help, assistance, and interposition of a General Company, the people designed from hence for those parts cannot be profitably protected and maintained in their great risque from pirates, extortion and otherwise, which will happen in so very long a voyage. We have, therefore, and for several other important reasons and considerations as thereunto moving, with mature deliberation of counsel, and for highly necessary causes, found it good, that the navigation, trade, and commerce, in the parts of the West-Indies, and Africa, and other places hereafter described, should not henceforth be carried on any otherwise than by the common united strength of the merchants and inhabitants of these countries; and for that end there shall be erected one General Company, which we out of special regard to their common well-being, and to keep and preserve the inhabitants of those places in good trade and welfare, will maintain and strengthen with our Help, Favour and assistance as far as the present state and condition of this Country will admit: and moreover furnish them with a proper Charter, and with the following Priveleges and Exemptions, to wit, That for the Term of four and twenty Years, none of the Natives or Inhabitants of these countries shall be permitted to sail to or from the said lands, or to traffic on the coast and countries of *Africa* from the *Tropic of Cancer* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, nor in the countries of *America*, or the West-Indies, beginning at the fourth end of *Terra Nova*, by the streights of *Magellan*, *La Maire*, or

any other streights and passages situated thereabouts to the straights of *Anian*, as well on the north sea as the south sea, nor on any islands situated on the one side or the other, or between both; nor in the western or southern countries reaching, lying, and between both the meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the East, to the east end of New Guinea, in the West, inclusive, but in the Name of this United Company of these United Netherlands. And whoever shall presume without the consent of this Company, to sail or to traffic in any of the Places within the aforesaid Limits granted to this Company, he shall forfeit the ships and the goods which shall be found for sale upon the aforesaid coasts and lands; the which being actually seized by the aforesaid Company, shall be by them kept for their own Benefit and Behoof. And in case such ships or goods shall be sold either in other countries or havens they may touch at, the owners and partners must be fined for the value of those ships and goods: Except only, that they who before the date of this charter, shall have sailed or been sent out of these or any other countries, to any of the aforesaid coasts, shall be able to continue their trade for the sale of their goods, and cosine back again, or otherwise, until the expiration of this charter, if they have had any before, and not longer: Provided, that after the first of July sixteen hundred and twenty one, the day and time of this charters commencing, no person shall be able to send any ships or goods to the places comprehended in this charter, although that before the date hereof, this Company was not finally incorporated: But shall provide therein as is becoming, against those who knowingly by fraud endeavour to frustrate our intention herein for the public good: Provided that the salt trade at *Ponte del Re* may be continued according to the conditions and instructions by us already given, or that may be given respecting it, any thing in this charter to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. That, moreover, the aforesaid Company may, in our name and authority, within the limits herein before prescribed, make contracts, engagements and alliances with the limits herein before prescribed, make contracts, engagements and alliances with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended therein, and also build any forts and fortifications there, to appoint and dis-

charge Governors, people for war, and officers of justice, and other public officers, for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade; and again, others in their place to put, as they from the situation of their affairs shall see fit: Moreover, they must advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of those countries, and the profit and increase of trade shall require: and the Company shall successively communicate and transmit to us such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid princes and nations; and likewise the situation of the fortresses, fortifications, and settlements by them taken.

III. Saving, that they having chosen a governor in chief, and prepared instructions for him, they shall be approved, and a commission given by us, And that further, such governor in chief, as well as other deputy governors, commanders, and officers, shall be held to take an oath of allegiance to us and also to the Company.

IV. And if the aforesaid Company in and of the aforesaid places shall be cheated under the appearance of friendship, or badly treated, or shall suffer loss in trusting their money or Goods, without having restitution, or receiving payment for them, they may use the best methods in their power, according to the situation of their affairs, to obtain satisfaction.

V. And if it should be necessary for the establishment, security and defence of this trade, to take any troops with them, we will, according to the constitution of this country, and the situation of affairs furnish the said Company with such troops, provided they be paid and supported by the Company.

VI. Which troops, besides the oath already taken to us and to his excellency, shall swear to obey the commands of the said Company, and to endeavour to promote their interest to the utmost of their ability.

VII. That the provosts of the Company on shore may apprehend any of the military, that have enlisted in the service of the aforesaid company, and may confine them on board the ships in whatever city, place, or jurisdiction they may be found; provided, the provosts first inform the officers and magistrates of the cities and places where this happens.

VIII. That we will not take any ships, ordnance, or ammunition belonging to the company, for the use of this country, without the consent of the said company.

IX. We have moreover incorporated this company, and favoured them with privileges, and we give them a charter besides this, that they may pass freely with all their ships and goods without paying any toll to the United Provinces; and that they themselves may use their liberty in the same manner as the free inhabitants of the cities of this country enjoy their freedom, notwithstanding any person who is not free may be a member of this company.

X. That all the goods of this company during the eight next ensuing years, be carried out of this country to the parts of the West Indies and Africa, and other places comprehended within the aforesaid limits, and those which they shall bring into this country, shall be from outward and home convoys; provided, that if at the expiration of the aforesaid eight years, the state and situation of these Countries will not admit of this Freedom's continuing for a longer time, the said goods, and the merchandises coming from the places mentioned in this Charter, and exported again out of these countries, and the outward convoys and licenses, during the whole time of this Charter, shall not be rated higher by us than they have formerly been rated, unless we should be again engaged in a war, in which case, all the aforesaid goods and merchandises will not be rated higher by us than they were in the last list in time of war.

XI. And that this company may be strengthened by a good government, to the greatest profit and satisfaction of all concerned, we have ordained, that the said government shall be vested in five chambers of managers; one at Amsterdam, this shall have the management of four-ninths parts; one chamber in Zealand, for two-ninth parts; one chamber at the Maeze, for one-ninth part; one chamber in North Holland, for one-ninth-part; and the fifth chamber in Friesland, with the city and country, for one-ninth part; upon the condition entered in the record of our resolutions, and the Act past respecting it. And the Provinces in which there are no chambers shall be accommodated with so many managers, divided among the respective chambers, as their hundred

thousand guilders in this company shall entitle them to.

XII. That the chamber of Amsterdam shall consist of twenty managers; the chamber of Zealand of twelve; the chambers of Maeze and of the North Part, each of fourteen, and the chamber of Friesland, with the city and country, also of fourteen managers; if it shall hereafter appear, that this work cannot be carried on without a greater number of persons; in that case, more may be added, with the knowledge of nineteen, and our approbation, but not otherwise

XIII. And the States of the respective United Provinces are authorized, to lay before their High Mightinesses' ordinary deputies, or before the magistrates of the cities of these Provinces, any order for registering the members, together with the election of managers, if they find they can do it according to the constitution of their Provinces. Moreover, that no person in the chamber of Amsterdam shall be chosen a manager who has not of his own in the fields of the company, the sum of five thousand guilders; and the Chamber of Zealand four thousand Guilders, and the chamber of Maeze, of the North Part, and of Friesland, with the city and country, the like sum of four thousand guilders.

XIV. That the first managers shall serve for the term of six years, and then one-third part of the number of managers shall be changed by lot; and two years after a like third part, and the two next following years, the last third part; and so on successively the oldest in the service shall be dismissed; and in the place of those who go off, or of any that shall die, or for any other reason be dismissed, three others shall be nominated by the managers, both remaining and going off, together with the principal adventures in person, and at their cost, from which the aforesaid Provinces, the deputies, or the magistrates, shall make a new election of a manager, and successively supply the vacant places; and it shall be held before the principal adventurers, who have as great a concern as the respective managers.

XV. That the accounts of the furniture and outfit of the vessels, with their dependencies, shall be made up three months after the departure of the vessels, and one month after, copies shall be sent to us, and to the respective chambers: and the state of the returns, and their sales, shall the

chambers (as often as we see good, or they are required thereto by the chambers) send to us and to one another.

XVI. That every six years they shall make a general account of all outfits and returns, together with all the gains and losses of the company; to wit, one of their business, and one of the war, each separate; which accounts shall be made public by an advertisement, to the end that every one who is interested may, upon hearing of it, attend; and if by the expiration of the seventh year, the accounts are not made out in manner aforesaid, the managers shall forfeit their commissions, which shall be appropriated to the use of the poor, and they themselves be held to render their account as before, till such time and under such penalty as shall be fixed by us respecting offenders. And notwithstanding there shall be a dividend made of the profits of the business, so long as we find that term per Cent shall have been gained.

XVII. No one shall, during the continuance of this charter, withdraw his capital, or sum advanced, from this company; nor shall any new members be admitted. If at the expiration of four and twenty years it shall be found good to continue this company, or to erect a new one, a final account and estimate shall be made by the nineteen, with our knowledge, of all that belongs to the company, and also of all their expences, and any one, after the aforesaid settlement and estimate, may withdraw his money, or continue it in the new company, in whole or in part, in the same proportion as in this; And the new company shall in such case take the remainder, and pay the members which do not think fit to continue in the company their share, at such times as the nineteen, with our knowledge and approbation, shall think proper.

XVIII. That so often as it shall be necessary to have a general meeting of the aforesaid chambers, it shall be by nineteen persons, of whom eight shall come from the chamber of Amsterdam; from Zealand, four; from the Maeze, two; from North Holland, two; from Friesland, and the city and country, two, provided, that the nineteen persons, or so many more as we shall at any time think fit, shall be deputed by US for the purpose of helping to direct the aforesaid meeting of the company.

XIX. By which general meeting of the aforesaid chambers, all the business of this Company which shall come before them shall be managed and fi-

nally settled, provided, that in case of resolving upon a war, our approbation shall be asked.

XX. The aforesaid general meeting being summoned, it shall meet to resolve when they shall fit out, and how many vessels they will send to each place, the company in general observing that no particular chamber shall undertake any thing in opposition to the foregoing resolution, but shall be held to carry the same effectually into execution. And if any chamber shall be found not following the common resolution, or contravening it, we have authorized, and by these presents do authorize, the said meeting, immediately to cause reparation to be made of every defect or contravention, wherein we, being desired, will assist them.

XXI. The said general meeting shall be held the first six years in the city of Amsterdam, and two years thereafter in Zealand. and so on from time to time in the aforesaid two places.

XXII. The managers to whom the affairs of the company shall be committed, who shall go from home to attend the aforesaid meeting or otherwise, shall have for their expences and wages, four guilders a day, besides boat and carriage hire; Provided, that those who go from one city to another, to the chambers as managers and governors, shall receive no wages or travelling charges, at the cost of the company.

XXIII. And if it should happen that in the aforesaid general meeting, any weighty matter should come before them wherein they cannot agree, or in case the vote are equally divided, the same shall be left to our decision; and whatever shall be determined upon shall be carried into execution.

XXIV. And all the inhabitants of these countries, and also of other countries, shall be notified by public advertisements within one month after the date hereof, that they may be admitted into this Company, during five months from the first of July this year, sixteen hundred and twenty one, and that they must pay the money they put into the Stock in three payments; to wit, one third part at the expiration of the aforesaid five months, and the other two-thirds parts within three next succeeding years. In case the aforesaid general meeting shall find it necessary to prolong the time the members shall be notified by an advertisement.

XXV. The ships returning from a voyage shall come to the place they sailed from; and if by stress of weather the vessels which sailed out from one

part shall arrive in another; as those from Amsterdam, or North Holland, in Zealand, or in the Maeze; or from Zealand, in Holland; or those from Friesland, with the city and country, in another part; each chamber shall nevertheless have the direction and management of the vessels and goods it sent out, and shall send and transport the goods to the places from whence the vessels sailed, either in the same or other vessels: Provided, that the managers of that chamber shall be held in person to find the place where the vessels and goods are arrived, and not appoint factors to do this business; but in case they shall not be in a situation for travelling, they shall commit this business to the chamber of the place where the vessels arrived.

XXVI. If any chamber has got any goods or returns from the places included within the Limits of this charter, with which another is not provided, it shall be held to send such goods to the chamber which is unprovided, on its request, according to the situation of the case, and if they have sold them, to send to another chamber for more. And in like manner, if the managers of the respective chambers have need of any persons for fitting out the vessels, or otherwise, from the cities where there are chambers or managers, they shall require and employ the managers, of this company, without making use of a factor.

XXVII. And if any of the Provinces think fit to appoint an agent to collect the money from the inhabitants, and to make a fund in any chamber, and for paying dividends, the chamber shall be obliged to give such agent access, that he may obtain information of the state of the disbursements and receipts, and of the debts; provided, that the money brought in by such agent amount to fifty thousand guilders or upwards.

XXVIII. The managers shall have for commissions one per cent. On the outfits and returns, besides the Prince's; and an half per cent. On gold and silver: which commission shall be divided; to the Chamber of Amsterdam, four-ninth parts; the Chamber of Zealand, two-ninth parts; the Maeze, one-ninth part; North Holland, one-ninth part, and Friesland, with the city and country, a like ninth part.

XXIX. Provided that they shall not receive commissions on the ordnance and the ships more than once. They shall, moreover, have no commissions on the ships, ordnance, and other things with

which we shall strengthen the Company; nor on the money which they shall collect for the Company, nor on the profits they receive from the goods, nor shall they charge the Company with any expenses of traveling or provisions for those to whom they shall commits the providing a cargo, and purchasing goods necessary for it.

XXX. The book-keepers and cashiers shall have a salary paid them by the managers out of their commissions.

XXXI. The manager shall not deliver or sell to the Company, in whole or in part, any of their own ships, merchandise or goods; nor buy or cause to be bought, of the said Company, directly or indirectly, any goods or merchandize nor have any portion or part therein on forfeiture of one year's commissions for the use of the poor, and the loss of Office.

XXXII. The managers shall give notice by advertisement, as often as they have a fresh importation of goods and merchandize, to the end that every one may have seasonable knowledge of it, before they proceed to a final sale.

XXXIII. And if it happens that in either Chamber, any of the managers shall get into such a situation, that he cannot make good what was entrusted to him during his administration, and in consequence thereof any loss shall happen, such Chamber shall be liable for the damage, and shall also be specially bound for their administration, which shall also be the case with all the members, who, on account of goods purchased, or otherwise, shall become debtors to the Company, and so shall be reckoned all cases relating to their stock and what may be due to the Company.

XXXIV. The managers of the respective chambers shall be responsible for their respective cashiers and book-keepers.

XXXV. That all the goods of this Company which shall be sold by weight shall be sold by one weight, to wit, that of Amsterdam; and that all such goods shall be put on board ship, or in store without paying any excise, import or weigh-money; provided that they being sold; shall not be delivered in any other way than by weight; and provided that the impost and weigh-money shall be paid as often as they are alienated, in the same manner as other goods subject to weigh-money.

XXXVI. That the persons or goods of the managers shall not be arrested, attached or encumbered,

in order to obtain from them an account of the administration of the Company, nor for the payment of the wages of those who are in the service of the Company, but those who shall pretend to take the same upon them, shall be bound to refer the matter to their ordinary judges.

XXXVII. So when any ship shall return from a voyage, the generals or commanders of the fleets, shall be obliged to come and report to us the success of the voyage of such ship or ships, within ten days after their arrival, and shall deliver and leave with us a report in writing, if the case requires it.

XXXVIII. And if it happens (which we by no means expect) that any person will, in any manner, hurt or hinder the navigation, business, trade, or traffic of this Company, contrary to the common right, and the contents of the aforesaid treaties, leagues, and covenants, they shall defend it against them, and regulate it by the instructions we have given concerning it.

XXXIX. We have moreover promised and do promise, that we will defend this Company against every person in free navigation and traffic, and assist them with a million of guilders, to be paid in five years, whereof the first two hundred thousand guilders shall be paid them when the first payment shall be made by the members; Provided that we, with half the aforesaid million of guilders, shall receive and bear profit and risque in the same manner as the other members of this Company shall.

XL. And if by a violent and continued interruption of the aforesaid navigation and traffic, the business within the limits of their Company shall be brought to an open war, we will, if the situation of this country will in any wise admit of it, give them for their assistance sixteen ships of war, the least one hundred and fifty lasts burthen; with four good well sailing yachts, the least, forty lasts burthen, which shall be properly mounted and provided in all respects, both with brass and other cannon, and a proper quantity of ammunition, together with double suits of running and standing rigging, sails, cables, anchors, and other things thereto belonging, such as are proper to be provided and used in all great expeditions; upon condition, that they shall be manned, victualled, and supported at the expense of the Company, and that the Company shall be obliged to add thereto sixteen like ships of war, and four yachts, mounted

and provided as above, to be used in like manner for the defence of trade and all exploits of war: Provided that all the ships of war and merchantmen (that shall be with those provided and manned as aforesaid) shall be under an admiral appointed by us according to the previous advise of the aforesaid General Company, and shall obey our commands, together with the resolutions of the Company, if it shall be necessary, in the same manner as in time of war; so notwithstanding that the merchantmen shall not unnecessarily hazard their lading.

XLI. And if it should happen that this country should be remarkably eased of its burthens, and that this Company should be laid under the grievous burthen of a war, we have further promised, and do promise, to encrease the aforesaid subsidy in such a manner as the situation of these countries will admit, and the affairs of the Company shall require.

XLII. We have moreover ordained, that in case of a war, all the prizes which shall be taken from enemies and pirates within the aforesaid limits, by the Company or their assistants; also the goods which shall be seized by virtue of our proclamation, after deducting all expenses and the damage which the Company shall suffer in taking each prize, together with the just part of his excellency the admiral, agreeable to our resolution of the first of April sixteen hundred and two; and the tenth part for the officers, sailors and soldiers, who have taken the prize, shall await the disposal of the managers of the aforesaid Company; Provided that the account of them shall be kept separate and apart from the account of trade and commerce; and that the nett proceeds of the said prizes shall be employed in fitting our ships, paying the troops, fortifications, garrisons, and like matters of war and defence by sea and land; but there shall be no distribution unless the said nett proceeds shall amount to so much that a notable share may be distributed without weakening the said defence, and after paying the expenses of the war, which shall be done separate and apart from the distributions on account of Trade: And the distribution shall be made one-tenth part for the use of the United Netherlands, and the remainder for the members of this Company, in exact proportion to the capital they have advanced.

XLIII. Provided nevertheless, that all the prizes and goods, taken by virtue of our proclamation, shall be brought in, and the right laid before the judicature of the counsellors of the admiralty for the part to which they are brought, that they may take cognizance of them, and determine the legality or illegality of the said prizes: the process of the administration of the goods brought in by the Company remaining nevertheless pending, and that under a proper inventory; and saving a revision of what may be done by the sentence of the admiralty, agreeable to the instruction given the admiralty in that behalf. Provided that the vendue-masters and other officers of the Admiralty shall not have or pretend to any right to the prizes taken by this Company, and shall not be employed respecting them.

XLIV. The managers of this Company shall solemnly promise and swear, that they will act well and faithfully in their administration, and make good and just accounts of their trade: That they in all things will consult the greatest profit of the Company, and as much as possible prevent their meeting with losses: That they will not give the principal members any greater advantage in the payments or distribution of money than the least: That they, in getting in and receiving outstanding debts, will not favour one more than another: that they for their own account will take, and, during the continuance of their administration, will continue to take such sum of money as by their charter is allotted to them; and moreover, that they will, as far as concerns them, to the utmost of their power, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept, all and every the particulars and articles herein contained.

XLV. All which privileges, freedoms and exemptions, together with the assistance herein before mentioned, in all their particulars and articles, we have, with full knowledge of the business, given, granted, promised and agreed to the aforesaid Company; giving, granting, agreeing and promising moreover that they shall enjoy them peaceably and freely; ordaining that the same shall be observed and kept by all the magistrates, officers and subjects of the United Netherlands, without doing anything contrary thereto directly or indirectly, either within or out of these Netherlands, on penalty of being punished both in life and goods as obstacles to the

common welfare of this country, and transgressors of our ordinance: promising moreover that we will maintain and establish the Company in the things contained in this charter, in all treaties of peace, alliances and agreements with the neighboring princes, kingdoms and countries, without doing anything, or suffering any thing to be done which will weaken their establishment. Charging and expressly commanding all governors, justices, officers, magistrates and inhabitants of the aforesaid United Netherlands, that they permit the aforesaid Company and managers peaceably and freely to enjoy the full effect of this charter, agreement, and privilege, without any contradiction or impeachment to the contrary. And that none may pretend ignorance hereof, we command that the contents of this charter shall be notified by publication, or an advertisement, where, and in such manner, as is proper; for we have found it necessary for the service of this country.

Given under our Great Seal, and the Signature and Seal of our Recorder, at the Hague, on the third day of the month of June, in the year sixteen hundred and twenty one.

Was countersigned

J. MAGNUS, Secr.

Underneath was written,

The ordinance of the High and Mighty Lords the States General.

It was subscribed,

C. AERSSSEN.

And has a Seal pendant, of red Wax, and a string of white silk.

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909.

Cape Slave Code (1754)

The following is a set of codes meant to regulate the public behavior of slaves in the Cape Colony, a settlement founded and governed by the Dutch East India Company in what is now Cape Town, South Africa, to supply the company's trade ships to the East Indies with food, water, and other necessities for the long voyage. The slave code below

was compiled by Governor Rijk Tulbagh; its emphasis on control of the colony's slave population is self-evident.

Slaves are to be in-doors after 10 pm or carry a lantern at night. Thus Slaves are not permitted to be on the street at night after 10 pm without a torch;

Slaves are not to ride horses nor wagons in the streets;

Slaves are not to sing, whistle or make any other sound at night. Thus Slaves are not allowed to whistle loudly, and thereby entice other slaves from their master's homes;

Slaves are not to meet in bars, buy alcohol, or form groups on public holidays;

Slaves are not to gather near entrances of a church during the time of religious services being conducted;

Slaves are not to stop in the street to talk to other slaves;

Slaves who insulted or falsely accused a free-man, would be flogged. Thus Slaves are not permitted to be cheeky with any slaveowner in public;

Slaves who struck a slaveholder were to be put to death;

Slaves are not permitted to own guns or to carry dangerous weapons;

Free Blacks aren't equal to white Free Burghers;

Freed slave women are not to wear coloured silk or hoop skirts, fine lace, or any decoration on their hats, or earrings made of gems or imitation gems;

Slaves are banned from public assemblies in groups of 3, 4 or more in the streets or anywhere else. VOC [Dutch East India Company] law enforcement officials had standing instructions to disperse any crowd of slaves of 3 or more;

Slaves nor any-one else are permitted to walk-about with a burning tobacco pipe in public in order to prevent fires; . . .

Source: batavia.rug.ac.be/slavery/code1754.htm.

FRENCH EMPIRE

Samuel de Champlain: The Foundation of Quebec (1608)

This report by Samuel de Champlain, founder of Quebec, reveals the varying motives that compelled the French to explore and settle Quebec and Canada in the early seventeenth century. There was the hope that the St. Lawrence River might provide the much-sought-after passage to the western sea and China. And there was the interest in establishing trading relations with the inhabitants, specifically for the prolific fur pelts of the region, a trade pioneered by St. Malo merchant Pont Gravé, Sieur de Monts. Indeed, the trade would become the basis of the economy of France's colonies on the North American mainland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Having returned to France after a stay of three years in New France, I proceeded to Sieur de Monts, and related to him the principal events of which I had been a witness since his departure, and gave him the map and plan of the most remarkable coasts and harbors there. Some time afterward Sieur de Monts determined to continue his undertaking, and complete the exploration of the interior along the great river St. Lawrence, where I had been by order of the late King Henry the Great in the year 1603, for a distance of some hundred and eighty leagues, commencing in latitude 48E 40', that is, at Gaspé, at the entrance of the river, as far as the great fall, which is in latitude 45E and some minutes, where our exploration ended, and where boats could not pass as we then thought, since we had not made a careful examination of it as we have since done.

Now, after Sieur de Monts had conferred with me several times in regard to his purposes concerning the exploration, he resolved to continue so noble and meritorious an undertaking, notwithstanding the hardships and labors of the past. He honored me with his lieutenancy for the voyage; and, in order to carry out his purpose, he had two vessels equipped, one commanded by Pont Gravé, who was commissioned to trade with the savages of the country and bring back the vessels, while I was to winter in the country.

Sieur de Monts, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the expedition, obtained letters from his majesty for one year, by which all persons were forbidden to traffic in pelts with the savages, on penalties stated in the following commission:

Henry by the Grace of God King of France and Navarre, to our beloved and faithful counselors, the officers of our admiralty in Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne, bailiffs, marshals, provosts, judges, or their lieutenants, and to each one of them, according to his authority, throughout the extent of their powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, greeting:

Acting upon the information which has been given us by those who have returned from New France, respecting the good quality and fertility of the lands of that country, and the disposition of the people to accept the knowledge of God, We have resolved to continue the settlement previously undertaken there, in order that our subjects may go there to trade without hindrance. And in view of the proposition to us of Sieur de Monts, gentleman in ordinary of our chamber, and our lieutenant-general in that country, to

make a settlement, on condition of our giving him means and supplies for sustaining the expense of it, it has pleased us to promise and assure him that none of our subjects but himself shall be permitted to trade in pelts and other merchandise, for the period of one year only, in the lands, regions, harbors, rivers, and highways throughout the extent of his jurisdiction: this we desire to have fulfilled. For these causes and other considerations impelling us thereto, we command and decree that each one of you, throughout the extent of your powers, jurisdictions, and precincts, shall act in our stead and carry out our will in distinctly prohibiting and forbidding all merchants, masters, and captains of vessels, also sailors and others of our subjects, of whatever rank and profession, to fit out any vessels in which to go themselves or send others in order to engage in trade or barter in pelts and other things with the savages of New France, to visit, trade, or communicate with them during the space of one year, within the jurisdiction of *Sieur de Monts*, on penalty of disobedience, and the entire confiscation of their vessels, supplies, arms, and merchandise for the benefit of *Sieur de Monts*; and, in order that the punishment of their disobedience may be assured, you will allow, as we have and do allow, the aforesaid *Sieur de Monts* or his lieutenants to seize, apprehend, and arrest all violators of our present prohibition and order, also their vessels, merchandise, arms, supplies, and victuals, in order to take and deliver them up to the hands of justice, so that action may be taken not only against the persons, but also the property of the offenders, as the case shall require.

This is our will, and we bid you to have it at once read and published in all localities and public places within your authority and jurisdiction, as you may deem necessary, by the first one of our officers or sergeants in accordance with this requisition by virtue of these presents, or a copy of the same, properly attested once only by one of our well-beloved and faithful counselors, notaries, and secretaries, to which it is our will that credence should be given as to the present original, in order that none of our subjects may claim ground for ignorance, but that all may obey and act in accordance with our will in this matter. We order, moreover, all captains of vessels, mates, and second

mates, and sailors of the same, and others on board of vessels or ships in the ports and harbors of the aforesaid country, to permit, as we have done, *Sieur de Monts*, and others possessing power and authority from him, to search the aforesaid vessels which shall have engaged in the fur trade after the present prohibition shall have been made known to them. It is our will that, upon the requisition of the aforesaid *Sieur de Monts*, his lieutenants, and others having authority, you should proceed against the disobedient and offenders, as the case may require: to this end, we give you power, authority, commission, and special mandate, notwithstanding the act of our council of the 17th day of July last, any hue and cry, Norman charter, accusation, objection, or appeals of whatsoever kind; on account of which and for fear of disregarding which, it is our will that there should be no delay, and, if any of these occur, we have withheld and reserved cognizance of the same to ourselves and our council, apart from all other judges, and have forbidden and prohibited the same to all our courts and judges: for this is our pleasure.

Given at Paris the seventh day of January, in the year of grace sixteen hundred and eight, and the nineteenth of our reign. Signed, HENRY. And lower down, by the king, *Delomenie*. And sealed with the single label of the great seal of yellow wax. Collated with the original by me, counselor, notary, and secretary of the king.

I proceeded to *Honfleur* for embarkation, where I found the vessel of *Pont Gravé* in readiness. He left port on the 5th of April. I did so on the 13th, arriving at the *Grand Bank* on the 15th of May, in latitude 45E 15'. On the 26th we sighted *Cape St. Mary*, in latitude 46E 45', on the *Island of Newfoundland*. On the 27th of the month we sighted *Cape St. Lawrence*, on *Cape Breton*, and also the *Island of St. Paul*, distant eighty-three leagues from *Cape St. Mary*. On the 30th we sighted *Isle Percée*, and *Gaspé*, in latitude 48E 40', distant from seventy to seventy-five leagues.

On the 3d of June we arrived before *Tadoussac*, distant from *Gaspé* from eighty to ninety leagues; and we anchored in the roadstead of *Tadoussac*, a league distant from the harbor, which latter is a kind of cove at the mouth of the *River Saguenay*, and where there are sometimes violent winds, bringing severe cold. It is maintained that from the

harbor of Tadoussac it is some forty-five or fifty leagues to the first fall on this river, which comes from the north-northwest. The harbor is small, and can accommodate only about twenty vessels. It has water enough, and is under shelter of the River Saguenay and a little rocky island, which is almost cut by the river. Elsewhere there are very high mountains, with little soil and only rocks and sand, thickly covered with such wood as fir and birch. There is a small pond near the harbor, shut in by mountains covered with wood. There are two points at the mouth: one on the southwest side, extending out nearly a league into the sea, called Point St. Matthew, or otherwise Point aux Allouettes; and another on the north-west side, extending out one-eighth of a league, and called Point of all Devils, from the dangerous nature of the place. The winds from the south-south-east strike the harbor, which are not to be feared; but those, however, from the Saguenay are. The two points above mentioned are dry at low tide.

Our vessel was unable to enter the harbor, as the wind and tide were unfavorable. I at once had the boat lowered, in order to go to the port and ascertain whether Pont Gravé had arrived. While on the way, I met a shallop with the pilot of Pont Gravé and a Basque, who came to inform me of what had happened to them because they attempted to hinder the Basque vessels from trading, according to the commission obtained by Sieur de Monts from his Majesty, that no vessels should trade without permission of Sieur de Monts, as well as expressed in it; and that, notwithstanding the notifications which Pont Gravé made in behalf of his Majesty, they did not desist from forcibly carrying on their traffic; and that they have used their arms and maintained themselves so well in their vessels that, discharging all their cannon upon that of Pont Gravé, and letting off many musket-shots, he was severely wounded, together with three of his men, one of whom died, Pont Gravé meanwhile making no resistance, for at the first shower of musketry he was struck down. The Basques came on board of the vessel and took away all the cannon and arms, declaring that they would trade, notwithstanding the prohibition of the King, and that when they were ready to set out from France they would restore to him his cannon and ammunition, and that they were keeping them in order to be in a state of secu-

rity. Upon hearing all these particulars I was greatly annoyed at such a beginning, which we might have easily avoided.

Now, after hearing from the pilot all these things, I asked him why the Basque had come on board of our vessel. He told me that he came in behalf of their master, named Darache, and his companions to obtain assurance from me that I would do them no harm, when our vessel entered the harbor. I replied that I could not give any until I had seen Pont Gravé. The Basque said that, if I had need of anything in their power, they would assist me accordingly. What led them to use this language was simply their recognition of having done wrong, as they confessed, and the fear that they would not be permitted to engage in the whale-fishery. After talking at length, I went ashore to see Pont Gravé, in order to deliberate as to what was to be done. I found him very ill. He related to me in detail all that had happened. We concluded that we could only enter the harbor by force, and that the settlement must not be given up for this year, so that we considered it best, in order not to make a bad cause out of a just one, and thus work our ruin, to give them assurances on my part so long as I should remain there, and that Pont Gravé should undertake nothing against them, but that justice should be done in France, and their differences should be settled there. Darache, master of the vessel, begged me to go on board, where he gave me a cordial reception. After a long conference, I secured an agreement between Pont Gravé and him, and required him to promise that he would undertake nothing against Pont Gravé, or what would be prejudicial to the King and Sieur de Monts; that, if he did the contrary, I should regard my promise as null and void. This was agreed to, and signed by each.

In this place were a number of savages who had come for traffic in furs, several of whom came to our vessels with their canoes, which are from eight to nine paces long, and about a pace or pace and a half broad in their middle, growing narrower toward the two ends. They are very apt to turn over, in case one does not understand managing them, and are made of birch bark, strengthened on the inside by little ribs of white cedar, very neatly arranged. They are so light that a man can easily carry one. Each can carry a weight equal to that of a pipe. When they want to go overland to a river

where they have business, they carry them with them. From Chouacoet along the coast as far as the harbor of Tadoussac, they are all alike. After this agreement, I had some carpenters set to work to fit up a little barque of twelve or fourteen tons, for carrying all that was needed for our settlement, which, however, could not be got ready before the last of June.

Meanwhile I managed to visit some parts of the river Saguenay, a fine river, which has the incredible depth of one hundred and fifty to two hundred fathoms. About fifty leagues from the mouth of the harbor there is, as is said, a great waterfall, descending from a very high elevation with great impetuosity. There are some islands in this river, very barren, being only rocks covered with small furs and heathers. It is half a league broad in places, and a quarter of a league at its mouth, where the current is so strong that at three-quarters flood-tide in the river it is still running out. All the land that I have seen consists only of mountains and rocky promontories, for the most part covered with fir and birch, a very unattractive country on both sides of the river. In a word, it is mere wastes, uninhabited by either animals or birds; for, going out hunting in places which seemed to me the most pleasant, I found only some very small birds, such as swallows and river birds, which go there in summer. At other times there are none whatever, in consequence of the excessive cold. The river flows from the north-west.

The savages told me that after passing the first fall, they meet with eight others, when they go to a day's journey without finding any. Then they pass ten others, and enter a lake, which they are three days in crossing, and they are easily able to make ten leagues a day upstream. At the end of the lake there dwells a migratory people. Of the three rivers which flow into this lake, one comes from the north, very near the sea, where they consider it much colder than in their own country; and the other two from other directions in the interior, where are migratory savages, living only from hunting, and where our savages carry the merchandise we give them for their furs, such as beaver, marten, lynx, and otter, which are found there in large numbers, and which they then carry to our vessels. These people of the north report to our savages that they see the salt sea; and, if that is true, as I think it certainly is, it can be nothing but

a gulf entering the interior on the north. The savages say that the distance from the north sea to the port of Tadoussac is perhaps forty-five or fifty days' journey, in consequence of the difficulties presented by the roads, rivers and country, which is very mountainous, and where there is snow for the most part of the year. This is what I have definitely ascertained in regard to this river. I have often wished to explore it, but could not do so without the savages, who were unwilling that I or any of our party should accompany them. Nevertheless, they have promised that I shall do so. This exploration would be desirable, in order to remove the doubts of many persons in regard to the existence of this sea on the north, where it is maintained that the English have gone in these latter years to find a way to China.

I set out from Tadoussac the last day of the month to go to Quebec. We passed near the island called Hare Island, distant six leagues from the above named port; it is two leagues from the northern, and nearly four leagues from the southern shore. From Hare Island we proceeded to a little river, dry at low tide, up which some seven hundred or eight hundred paces there are two falls. We named it Salmon River, since we caught some of these fish in it. Coasting along the north shore, we came to a point extending into the river, which we called Cape Dauphin, distant three leagues from Salmon River. Thence we proceeded to another, which we named Eagle Cape, distant eight leagues from Cape Dauphin. Between the two there is a large bay, at the extremity of which there is a little river dry at low tide. From Eagle Cape we proceeded to Isle aux Coudres, a good league distant, which is about a league and a half long. It is nearly level, and grows narrower towards the two ends. On the western side there are meadows, and rocky points extending some distance out into the river. On the south-west side it is very reefy, yet very pleasant in consequence of the woods surrounding it. It is distant about half a league from the northern shore, where is a little river extending some distance into the interior. We named it Riviere du Gouffre, since abreast of it the tide runs with extraordinary rapidity; and, although it has a calm appearance, it is always much agitated, the depth there being great: but the river itself is shallow, and there are many rocks at and about its mouth.

Coasting along from Isle aux Coudres, we reached a cape which we named Cap de Tourmente, five leagues distant; and we gave it this name because, however little wind there may be, the water rises there as if it were full tide. At this point the water begins to be fresh. Thence we proceeded to the Isle d'Orleans, a distance of two leagues, on the south side of which are numerous islands, low, covered with trees and very pleasant, with large meadows, having plenty of game, some being, so far as I could judge, two leagues in length, others a trifle more or less. About these islands are many rocks, also very dangerous shallows, some two leagues distant from the main land on the south. All this shore, both north and south, from Tadoussac to the Isle d'Orleans, is mountainous, and the soil very poor. The wood is pine, fir, and birch only, with very ugly rocks, so that in most places one could not make his way.

Now we passed along south of the Isle d'Orleans, which is a league and a half distant from the main land and a half a league on the north side, being six leagues in length, and one in breadth, or in some places a league and a half. On the north side, it is very pleasant, on account of the great extent of woods and meadows there; but it is very dangerous sailing, in consequence of the numerous points and rocks between the main land and the island, on which are numerous fine oaks and in some places nut-trees, and on the borders of the woods wines and other trees such as we have in France. This place is the commencement of the fine and fertile country of the great river, and is distant one hundred and twenty leagues from its mouth. Off the end of the island is a torrent of water on the north shore, proceeding from a lake ten leagues in the interior: it comes down from a height nearly twenty-five fathoms, above which the land is level and pleasant, although further inland are seen high mountains appearing to be from fifteen to twenty leagues distant.

From the Isle d'Orleans to Quebec the distance is a league. I arrived there on the 3rd of July, when I searched for a place suitable for our settlement; but I could find none more convenient or better suited than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut-trees. I at once employed a portion of our workmen in cutting them down, that we might construct our habitations there: one I set to sawing boards, another

to making a cellar and digging ditches, another I sent to Tadoussac with the barque to get supplies, which was promptly accomplished through the zeal of all, and my attention to the work.

Some days after my arrival at Quebec a locksmith conspired against the service of the king. His plan was to put me to death, and, getting possession of our fort, to put into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, then at Tadoussac, beyond which vessels cannot go, from not having a knowledge of the route, nor of the banks and rocks on the way. In order to execute his wretched plan, by which he hoped to make his fortune, he suborned four of the worst characters, as he supposed, telling them a thousand falsehoods, and presenting to them prospects of acquiring riches. These four men, having been won over, all promised to act in such a manner as to gain the rest over to their side, so that, for the time being, I had no one with me in whom I could put confidence, which gave them still more hope of making their plan succeed; for four or five of my companions, in whom they knew that I put confidence, were on board of the barques, for the purpose of protecting the provisions and supplies necessary for our settlement. In a word, they were so skillful in carrying out their intrigues with those who remained that they were on the point of gaining all over to their cause, even my lackey, promising them many things which they could not have fulfilled.

Being now all agreed, they made daily different plans as to how they should put me to death, so as not to be accused of it, which they found to be a difficult thing. But the devil, blindfolding them all and taking away their reason and every possible difficulty, they determined to take me while unarmed, and strangle me, or to give a false alarm at night, and shoot me as I went out, in which manner they judged that they would accomplish their work sooner than otherwise. They made a mutual promise not to betray each other, on penalty that the first one who opened his mouth should be poniarded. They were to execute their plan in four days, before the arrival of our barques, otherwise they would have been unable to carry out their scheme.

On this very day one of our barques arrived, with our pilot, Captain Testu, a very discreet man. After the barque was unloaded, and ready to return to Tadoussac, there came to him a locksmith,

named Natel, an associate of Jean du Val, the head of the conspiracy, who told him that he had promised the rest to do just as they did, but that he did not in fact desire the execution of the plot, yet did not dare to make a disclosure in regard to it from fear of being poniarded. Antoine Natel made the pilot promise that he would make no disclosure in regard to what he should say, since, if his companions should discover it, they would put him to death. The pilot gave him his assurance in all particulars, and asked him to state the character of the plot which they wished to carry out. This Natel did at length, when the pilot said to him: "My friend you have done well to disclose such a malicious design, and you show that you are an upright man, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But these things cannot be passed by without bringing them to the knowledge of Sieur de Champlain, that he may make provision against them, and I promise you that I will prevail upon him to pardon you and the rest. And I will at once," said the pilot, "go to him without exciting any suspicion; and do you go about your business, listening to all they may say, and not troubling yourself about the rest."

The pilot came at once to me, in a garden which I was having prepared, and said that he wished to speak to me in a private place, where we could be alone. I readily assented, and we went into the wood, where he related to me the whole affair. I asked who had told it to him. He begged me to pardon him who had made the disclosure, which I consented to do, although he ought to have addressed himself to me. He was afraid, he replied, that you would become angry, and harm him. I told him that I was able to govern myself better than that in such a matter, and desired him to have the man come to me, that I might hear the statement. He went, and brought him all trembling with fear lest I should do him harm. I reassured him, telling him not to be afraid, that he was in a place of safety, and that I should pardon him for all that he had done, together with the others, provided he would tell me in full the truth in regard to the whole matter, and the motive which had impelled them to it. "Nothing," he said, "had impelled them, except that they had imagined that, by giving up the place into the hands of the Basques or Spaniards, they might all become rich, and that they did not want to go back to France." He also re-

lated to me the remaining particulars in regard to their conspiracy.

After having heard and questioned him, I directed him to go about his work. Meanwhile I ordered the pilot to bring up his shallop, which he did. Then I gave two bottles of wine to a young man, directing him to say to these four worthies, the leaders of the conspiracy, that it was a present of wine, which his friends at Tadoussac had given him, and that he wished to share it with them. This they did not decline, and at evening were on board the barque where he was to give them the entertainment. I lost no time in going there shortly after, and caused them to be seized and held until the next day. Then were my worthies astonished indeed. I at once had all get up, for it was about ten o'clock in the evening, and pardoned them all on condition that they would disclose to me the truth in regard to all that had occurred, which they did, when I had them retire.

The next day I took the depositions of all, one after the other, in the presence of the pilot and sailors of the vessel, which I had put down in writing; and they were well pleased, as they said, since they had lived only in fear of each other, especially of the four knaves who had ensnared them. But now they lived in peace, satisfied, as they declared, with the treatment which they had received. The same day I had six pairs of handcuffs made for the authors of the conspiracy: one for our surgeon, named Bonnerme, one for another, named La Taille, whom the four conspirators had accused, which, however, proved false, and consequently they were given their liberty.

This being done, I took my worthies to Tadoussac, begging Pont Gravé to do me the favor of guarding them, since I had as yet no secure place for keeping them, and as we were occupied in constructing our places of abode. Another object was to consult with him, and others on the ship, as to what should be done in the premises. We suggested that, after he had finished his work at Tadoussac, he should come to Quebec with the prisoners, where we should have them confronted with their witnesses, and, after giving them a hearing, order justice to be done according to the offense which they had committed.

I went back the next day to Quebec, to hasten the completion of our storehouse, so as to secure our provisions, which had been misused by all

those scoundrels, who spared nothing, without reflecting how they could find more when these failed; for I could not obviate the difficulty until the storehouse should be completed and shut up. Pont Gravé arrived some time after me, with the prisoners, which caused uneasiness to the workmen who remained, since they feared that I should pardon them, and that they would avenge themselves upon them for revealing their wicked design. We had them brought face to face, and they affirmed before them all which they had stated in their depositions, the prisoners not denying it, but admitting that they had acted in a wicked manner, and should be punished, unless mercy might be exercised towards them; accusing, above all, Jean du Val, who had been trying to lead them into such a conspiracy from the time of their departure from France. Du Val knew not what to say, except that he deserved death, that all stated in the depositions was true, and that he begged for mercy upon himself and the others, who had given in their adherence to his pernicious purposes.

After Pont Gravé and I, the captain of the vessel, surgeon, mate, second mate, and other sailors had heard their depositions and face to face statements, we adjudged that it would be enough to put to death Du Val, as the instigator of the conspiracy; and that he might serve as an example to those who remained, leading them to deport themselves correctly in future, in the discharge of their duty; and that the Spaniards and Basques, of whom there were large numbers in the country, might not glory in the event. We adjudged that the three others be condemned to be hung, but that they should be taken to France and put into the hands of Sieur de Monts, that such ample justice might be done them as he should recommend; that they should be sent with all the evidence of their sentence, as well as that of Jean du Val, who was strangled and hung at Quebec, and his head was put on the end of a pike, to be set up in the most conspicuous place on our fort. After all these occurrences, Pont Gravé set out from Quebec, on the 18th of September, to return to France with the three prisoners. After he had gone, all who remained conducted themselves correctly in the discharge of their duty.

I had the work of our quarters continued, which was composed of three buildings of two stories. Each one was three fathoms long, and two and a half wide, with a fine cellar six feet deep. I

had a gallery made all around our buildings, on the outside, at the second story, which proved very convenient. There were also ditches, fifteen feet wide and six deep. On the other side of the ditches I constructed several spurs, which enclosed a part of the dwelling, at the points where we placed our cannon. Before the habitation there is a place four fathoms wide and six or seven long, looking out upon the riverbank. Surrounding the habitation are very good gardens, and a place on the north side some hundred or hundred and twenty paces long and fifty or sixty wide. Moreover, near Quebec, there is a little river, coming from a lake in the interior, distant six or seven leagues from our settlement. I am of the opinion that this river, which is north a quarter north-west from our settlement, is the place where Jacques Cartier wintered, since there are still, a league up the river, remains of what seems to have been a chimney, the foundation of which has been found, and indications of there having been ditches surrounding their dwelling, which was small. We found, also, large pieces of hewn, worm-eaten timber, and some three or four cannon-balls. All these things show clearly that there was a settlement there founded by Christians; and what leads me to say and believe that it was that of Jacques Cartier is the fact that there is no evidence whatever that any one wintered and built a house in these places except Jacques Cartier, at the time of his discoveries.

This place, as I think, must have been called St. Croix, as he named it, which name has since been transferred to another place fifteen leagues west of our settlement. But there is no evidence of his having wintered in the place now called St. Croix, nor in any other there, since in this direction there is no river or other place large enough for vessels except the main river or that of which I spoke above; here there is a half a fathom of water at low tide, many rocks, and a bank at the mouth, for vessels, if kept in the main river, where there are strong currents and tides, and ice in the winter, drifting along, would run the risk of being lost; especially as there is a sandy point extending out into the river, and filled with rocks, between which we have found, within the last three years, a passage not before discovered; but one must go through cautiously, in consequence of the dangerous points there. This place is exposed to the north-west

winds; and the river runs as if it were a fall, the tide ebbing two and a half fathoms. There are no signs of buildings here, nor any indications that a man of judgment would settle in this place, there being many other better ones, in case one were obliged to make a permanent stay. I have been desirous of speaking at length on this point, since many believe that the abode of Jacques Cartier was here, which I do not believe, for the reasons here given; for Cartier would have left to posterity a narrative of the matter, as he did in the case of all he saw and discovered; and I maintain that my opinion is the true one, as can be shown by the history which he has left in writing.

Source: Thatcher, Oliver J., ed., *The Library of Original Sources*, vol. 5. Milwaukee: University Research Extension Company, 1907.

Note to the Memoir on the English Aggression (October 1750)

The British and the French fought a series of imperial wars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including King George's War between 1744 and 1748 (known as the War of Austrian Succession in Europe). As in previous conflicts, King George's War failed to decide which country would dominate North America. The British feared that the French would try to seal off the English coastal colonies by establishing control over a wide swath of territory between Quebec and Louisiana. The French, as this note by an anonymous French official makes clear, believed that the British had designs on Quebec and Louisiana. Ultimately, the British-French conflict would be decided, in the former's favor, in the Seven Years' War (known in North America as the French and Indian War) of 1756–1763.

The restoration of peace has in no wise diverted the English from their constant design to get possession of all the commerce of America. It is only necessary to consider their actual conduct to be convinced of this truth.

No doubt Spain has good proof on its side. France's is but too certain, both from the publicly professed plans of the English and from the difficulties their commissaries are daily making in the settlement of the disputes of the two nations in America.

England, not content with having already encroached on the lands of France on the side of Hudson Bay, and with pushing its settlements in Acadia on the mainland of New France at the Bay of Fundy, despite the boundaries assigned that country by the Treaty of Utrecht, now plans the invasion of Florida and Louisiana.

It is true the English have already encroached on those provinces, but they have not hitherto pushed their claims to the extravagant extent revealed by the map just published at London, on which, under pretence of correcting one of our recent geographers, they extend their boundaries into Spanish Florida in such fashion as to seat themselves on waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico.

As to Louisiana, they claim to extend their boundaries over all the lands of the Indians friendly to France as far as the Alabamas; they partially recompense Spain for what they took from Florida at the expense of Louisiana. Although this map is not made by express order of the government, it is well known to be by authority.

However there is no doubt that the English have no justification for such enterprises which have long been no secret. They wish to be in a position to invade Florida, and by that conquest, along with their possession of the Isle of Providence in the Bahamas, to make themselves masters of the outlet of the Bahama Channel, and as a result of the treasure of Europe.

To carry out this plan more easily they seek to put it out of the power of the French of Louisiana to give aid to the Spanish as formerly, and as they will never fail to do in all attempts of the English to work their hurt. In this they can best succeed by seeking to cut the communication of the French of Louisiana with New France and Florida; but is not the common danger resulting to France and Spain a warning to the two powers to concert measures as soon as possible that will insure the failure of this pernicious design? The king on his side is ready to enter into all the measures His Catholic Majesty may think most proper to protect himself from the ambitious projects of a nation with no other aim than to subjugate all the others by seizing on their colonies and their commerce, and which terms that the "balance of Europe."

Source: [canadahistory.com: www.canadahistory.com/sections/documents/memoir_on_english_aggression.htm](http://canadahistory.com/sections/documents/memoir_on_english_aggression.htm).

Proposal for the Establishment of a Native Army in Algeria (1830)

Like many other colonial powers, the French attempted to save imperial administrative costs by getting the native population to police itself, under the command of European officers. Often, colonizers would use minority populations within the colony to govern the majority. In the case of Algeria, which was first colonized in 1830, the French would eventually come to use Berbers to police the larger Arab population, causing antagonisms between the populations that would linger beyond independence. The following is a letter from an unidentified army officer to the French navy minister.

Dear Minister,

At a moment when the government is considering abandoning one of its colonies, I think it is my duty, in the interests of the nation and in particular of the French army, to lay before Your Excellency my proposal for speeding up the pacification of the Regency of Algiers and ensuring that it will continue to be held.

Experience has shown that French soldiers are little suited to endure the fatigue of warfare under the burning African sun. It is not that they lack courage, but the climate is so much against them that they quickly succumb and in far too great numbers for war to be waged for any long period in this continent.

I believe, M. le Ministre, that the considerable losses we have suffered in Algeria, Madagascar and Senegal may be attributed to two causes: firstly, to the intemperate climate and secondly to the lack of those foodstuffs to which a Frenchman's body is accustomed. In France there is never a shortage of water, and it is usually fit to drink: it is what the soldiers do normally drink. In Africa, it is difficult to find and often unfit for consumption. Soldiers cannot always drink wine: there often is none, it is very expensive, and under a burning sky wine does not quench the thirst and is injurious to health. Some of the fruits found in Africa are also unhealthy, and a young soldier, unthinking of the harm he may be doing to himself, may eat them without taking proper precautions, sometime before they are properly ripe, and this can lead to death.

Let me return to my proposal:

After the colony of Ste Marie was founded in Madagascar, the government set up several companies of black soldiers, Wollofs from Senegal. These African soldiers have demonstrated that they are quite the equal of French soldiers in courage. They are intelligent and inured to fatigue. Military discipline is easily imposed upon them and they can be turned into excellent auxiliary troops, especially when they are employed in their own climates. With a few corps of these black soldiers, it would be easy to drive back the Kabyles into their mountains; we could then force into submission those Arabs who have so far not recognised the authority of the King of France. This would avoid the immense drain on the population of the mother country, and the soldiers whom we are presently sending to Algeria where they sicken and die in huge numbers, could be used to reinforce the active forces to carry out the important task of fighting our enemies in Europe. Lt General Count Clauzel has come to the firm conclusion that it will be impossible to hold onto the Regency of Algiers, and bring it under our control in order to turn it into a dynamic colony which would pay back all France's sacrifices, without using African soldiers, and he too has set up some detachments of Zouaves, which have already shown much promise.

However, it is important not to let these forces become too big, and so place in the hands of the Arabs an armed force which would be superior to our own. The slightest change in circumstances could be enough to make them change sides. Then they would be against us, and we would regret having strengthened our enemies.

If we employed detachments of Wollofs and others from the centre of Africa, the soldiers, who would not be slaves, would find it was in their interest to support us and to serve us well. But we would have to give them some advantages, and allow them to use the title of Soldiers of France, one which they would be proud to use.

This, then, is what I have the honour of proposing to Your Excellency.

We should set up in France, at l'Orient or Port Louis, for example, where sea transport is easy and where there are plenty of barracks available, a single regiment (as an experiment) made up of four battalions of Senegalese blacks. It would be a simple matter to set up an officer corps for this

regiment. The Corps of Naval Artillery would be a valuable source, and officers in the Naval Infantry corps, who are distributed around the different ports and in ships of the line, would, I think, be generally quite happy to join the ranks of the active army by this means. The French African Regiment would, therefore, be composed of four battalions, one of which would be the garrison battalion. The ordinary soldiers would be recruited in Senegal or from among the blacks that the Government already employs in every colony, provided that they were in good enough physical shape for at least ten years' service.

The two companies at present in Madagascar and the two which would be set up in Senegal would form the nucleus. We could also allow to enlist those free men of colour from our other colonies who wish to join up.

The pay of these soldiers would be the same as the foot soldiers in the light infantry. Their clothing would also be the same, because we should make no distinctions between free men, whatever their colour. The soldiers should, moreover, be dressed like the officers.

When they are first set up, the officer corps should be made up of French officers, the senior n.c.o.s and corporals could be either Frenchmen or French Africans. But once the corps has been trained, we should allow a third, or even half of the personnel at every rank—except that of colonel—to be men of colour.

It would perhaps be a good idea to create a special military decoration for the men of colour employed in the Regency of Algiers, which could be called "the Order of Fidelity and Bravery" or the "Order of Military Merit." This decoration would consist of three classes and could also be awarded to Frenchmen employed in the auxiliary corps. It should attract a bonus payment, and the amount of the bonus would be paid with the regular salary. It may, of course, not be necessary to create an entirely new decoration: the Order of Military Merit or even the Legion of Honour could fulfil the function which I propose, and which I believe to be necessary to encourage the loyalty and courage of these soldiers.

The soldiers in this corps should spend six months in the garrison, in order to learn a little of the French language and to be trained. At the end of this period, they could be sent to Algiers,

marching them across France, in order to give them an idea of the advantages of civilisation, and to get them used to the rigours of marching.

The African soldiers would be enrolled for ten years, but at the end of their terminal leave, they would be allowed to stay on by signing on again. Those who did so would be given a bonus in their salary. Those who, having finished their term of service, wanted to stay in Algeria would be given land, and those who wished to return to their native land would be transported there by French government ships sent for the purpose. This would have the happy effect of spreading civilisation in central Africa, and to implant there, so to speak, the mores of France, which would be of great advantage to our trade.

The soldiers of the auxiliary units should be pensioned-off on the same basis as Frenchmen.

I have the honour to lay these ideas before your excellency, and I earnestly desire, in the interest of my country, that they should be considered and found acceptable.

Kindly deign to accept, M. le Ministre, this token of the most profound respect of your humble and most obedient servant.

L'Orient, 23 December 1830

Source: National Archives (Paris). ANF Marine BB/4 1016
Dossier: 1830, Algerian Expedition, Various Documents.

Anatole France: "The Colonial Folly" (1904)

Anatole France was one of France's premier novelists and intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century. A socialist and an anti-imperialist, France shared with other critics of empire—such as Mark Twain in the United States and Joseph Conrad in the United Kingdom—the belief that, far from civilizing the non-European peoples of the world, European empires were in fact making barbaric the Europeans who participated in the imperial mission.

Imperialism is the most recent form of barbarism, the end of the line for civilization. I do not distinguish between the two terms—imperialism and barbarism—for they mean the same thing.

We Frenchmen, a thrifty people, who see to it that we have no more children than we are able to

support easily, careful of adventuring into foreign lands, we Frenchmen, who hardly ever leave our own gardens, for what in the world do we need colonies? What can we do with them? What are the benefits for us? It has cost France much in lives and money so that the Congo, Cochin China, Annam, Tonkin, Guinea, and Madagascar may be able to buy cotton from Manchester, liquors from Danzig, and wine from Hamburg. For the last seventy years France has attacked and persecuted the Arabs so that Algeria might be inhabited by Italians and Spaniards!

The French people get nothing from the colonial lands of Africa and Asia. But their government finds it profitable. Through colonial conquest the military people get promotions, pensions, and awards, in addition to the glory gained by quelling the natives. Ship owners, army contractors, and shady politicians prosper. The ignorant mob is flattered because it believes that an overseas empire will make the British and Germans green with envy.

Will this colonial madness never end? I know well that nations are not reasonable. Considering their composition, it would be strange, indeed, if they were. But sometimes they know instinctively what is bad for them. Through long and bitter experience they will come to see the mistakes they have made. And, one day, they will realize that colonies bring only danger and ruin.

Source: France, Anatole. "La Folie coloniale." *Neue Freie Presse*, April 18, 1904.

Brazzaville Conference (February 1944)

The future of the French Empire in Africa was left in doubt by Nazi Germany's conquest of France and the establishment of the collaborationist Vichy regime in 1940. By 1944, however, Vichy had lost what little say it had over France's African colonies. In February 1944, the anti-Vichy French Committee of National Liberation called a conference in the French Congolese capital of Brazzaville to lay out the postwar future of French Africa. While the conference led to agreements for significant political and economic reforms, there was no serious discussion of independence or even autonomy within the empire, as this official statement makes clear.

First Part: Political Organization

Political Organization of the French Colonies.—In view of the complex problems involved, the representation of the colonies in a new French Constitution can be studied adequately only by a commission of experts, designated by the Government.

It appears, however, that these experts should take into consideration the following principles to guide and inspire their work:

1. It is desirable and even indispensable that the colonies be represented in the future Assembly whose task will be to draw up the new Constitution of France.

2. It is indispensable to ensure that the colonies be represented in the central government in Metropolitan France in a much more comprehensive and much more effective manner than in the past.

3. Any project of reform which would aim merely at an amelioration of the system of representation existing on September 1, 1939 (colonial Deputies and Senators in the French Parliament, Supreme Council of France Overseas) appears a priori to be inadequate and sterile. . . .

4. In any case, the new body to be created, Colonial Parliament or, preferably Federal Assembly, must fulfill the following purposes: Proclaim and guarantee the indissoluble unity of the French world—respect the regional life and freedom of each of the territories members of the bloc, composed of France and her colonies (or "French Federation," if this term is accepted . . .). With this in view it will be necessary to define, with great accuracy and precision, the power reserved to the central authority or federating body on the one hand and those allotted to the colonies, on the other hand.

5. The legislative regime of the colonies or, to use a more specific terminology, the respective fields of the laws, decrees and regulations, will be adequately determined only after the adoption of the decisions which will establish on a new basis the powers of the central authority or federating body, and those of the various territories. Special emphasis will be laid on the fact that the colonies should gradually advance on the way leading from administrative decentralization to a status of political personality.

Internal Political Organization of the Colonies.—The chiefs of the colonies must exercise as much initiative as possible in their internal administration. With this in view, bodies of political expression must be created which will provide

them with a perfectly balanced and legitimate system toward the European administration as well as toward the native population

It is consequently suggested that the existing consultative bodies be abolished and replaced:

In the first place, by Councils of subdivision and Regional Councils, composed of native notables and availing themselves, whenever possible, of the framework provided by existing traditional institutions.

Secondly, by representative Assemblies, composed partly of Europeans, partly of natives.

The members of these bodies would be elected by universal suffrage wherever and whenever this would be practicable. . . .

The powers of the Councils of subdivision and the Regional Councils would be consultative; those of the Assemblies would be deliberative. . . .

Second Part: Social Problems

The Constitutive Elements of the Colonial Society: the Respective Place of the Europeans and of the Natives in Colonization.—Our entire colonial policy will be based upon the respect and the progress of the native society, and we shall have to accept fully and absolutely the demands and consequences implied by this principle. The natives may not be treated as devoid of human dignity, they can be subjected neither to eviction nor to exploitation. However, the colonies are destined, by their very nature, to be inhabited jointly by both Europeans and natives. Although our policy must be subordinated to the full development of the local races, we must also give European activity the place to which it is entitled.

1. The prerequisite for the progress of the African continent is the development of the native populations. The activity of the Europeans and other non-Africans in the colonial territories of Africa must conform to this condition.

2. On the other hand, this progress of the African continent, as it is being contemplated, cannot be achieved without the collaboration of non-African persons and enterprises to a much greater extent and in greater proportion than at the present time. Consequently, all necessary talent, ability and services will be duly enlisted and utilized. . . .

4. All the various trades must gradually be taken over by the natives. The Governors-General and the Governors of the territories shall establish,

within a brief period, an inventory of the enterprises which will be progressively opened to the natives. . . .

5. The education of the natives will be directed towards this progressive accession to public office. Proper selection and adequate training will be the dominant tendency in this field.

6. The necessity for training replacement personnel, as well as the realization of the reforms recommended in all domains by the French African Conference at Brazzaville, make it imperative to launch . . . large-scale recruitment in order to meet the needs of the administrative personnel as well as of the new colonial economy. . . .

Third Part: Economic Questions

The aim of our colonial economic policy must be to develop production and to bring prosperity to the territories overseas, with a view to ensuring a better life for the Africans by increasing their purchasing power and by raising their standard of living. . . .

The industrialization of colonial territories is to be encouraged. Industrialization should proceed methodically . . . within the strict limits imposed by the application of the plan for general production. With this in view, it will be subjected to the regime of prior authorization and of the control of its production by the public authorities. Subject to these reservations, industrialization will be effected by private enterprise. . . .

It is recommended that the quality of [agricultural] products be improved by imposing high standards . . . and by conducting scientific research work . . .

It is recommended that the colonies submit within four months a tentative estimate of the personnel, equipment, materials and supplies which will be necessary to ensure, after the conclusion of hostilities, the functioning of public services. . . .

Source: "French Colonial Policy in Africa." In Service de Presse et d'Information, *Free France*. New York: French Embassy, September 1944.

Abdication of Bao Dai, Emperor of Annam (August 1945)

To lend legitimacy to their rule in Vietnam, the French installed Bao Dai, son of the Vietnamese emperor, on the throne of the country in 1932. Con-

sidered a puppet by the Vietnamese people, Bao Dai collaborated with the Japanese and the Nazi-installed French Vichy regime during World War II. Upon the collapse of the Japanese Empire in August 1945, Vietnamese nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh demanded and won Bao Dai's abdication. Four years later, however, the French installed him as head of the new state of Vietnam, which remained largely under French control. Upon France's defeat by Ho Chi Minh's forces in 1954, and the division of Vietnam into two countries, Bao Dai was forced to resign again. Bao Dai abdicated in 1955 and eventually lived out his life in a modest Paris apartment, dying in 1997.

The happiness of the people of Vietnam!
The Independence of Vietnam!

To achieve these ends, we have declared ourself ready for any sacrifice and we desire that our sacrifice be useful to the people.

Considering that the unity of all our compatriots is at this time our country's need, we recalled to our people on August 22: "In this decisive hour of our national history, union means life and division means death."

In view of the powerful democratic spirit growing in the north of our kingdom, we feared that conflict between north and south could be inevitable if we were to wait for a National Congress to decide us, and we know that this conflict, if it occurred, would plunge our people into suffering and would play the game of the invaders.

We cannot but have a certain feeling of melancholy upon thinking of our glorious ancestors who fought without respite for 400 years to aggrandise our country from Thuan Hoa to Hatien.

Despite this, and strong in our convictions, we have decided to abdicate and we transfer power to the democratic Republican Government.

Upon leaving our throne, we have only three wishes to express:

1. We request that the new Government take care of the dynastic temples and royal tombs.

2. We request the new Government to deal fraternally with all the parties and groups which have fought for the independence of our country even though they have not closely followed the popular movement; to do this in order to give them the opportunity to participate in the reconstruction of the country and to demonstrate that the new

regime is built upon the absolute union of the entire population.

3. We invite all parties and groups, all classes of society, as well as the royal family, to solidarize in unreserved support of the democratic Government with a view to consolidating the national independence.

As for us, during twenty years' reign, we have known much bitterness. Henceforth, we shall be happy to be a free citizen in an independent country. We shall allow no one to abuse our name or the name of the royal family in order to sow dissent among our compatriots.

Long live the independence of Vietnam!

Long live our Democratic Republic!

Source: La Republique (Hanoi) 1, 1 (October 1, 1945).

Ho Chi Minh: Independence Speech (September 2, 1945)

Following the collapse of the Japanese Empire in August–September 1945, Vietnamese nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of the Vietnamese state on September 2, 1945. Ironically, Ho Chi Minh, in appealing to the principles of the French Revolution and America's Declaration of Independence, was borrowing from the political traditions of the two countries he would have to fight against for the rest of his life, as he struggled to establish a unified, socialist Vietnam.

"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness"

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights." Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty,

Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice. In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty.

They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots—they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have fettered public opinion; they have practised obscurantism against our people. To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol.

In the fields of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolised the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty.

They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them.

Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quang Tri province to the North of Vietnam, more than two million of our fellow-citizens died from starvation. On March 9, the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered, showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in the span of five years, they had twice sold our country to the Japanese.

On several occasions before March 9, the Vietminh League urged the French to ally themselves

with it against the Japanese. Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the French colonialists so intensified their terrorist activities against the Vietminh members that before fleeing they massacred a great number of our political prisoners detained at Yen Bay and Cao Bang.

Not withstanding all this, our fellow-citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Vietminh League helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property.

From the autumn of 1940, our country had in fact ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese possession.

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French.

The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries. In its place has been established the present Democratic Republic.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Vietnam and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.

The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country.

We are convinced that the Allied nations which at Tehran and San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam.

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a

people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country—and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilise all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Source: Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works. Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1977.

The French Union (1946)

It was often said that while the British believed their colonial subjects never should—or, indeed, could—become Englishmen, the French insisted theirs must become Frenchmen. While Britain in the immediate postwar years began preparing itself for the dissolution of its empire, France redoubled its efforts to maintain the integrity of its empire. The French Union—established under the Fourth Republic's constitution in 1946—attempted to do this, by offering limited local self-government within a global French state.

Preamble

France shall form with the people of her Overseas Territories a Union based upon equality of rights and privileges, without distinction as to race or religion.

The French Union shall be composed of nations and peoples who shall place in common or coordinate their resources and their efforts in order to develop their respective civilizations, further their well-being, and ensure their security.

Faithful to her traditional mission, France shall guide the peoples for whom she has assumed responsibility, toward freedom to govern themselves and toward the democratic administration of their own affairs; rejecting any system of colonization based upon arbitrary power, she shall guarantee to all equal access to public office and the individual or collective exercise of the rights and liberties . . .

THE FRENCH UNION

Section I—Principles

ARTICLE 60. The French Union shall be composed, on the one hand, of the French Republic which comprises Metropolitan France and the Overseas Departments and Territories, and, on the other hand, of the Associated Territories and States.

ARTICLE 61. The position of the Associated States within the French Union shall, in the case of each individual State, depend upon the Act that defines its relationship to France.

ARTICLE 62. The members of the French Union shall place all their resources so as to guarantee the defense of the whole Union. The Government of the Republic shall coordinate these resources and direct such policies as will prepare and ensure this defense.

Section II—Organization

ARTICLE 63. The central organs of the French Union shall be: the President, the High Council and the Assembly.

ARTICLE 64. The President of the French Republic shall be the President of the French Union; he shall represent its permanent interests.

ARTICLE 65. The High Council of the French Union, under the chairmanship of the President of the Union, shall be composed of a delegation of the French Government and of the representatives that each Associated State shall accredit to the President of the Union. . . .

ARTICLE 66. The Assembly of the French Union shall be composed half of members representing Metropolitan France and half of members representing the Overseas Departments and Territories and the Associated States. An organic law shall determine the mode of representation of the different sections of the population.

ARTICLE 67. The members of the Assembly of the Union shall be elected by the Territorial Assemblies for the Overseas Departments and Territories; for Metropolitan France, two thirds shall be elected by the National Assembly representing Metropolitan France and one third by the Council of the Republic also representing Metropolitan France.

ARTICLE 68. The Associated States may appoint delegates to the Assembly of the French Union within the limitations and conditions determined by a law and by an act individual to each State.

ARTICLE 69. The President of the French Union shall convoke the Assembly of the French Union and shall close its sessions. He must convene it upon the request of half of its members. The Assembly of the Union may not sit during recesses of Parliament. . . .

ARTICLE 71. The Assembly of the French Union shall examine the bills or proposals submitted to it by the National Assembly or the Government of the French Republic or the Governments of the Associated States, in order that it may give its opinion thereof. The Assembly shall be empowered to express its opinion on resolutions proposed by one of its members and, if these resolutions are accepted for deliberation, to instruct its Secretariat to send them to the National Assembly. It may submit proposals to the French Government and to the High Council of the French Union. . . .

ARTICLE 72. Legislative powers with regard to penal law, civil liberties, and political and administrative organization in the Overseas Territories, shall rest with Parliament. In all other matters, the French law shall be applicable in the Overseas Territories only by an express provision to that effect, or if it has been extended to the Overseas Territories by decree, after consultation with the Assembly of the Union. . . . Special provisions for each Territory may be enacted by the President of the Republic in the Council of Ministers, after preliminary consultation with the Assembly of the Union.

Section III—The Overseas Departments and Territories

ARTICLE 73. The legislative regime of the Overseas Departments shall be the same as that of the Departments of Metropolitan France, save for exceptions determined by law.

ARTICLE 74. The Overseas Territories shall be granted a special statute which takes into account their particular interests with relation to the general interests of the Republic. This statute and the internal organization of each Overseas Territory or group of Territories shall be determined by law after the Assembly of the French Union has expressed its opinion thereon, and after consultation with the Territorial Assemblies.

ARTICLE 75. The status of the respective members of the French Republic and of the French Union shall be subject to change. Modifications of status and passage from one category to another within the framework established in Article 60

may take place only as the result of a law passed by Parliament, after consultation with the Territorial Assemblies and the Assembly of the Union.

ARTICLE 76. The representative of the Government in each Territory or group of Territories shall be vested with the powers of the Republic. He shall be the administrative head of the Territory. He shall be responsible to the Government for his actions.

ARTICLE 77. An elective Assembly shall be instituted in each Territory. The electoral regime, composition and powers of this Assembly shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE 78. In the groups of territories, the management of matters of common interest shall be entrusted to an Assembly composed of members elected by the Territorial Assemblies.

ARTICLE 79. The Overseas Territories shall elect representatives to the National Assembly and to the Council of the Republic under condition determined by law.

ARTICLE 80. All subjects of the Overseas Territories shall be citizens with the same status as French nationals of Metropolitan France or of the Overseas Territories. Special laws shall determine the conditions under which they may exercise their rights as citizens.

ARTICLE 81. All French nationals and subjects of the French Union shall have the status of citizens of the French Union, and thereby they shall be ensured the enjoyment of the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Preamble of the present Constitution.

Source: Constitution of the French (Fourth) Republic. Paris, 1946.

Gaston C. F. Monnerville Presents Point of View of French Colonials (1946)

A new constitution—laying out France's relationship with its colonies—was submitted to and eventually passed by voters shortly after the end of World War II. Part of this constitutional process included an extensive debate. In this speech to the French National Assembly, a French colonist in New Guinea, Gaston C. F. Monnerville, offers the perspective of overseas Frenchmen. Monnerville defends his fellow colonialists against charges that they are secession-minded. Instead, he says they want to be

treated as equals within the French Community of nations.

We representatives of the native populations have had anxiety and a desire. . . . We have thought that it was our duty to warn the Assembly against decisions that might appear to run counter to the secular traditions of France, to the thinking of the French masses, and to the aspirations of the peoples overseas.

Many times we have taken the responsibility of examining the problem. Fears were immediately aroused. We have been described in terms that were not always courteous—especially by the press—in terms even injurious to us, because it is an insult for a Frenchman to be treated as a disgraceful separatist.

We are accused of encouraging secession because we think daily about certain difficult problems, many times unhappy and often tragic problems.

Those who have spoken to us have shown that this problem is a particularly complex one, that it is exceedingly difficult to resolve, and that it is perhaps unwise and unreasonable to wish to treat it uniformly by a text that sets up no differentiations. . . .

Much too often we hear it said here or outside these walls: What do these colonials finally want? They set up perpetual demands. What do they wish? If they make demands it is perhaps because we have promised them too much and have given them too much. . . .

We have the right to say with a completely free spirit that obviously all is not perfect and that all has not been done. This is human. Above all do not consider us to be inconsistent, a class of infants who talk irresponsibly about these matters. Too often one has the attitude when speaking of overseas natives of considering them a little emotional, but also as a bit infantile in their thinking. The speeches that we make from this podium are not solely the expression of an elite among us. Believe me, they are the expression of the thinking of our peoples. . . .

I had the very great honor in January 1946 of being among the delegates of France to the Assembly of the United Nations. In the name of France and in accord with her government I made similar speeches before 51 nations. The government ap-

proved those speeches. When there was a question of defining the situation of the overseas peoples in the French family, in the French community, when certain foreign nations intimated that the peoples of the overseas territories wish to leave that community because the French Republic apparently did not wish to promote their political and social evolution, I replied in the name of France: "No! The tradition of France has always been one of not distinguishing among men according to their race, creed, or color." She makes no distinction among men according to the latitude in which they were born. She distinguishes among them solely according to their merits and according to what they are able to contribute to human progress!

We know full well that there are men, even Frenchmen, in the overseas territory who do not remain faithful to that French tradition. But we would be the last to say that all France is like them. . . .

Instead of thinking of leaving France, of separating from her, [the overseas French] have no other desire than to enter more quickly into the French community, to be full citizens, because they know that the more quickly they do this the more they are working for humanity.

Colonization . . . may be considered from a certain angle as work which has grandeur in the sense that certain nations having the sense of colonization are permitted to give a fraternal hand to other peoples. . . . It also has from another angle what one may call the burden of the colonizer, that is to say obligations.

We do not speak here solely of rights but also of duties. All the preceding speakers have noted . . . that the overseas peoples never escape from their duties, whatever they might be. . . .

Do the examples offered you by the territories represented by natives seem so bad that you fear for the future? Is the example given us by Africa and the old colonies such that you fear that the future representatives of these territories may chase out the French and European who live there? . . .

The process of colonization is ended. No one supports colonization any longer . . . Make something new. Do not patch up. To make a French Union means to show the overseas population that you want to act with courage and loyalty.

The democrats of 1848 showed that they had faith in the men they liberated. They were not

deceived. Let the democrats of 1946 show the same faith in the perfectibility of man . . .

Source: Monnerville, Gaston C. F. Speech in the National Constituent Assembly, 2d Session, September 18, 1946, *Journal Officiel des Débats de l'Assemblée Constituante* (1946).

Proclamation of the Algerian National Front, National Liberation Front (November 1954)

From 1830 through 1962, the French ruled over Algeria. The colony's proximity to France and the Mediterranean climate of its coastal regions enticed colonists from France and other southern European countries. By the early 1950s, these colonists represented about one-tenth of Algeria's 10-million-strong population. Although a small minority, they owned most of the fertile land and industry and utterly dominated the colonial government. Native Algerians were treated as second-class citizens in their own land. After years of political agitation, Algerian nationalists formed the National Liberation Front (FLN, its French acronym) and launched military operations against the French in 1954. This initial proclamation makes clear the central demand of the FLN: total independence for Algeria.

After decades of struggle, the National Movement has reached its final phase of fulfilment. At home, the people are united behind the watchwords of independence and action. Abroad, the atmosphere is favourable, especially with the diplomatic support of our Arab and Moslem brothers. Our National Movement, prostrated by years of immobility and routine, badly directed was disintegrating little by little. Faced with this situation, a youthful group, gathering about it the majority of wholesome and resolute elements, judged that the moment had come to take the National Movement out of the impasse into which it had been forced by the conflicts of persons and of influence and to launch it into the true revolutionary struggle at the side of the Moroccan and Tunisian brothers. We are independent of the two factions that are vying for power. Our movement gives to compatriots of every social position, to all the purely Algerian parties and movements, the possibility of joining in the liberation struggle.

GOAL. National independence through:

1) the restoration of the Algerian state, sovereign, democratic, and social, within the framework of the principles of Islam;

2) the preservation of a fundamental freedoms, without distinction of race or religion.

INTERNAL Objective Political house-cleaning through the destruction of the last vestiges of corruption and reformism

EXTERNAL Objectives:

1) The internationalization of the Algerian problem;

2) The pursuit of North African unity in its national Arabo-Islamic context;

3) The assertion, through United Nations channels, of our active sympathy toward all nations that may support our liberating action.

MEANS OF STRUGGLE: Struggle by every means until our goal is attained. Exertion at home and abroad through political and direct action, with a view to making the Algerian problem a reality for the entire world. The struggle will be long, but the outcome is certain. To limit the bloodshed, we propose an honourable platform for discussion with the French authorities:

1. The opening of negotiations with the authorized spokesmen the Algerian people, on the basis of a recognition of Algerian sovereignty, one and indivisible.

2. The inception of an atmosphere of confidence brought about freeing all those who are detained, by annulling all measures exception, and by ending all legal action against the combatant forces.

3. The recognition of Algerian nationhood by an official declaration abrogating all edicts, decrees, and laws by virtue of which Algeria was "French soil."

In return for which:

1. French cultural and economic interests will be respected, as well as persons and families.

2. All French citizens desiring to remain in Algeria will be allowed to opt for their original nationality, in which case they will be considered as foreigners, or for Algerian nationality, in which case they will be considered as Algerians, equal both as to rights and as to duties.

3. The ties between France and Algeria will be the object of agreement between the two Powers on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Algerians: The F.L.N. is your front; its victory is your victory. For our part, strong in your support, we shall give the best of ourselves to the Fatherland.

Source: www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1078/1november.html.

Loi-Cadre (June 23, 1956)

The 1956 Loi-Cadre laid the foundation for the French Community. Like the British, with their Commonwealth, the French hoped to retain a say in the affairs of their former colonies in Asia and Africa after independence. Even more than the Commonwealth, the French Community, which replaced the French Union of 1946, was a more centralized association. While the colonies would govern themselves, Paris would retain control over collective foreign policy, defense, economic and financial policy, policy on strategic raw materials, supervision of courts, higher education, and communications. As it was seen by former colonies as a continuation of imperial rule in another guise, the French Community has become largely defunct, though it has never been formally abolished.

Authorizing the French Government to Carry out the Reforms and Take the Measures Calculated to Ensure the Development of the Territories under the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of France Overseas

Article First. Without prejudice to the expected reform of Title VIII of the Constitution, in order to give the overseas peoples a more direct share in the management of their own interests, measures of administrative decentralization and devolution shall be introduced within the territories, groups of territories and central services under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of France Overseas.

To this end, decrees taken . . . on the basis of the report given by the Minister of France Overseas and, on occasion, by the Ministers concerned, may:

1) Modify the role and powers of administration and management of the general governments with a view to transforming them into coordinating bodies, and modify the composition and attributes of the grand councils and of the representative assembly of Madagascar;

2) Institute government councils in all the territories and in addition, in Madagascar, provincial councils charged, in particular, with administering the territorial services;

3) Grant broadened deliberative powers, notably for the organization and management of the territorial services, to the assemblies of the territories as well as to the representative assembly and provincial assemblies of Madagascar, regarding the exercise of their attributes, which shall be defined in tile decrees to be introduced, and when the decrees taken in pursuance of the present article shall authorize them to do so, the assemblies may abrogate or modify any regulatory text governing matters which fall under said attributes;

4) Determine the conditions of the institution and functioning, as well as the attributes of the councils in the administrative circumscriptions and rural communities, and the modalities of granting legal status to these circumscriptions, without this impeding in any way the establishment of new municipalities.

The decrees taken in pursuance of the present article may modify, abrogate or revive in the form of regulations existing legislative provisions . . .

Article 3. The Government may, by decree taken in the Council of Ministers on the basis of the report given by the Minister of France Overseas and, on occasion, by the Ministers concerned, and after consultation with the Council of State, inaugurate a reform of the public services charged with managing the interests of the State and, on the other hand, the territorial services charged with managing the interests of the territories, as well as the division of attributes between those services. The purpose of this reform shall be:

On the one hand, to facilitate the access of native-born civil servants to all ranks in the administration;

On the other hand, to institute independent regulations pertaining to the civil service overseas, as far as the territorial services are concerned. . . .

Article 4. The Government may, in the manner stipulated in Article 3 above, without interfering in any way with Law No. 46—860 of April 30, 1946 and the legislative provisions referring to it, take all measures intended to raise the standard of living in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of France Overseas, to promote economic development and social progress and to facilitate

economic and financial cooperation between Metropolitan France and those territories, especially:

By generalizing and standardizing education;

By organizing and supporting the production of goods necessary to the economic equilibrium of the territories and to the needs of the franc area;

By inaugurating modern methods of rural development and establishing a cadastral plan in which the customary rights of the autochthones will be respected;

By setting up and enforcing the registration of births, marriages and deaths;

By setting up suitable structures in the field of credit and savings;

By effecting all modifications, in matters of financial law and regulations, calculated to promote private investment overseas, without derogating in any way from the prerogatives of the territorial assemblies;

By taking all measures calculated to ensure a successful social program,

The Government must make all useful arrangements to ensure on a permanent basis and at the level of the presidency of the council the coordination of economic and financial measures concerning the Metropolitan Overseas complex . . .

Article 10. In the territories under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of France Overseas, elections to the National Assembly, to the territorial assemblies, to the provincial assemblies of Madagascar, to the circumscription councils and to the municipal assemblies shall be held on the basis of universal suffrage of citizens of both sexes, without regard to their personal status, who are twenty-one years of age or over, who are regularly inscribed on the election rolls and who are not disqualified for any reason stipulated by law . . .

Article 12. The election of members of the National Assembly, members of the Council of the Republic, members of the territorial assemblies, members of the representative assembly and the provincial assemblies of Madagascar, of the circumscription councils, and also members of the municipal assemblies of the fully organized communes, the semi-organized communes and the mixed communes shall be by a single electoral college.

Source: Loi-Cadre, 1956, English translation provided by the French Press and Information Service, New York.

Charles de Gaulle: Speech at Constantine, Algeria (October 3, 1958)

In 1954, the National Liberation Front (FLN, its French acronym) of Algeria launched its eight-year war for national independence. Four years later, the Fourth Republic of France collapsed over its inability to end the war and reconcile the interests of French colonists, or colons, and native Algerians, bringing World War II leader Charles de Gaulle to the helm of the French state with a mandate to end the war. Within a few months, de Gaulle made his landmark speech at Constantine, French Algeria, offering self-determination to Algerians. But the unwillingness of the colons to share power prolonged the war another four years, resulting in the victory of the FLN and the flight of the nearly one million colons.

Last Sunday, three and a half million men and women of Algeria, without distinction of community, in complete equality, gave France and myself their vote of confidence. They did this quite simply without any constraint and in spite of the threats that certain fanatics brought to bear against them, their families and their property. This is a fact, as clear as the bright light of day. And this fact is fundamental not only because it mutually and forever pledges, one to the other, Algeria and France, but also because it ties in with what happened that same day in Metropolitan France, in the Overseas Departments, in the Territories of the Community.

The least that can be said of this great demonstration is that the French people proved to themselves and to the entire world their determination for renovation, and that, at the same time, a hundred million men decided to build their future together in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

With regard to Algeria, what is the future to which France is calling her? Women and men of Algeria, I have come here to tell you what it is.

What must be achieved is the basic transformation of this country, so brave, so alive, but also so full of difficulties and suffering. This means that it is necessary for the living conditions of each man and woman to improve from day to day. This means that, for the benefit of the inhabitants, the resources of the earth and the ability of the elites must be brought to light and developed. This means that children must be taught. This means

that all Algeria must have her share in what modern civilization can and must bring to men in terms of well-being and dignity.

But the loftiest plans call for practical measures. Here are the measures that my Government intends to take in the near future covering the next five years by virtue of the full powers that the new Constitution has just conferred upon it.

During these five years, of the young people in Metropolitan France—yes, I say in Metropolitan France—that enter the service of the State, in the Administration, in the Army, in education and in the public services, at least a tenth of these young people must be recruited from the Arab, the Kabyle and Mozabite communities, and that without prejudice to an increased proportion of Algerians serving in Algeria.

In the course of these five years, salaries and wages in Algeria will be raised to a level comparable to what they are in Metropolitan France.

Before the end of these five years, 250,000 hectares [617,500 acres] of new land will be allotted to Moslem farmers.

Before the end of these five years, the first phase of the plan for the agricultural and industrial development of Algeria will be brought to its conclusion. This phase includes, in particular, the delivery and the distribution of the oil and gas of the Sahara, the setting up, on this soil, of great metallurgical and chemical complexes, the construction of housing for a million people, the corresponding development of health services, of roads, ports, means of communication—in short, the regular employment of 400,000 new workers.

Gradually in the course of these five years, two-thirds of the girls and boys will be enrolled in school and, during the three years after that, complete school enrollment of all Algerian youth will be achieved.

During these five years, the human contact that has been made especially by the French Army—by its career officers, its reserve officers, its fighting men, its young conscripts—will be continued and developed and, in Metropolitan France, the same must be true, in Paris and in our provinces.

What will be the political consequences of this evolution which calls for very extensive and prolonged efforts? I believe it is quite useless to freeze in advance, in words, that which, in any event, is going to take shape, little by little, as it is under-

taken. But, in any case, two things are certain as of now: the first concerns the present.

In two months, Algeria will elect her representatives under the same conditions as will Metropolitan France. But at least two thirds of her representatives will have to be Moslem citizens.

The other refers to the future. The future of Algeria will in any event—because that is the nature of things—be built on a double foundation: her personality and her close solidarity with Metropolitan France.

In any case, it is absolutely essential that this fruitful transformation be accomplished. This is necessary for the good of the men of Algeria, for the good of the women, for the good of the children who live here; but it is also necessary for the honor of mankind. It is necessary for the peace of the world. For no one has any interest in the stagnation of a people, except the kind of people, who, to serve their ambitions, gamble on the spirit of revolt and the poverty of others.

This transformation, this immense political, economic, social and cultural task—who could effect this transformation, if not France?

Now it happens that France has the will and the means to do so. It also happens that the vote of the Algerians has just proved that they desire this transformation and that it should be carried out with France.

Therefore, turning toward those who are prolonging a fratricidal conflict, who are organizing lamentable attacks in Metropolitan France, or who are spreading through the chancelleries, through underground dens, by means of the radios and the newspapers of certain foreign capitals—vilifications of France, to those I say: Why kill? We must enable people to live. Why destroy? Our duty is to build. Why hate? We must cooperate.

Stop this absurd fighting and you will at once see a new blossoming of hope over all the land of Algeria. You will see the prisons emptying; you will see the opening up of a future big enough for everybody, and for you yourselves in particular. And then, speaking to those States which are throwing oil on the fire here while their unhappy peoples writhe under dictatorships, I say: Could you do what France is in a position to do here, what only France is capable of doing? Could you people do it? No. Then let France carry on, unless you deliberately decide to envenom the conflict in

order to distract attention from your own difficulties. But in the present state of the world, where can these bitter incitements lead if not to a universal cataclysm? Only two paths lie open to the human race today: war or brotherhood. In Algeria as everywhere, France, for her part, has chosen brotherhood.

Long live the Republic! Long live Algeria and long live France!

Source: De Gaulle, Charles. Speech at Constantine, October 3, 1958. Information Service of the French Embassy, New York.

Ferhat Abbas Proclaims the Historical Phenomenon of Decolonization While Demanding Algerian Independence (1960)

On November 1, 1954, the National Liberation Front of Algeria (FLN) launched its military campaign for national independence from French colonizers. But the FLN was also engaged in a war of ideas and words. While Paris claimed that it had built a modern economy in Algeria, Ferhat Abbas, premier of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic established by the FLN in neighboring Tunisia, claimed that few of its benefits filtered down to native Algerian Muslims, who represented 90 percent of the colony's population. The other 10 percent consisted of French and European settlers, or colons, whose presence was a major reason the French proved unwilling to give in to Algerian demands for independence.

People of Algeria,

Tomorrow, November 1, 1960, the war in Algeria will enter its seventh year. The fight for liberty and independence will continue with its inevitable wake of suffering and sacrifice.

A great deal has been said and written about the war in Algeria. Never will its unjust nature, its horrors, its crimes be sufficiently denounced. With this war of colonial reconquest, designed to perpetuate French domination over an Arab and African country, imperialism has plundered, wrought terror and famine its principal arms in the attempt to bring our people to their knees.

When history takes stock of the atrocities committed by the French army during the six years of

war, the French people and the civilized world will be astounded. They will know the exact nature and the monstrous price of "pacification."

The truth of the matter is that beginning with the slaughter of the El-Ouafia tribe by General de Rovigo in 1832, from the smoking-out operations in the Dahra, ordered by Bugeaud and executed by Pelissier, until the use of torture, "crimes of escape," "wood-chopping details," the napalm bombardments commanded by the Massu's and the Salan's, colonialism has maintained the same face. Its language may vary. Neither its methods nor its aspect change.

The colonial regime is the very negation of justice and law. It is useless to think that what was usurped by force can be restored other than by force. Imperialism has never given liberty to its victims as a gift. As I have said, independence is not offered, it is obtained by force.

The Algerian problem was only imposed upon the colonialists the day the Army of National Liberation imposed itself on the adversary. Who would dare deny this?

The single electoral body, the alleged equality of Algerians before the law, the supposed advancement of Arab mayors and "elected officials," the formal recognition of the right of the Algerian people to self-determination were all envisaged only because our people took up arms, and also with the ulterior motive of diverting us from our primary objective which is independence.

I spoke of self-determination. There is need to reiterate that the declaration of September 16, 1959 could have constituted the basis for a peaceful solution of the conflict. 1960 could have been the year of peace.

In this respect, it is fitting to sum up the situation and to establish the responsibilities.

As concerns the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, no efforts have been spared to reach a just and peaceful solution. Following our reply to the September 16th speech, I went to see His Majesty Mohammed V. We had occasion to make it known that we were ready to send a delegation to Paris provided that the meeting was prepared through diplomatic channels and not by public statements subject to varying interpretations. This mission failed.

On November 20, 1959 we publicly named our negotiators to discuss the guarantees and condi-

tions of the implementation of self-determination. Our imprisoned brothers were not found acceptable on the pretext that they were in prison and out of the fight. But the entire Algerian people is imprisoned. No one is free in Algeria. It is precisely in order to free our people that negotiation is called for. And what better negotiators could we have named than those who were among the first to enter the fight?

Once again, after the uprising of the ultras on January 24, we had a request put to the President of the French Republic, in February, to determine whether he was prepared to receive one of our emissaries carrying a personal message which I proposed to send to him.

We met with a third refusal, even more meaningful than its predecessors, because in reply to our offers of a secret meeting we were answered by the bellicose speeches to the French army in the field (*discours des popotes*) of March, 1960.

A fourth refusal awaited us:

Following General de Gaulle's declaration of June 14, we felt that the tone of the French Chief of State had changed and that there was something more serious to his invitation. So despite all that separated his position from ours, we decided to embark on a "goodwill operation," in the belief that the human contact would produce better results than public statements.

But at Melun, the French Government made it clear to our emissaries that, for it, negotiation meant out and out surrender. It therefore put an end, once and for all, to a negotiated settlement of the conflict.

The capitulation which the French Government attempts in vain to obtain through alleged negotiations on a cease-fire is madness. We only took up arms as a last resort, when all peaceful means were found to be unworkable. We are not going to lay them down on the basis of vague promises of a self-determination whose implementation is entrusted to an army, an administration and a police which condemns the very principle of self-determination. That would be to betray our dead, our martyrs and our flag. It would mean condemning our country to a neo-colonialism as pernicious as the former.

Those who are counting on our defeat and those who speculate on our lassitude are making a mistake. To be or not to be, to live as an African

people, free and independent, or to remain a multitude of slaves—confronted with this alternative, our choice is clear.

The juridical quibbling of the imperialists and the threat of genocide, which a French army in search of prestige hangs over the heads of our people, will not win out over our will, our obstinate will to assert ourselves as Algerians, as people of the Maghreb and to make Algeria a free and independent country like the other countries of Africa.

During the period when Robert Lacoste became the spokesman for the fascist generals and the ultras, he said in Oran that he only needed to reinstate the "scorched earth" strategy used by his compatriot from Perigord, Bugeaud, in order to triumph over our revolution.

There is no doubt that such methods are criminal and inhuman because they strike the innocent civilian population primarily. But colonial criminality is no longer sufficient for its own survival. It finished by triumphing over our ancestors because they were isolated. From 1830 to 1871 they fought ceaselessly, but they momentarily succumbed because they were alone for forty years against a rich nation and one of the biggest armies in the world.

Today, the circumstances of our struggle have changed. While French imperialism is increasingly disapproved of and isolated, we receive messages of sympathy and tangible proofs of active solidarity from all over the world.

As dawn breaks on the seventh year of war, the international juncture is not unfavorable to us. At the United Nations, the Algerian question is posed in clearer terms this year. We hope that this international body will finally assume its responsibilities.

The various trips of governmental delegations to China, to the Soviet Union have been crowned with success. Our Government has been recognized by the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This recognition will have wide repercussions. The support of the socialist camp is henceforth behind us. This is a source of satisfaction to us and we willingly leave to certain Westerners the hypocritical waving of the banner of anti-communism.

Our Arab brothers stand beside us and assure us of their support.

The era of colonization is over. This year, rightly called the African Year, has seen 15 brother countries make their entry into the family of nations.

This historical phenomenon of de-colonization and of the achievement of an authentic national life is irresistible. It is the result of a long battle to which the Algerian people is conscious of having greatly contributed.

Our African brothers know that in the Algerian war, French imperialism wants to impose a myth, while the Algerian people are defending a reality. The Algerian people, which is an African people, is fighting for its freedom and its independence. We are convinced that whatever happens, the African peoples who have waged the same battle will continue to show their solidarity for our cause.

Public opinion in Europe and in South America is more and more sensitive to the struggle of the Algerian people. All those who have fought for freedom identify our struggle with theirs. Even in France, the French people, more and more conscious of their responsibilities, denounce the war of colonial reconquest and vigorously demand peace in Algeria. We salute that French youth, those workers, intellectuals and all those fighting against the continuation of the war in our country.

Everywhere in the world the forces of peace are regrouping themselves.

These are comforting realities. But more than anything else, the unity and the vigilance of our people and the combativeness and the valor of our Army of National Liberation remain the unflinching armor against which the colonialist conspiracies and the hate of certain French soldiers will be shattered.

The Algerian combatants have well merited their home and country. Their courage, their heroism, their abnegation have become legendary. They call forth the world's admiration.

People of Algeria,

Despite all these favorable and encouraging factors, our task still remains difficult. Our responsibilities are heavy. Our adversary has not exhausted his reserve of ruses and manoeuvres. Equivocations and ambiguities are, in his hands, formidable weapons. To the weight of an army of

more than 800,000 men which does not recoil before any means to attempt to humiliate and destroy us, must be added the promises that the French Government knows full well it cannot keep.

Let us speak frankly. Self-determination presupposes a free referendum. This freedom would be illusory if the French army controlled and organized the consultation by terrorizing the population.

Free choice signifies the freedom to determine one's own destiny and not the limitation of that choice to the furthering of a chopped-up Algerian State, deprived of most of its essential attributes, partitioned into several groupings, with its Saharan sector amputated, as General de Gaulle's "Algerian Algeria" would have it.

The Algeria for which the people are fighting is an independent and fully sovereign Algeria. This means an Algeria where all the inhabitants will enjoy fully and completely their rights as citizens without regard to their origins.

Have those who, by puerile camouflages, still attempt to have prevail the false solution of an imposed status learned nothing then? Have they already forgotten the smarting failure of the Bao Dai experience, when they wanted to impose an executive against the Vietnamese people?

The war in Algeria is a fight for freedom. The Algerian people which has suffered colonial domination for more than 130 years, which has shed its blood generously for the last six years, is conscious of the price of its struggle. It is aware of the occult forces which lust after the riches of its soil. The policy of the lie and of dupery will no longer affect it. All the Algerian people, men and women, children and old people, are aware of colonial realities.

And so the people will continue their struggle until victory, that is, until the liberation of Algeria and the construction of the Arab Maghreb.

LONG LIVE THE ALGERIAN REPUBLIC,
LONG LIVE ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Source: National Liberation Front, Algerian Office, New York, 1960.

GERMAN EMPIRE

Otto von Bismarck: Speech to the Reichstag on German Colonial Policy (June 26, 1884)

More than any other individual, Otto von Bismarck was responsible for the unification of the German Reich in the 1870s. Unlike many of his fellow German nationalists, Bismarck was highly skeptical of the colonial enterprise, seeing it as a waste of resources. By the 1880s, however, the “iron chancellor” had come around to support the idea of a German Empire, as this official summary of his June 26, 1884, speech to the Reichstag, or German parliament, indicates.

On the question of the relationship between the steamship proposals and overseas policies, the Reich Chancellor had the following to say:

He has himself expressed earlier, and still retains, the view that it would not be right for us to occupy tracts of land where we have no interests, merely to stimulate artificially German emigration, have the area controlled by German officials, and erect garrisons there. We do not possess properly trained officials for this purpose; that would be too expensive for us and would tax our navy too much. Moreover, our navy has been limited through our small expansion and a resultant weak seagoing population, whose low wages have impelled many of them to seek service with the English and Americans. It is something else again to place under the protection of the German Reich the free settlements of citizens of the Reich in areas which are not under the recognized sovereignty of other nations. The Chancellor holds it to

be a duty of the Reich to place under her protection such settlements overseas by citizens of the Reich, not only their factories but also the territory acquired by them. Even here the usefulness of the procedure cannot be predicted on the theoretical basis, but one can await the experiences of other nations in this respect.

Source: Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung 43 (1884).

Charter of Protection Granted by William II to the German Colonization Society (February 17, 1885)

Often, in the course of imperial expansion, it was private interests that led the way, forcing governments to respond. Such was the case with Carl Peters and his German East African Company. In 1884, Peters and the company signed numerous treaties with chiefs in East Africa. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, at first opposed to the venture, was soon forced to advise Kaiser William II to provide a Charter of Protection, thereby setting Germany on course toward its colonial empire in what is now Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Southwest Africa (now Namibia), and a number of Pacific islands.

His Majesty the Emperor has been graciously pleased to address the following Imperial “Charter of Protection” to the Society for German Colonization for their territorial acquisitions in East Africa:—

“We, William, by the Grace of God, German Emperor, King of Prussia, make known and ordain as follows:—

The present Presidents of the Society for German Colonization, Dr. Carl Peters, and our Chamberlain Felix, Count Behr-Bandelin, having sought our protection for the territorial acquisitions of the Society in East Africa, west of the Empire of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and outside of the suzerainty of other Powers, and the Treaties lately concluded by the said Dr. Carl Peters with the Rulers of Usagara, Nguru, Useguha, and Ukami in November and December last, by which these territories have been ceded to him for the German Colonial Society with sovereign rights over the same, having been laid before us, with the Petition to place these territories under our suzerainty, we hereby declare that we have accepted the suzerainty, and have placed under our Imperial protection the territories in question, reserving to ourselves a right of deciding hereafter respecting any further acquisitions in the same district which may be proved to have been obtained by legal contract by the Society or by their legitimate successors.

We grant unto the said Society, on the condition that it remains German, and that the members of the Board of Directors or other persons entrusted with its management are subjects of the German Empire, as well as to the legitimate successors of this Society under the same conditions, the authority to exercise all rights arising from the Treaties submitted to us, including that of jurisdiction over both the natives and the subjects of Germany and of other nations established in those territories, or sojourning there for commercial or other purposes, under the superintendence of our Government, subject to further regulations to be issued by us, and supplementary additions to this, our Charter of Protection.

In witness whereof we have with our Royal hand executed this Charter of Protection, and have caused it to be sealed with our Imperial seal.

Given at Berlin the 17th February, 1885.

v. Bismarck

Hertslet, Edward. *Map of Africa by Treaty*. 3d ed. London, 1909, 2: 303–304.

Program of the Pan-German League (1890–1898)

The Pan-German philosophy had several components, including the call for the unification of all

German-speaking peoples of Europe within a single German state and the establishment of colonies outside of Europe for the settlement of German peoples overseas. In this series of documents of the Pan-German League—the main organization promoting this philosophy—the writers argue that Germany must become more aggressive vis-à-vis other European states—most notably, England—or lose out in the European scramble for empire.

Germany Awake!

(Newspaper Advertisement), June 24, 1890:

The diplomacy of the English works swiftly and secretly. What they created burst in the face of the astonished world on June 18th like a bomb—the German-English African Treaty. With one stroke of the pen—the hope of a great German colonial empire was ruined! Shall this treaty really be? No, no and again no! The German people must arise as one and declare that this treaty is unacceptable! . . . The treaty with England harms our interests and wounds our honor; this time it *dares* not become a reality! We are ready at the call of our Kaiser to step into the ranks and allow ourselves dumbly and obediently to be led against the enemy's shots, but we may also demand in exchange that the reward come to us which is worth the sacrifice, and this reward is: that we shall be a conquering people which takes its portion of the world itself! Deutschland wach auf!

Letter of Dr. Hugenberg, August 1, 1890

There are also still larger territories—one need only think of Central Sudan, the natural hinterland of the Cameroons, the fate of which has not as yet been settled by any treaty. He who seizes these territories quickest and holds fast the most tenaciously will possess them. Does not *everything*, and especially the slowness with which the German government moves to assert itself in colonial affairs, point to the fact that our fatherland, be it from one side or the other, will not be spared a new war if it wishes only to maintain the position which it won in 1870? The official memoir which has just appeared concerning the motives of the Anglo-German treaty, leaves no doubt but that a certain indifference to colonial expansion exists in official places. In a tone of contempt it has been said that “the period of hissing the flag and shooting at the treaty must now be ended!” Similar reverses can be prevented in the future only if for-

eign countries deal with a sensitive German nationalism!

Policies of the Pan-German League, 1898:

2. Laying of a cable from Kiachow [China] to Port Arthur [Dairen, in Manchuria], with connection with the Russian-Siberian cable.

3. Strengthening of the German foothold in Kiaochow.

4. German coaling and cable stations in the Red Sea, the West Indies, and near Singapore.

5. Complete possession of Samoa.

6. More subsidized German steamship lines to Kiaochow and Korea.

7. Understanding with France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands about the laying of an independent cable from West Africa through the Congo to German East Africa, Madagascar, Batavia, and Tongkin to Kiaochow.

8. Development of harbor of Swakopmund [in German Southwest Africa] and railroads to Windhoek [the capital of the territory].

9. Securing of concessions for commerce and industry in Asia Minor . . .

22. Increase in the number of German consulates in the Levant, Far East, South Africa, Central & South America . . .

Source: Mildred S. Wertheimer, ed. *The Pan-German League*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1923.

Chancellor von Hohenlohe Advises William II to Take His Share of China (1895)

During the latter years of the nineteenth century, various European powers and Japan began partitioning China into "spheres of influence," areas of the Asian nation where they would enjoy special commercial and legal privileges. In this 1895 communiqué, Chancellor Prince von Hohenlohe lays out German interests in China to Kaiser William II. In the original version of the note, the Kaiser offers comments that indicate his overall agreement with his chancellor's opinions.

Berlin, March 19, 1895

. . . Conformable to the previous decision of Your Majesty, our attitude hitherto was one of strict neutrality. Even before it came to real hostilities Your Majesty's representatives in Peking and

Tokyo were empowered to join in the common efforts of the other Great Powers for the peaceful settlement of differences, and later after the outbreak of hostilities we declared ourselves ready to cooperate in common measures of the Powers insofar as these were restricted to the protection of persons and property.

On the other hand, the repeated requests from England and also from China that we participate in intervention were rejected on the ground that such a step seemed premature.

The following were the essential considerations: England and Russia are especially interested in the development of things in the Far East to the extent that the former would like to see China maintained as far as possible unweakened as a buffer state to protect India against the advance of Russia and the latter does not wish to see its possible claims upon Korea, or at least upon portions of that country, prejudiced by further Japanese progress. But Germany, for the present at any rate, has not at stake any interests of like importance in Eastern Asia. German commerce especially has not suffered noticeably under war conditions. On the contrary, our manufacturers, merchants, and ship owners have had a good opportunity to make profit by supplying and transporting war materials. With our participation in the intervention undertaken by England and Russia merely for the restoration of peace, we would serve the interests of those States and indeed probably with considerable sacrifice for us, for it is obvious that against a victorious Japan only an armed intervention or at least the display of preponderant forces upon the theater of war would offer prospect of success.

It already follows from these considerations that our attitude would be altered if there were a prospect of special advantages as compensation for the sacrifices on our part. And indeed the gaining of several places on the Chinese coast might be considered as such an advantage of first rate importance, which could serve as points of support for the navy and for our commerce, a need which has already been felt for some decades.

Naturally it cannot be the affair of Germany, relatively the least directly interested, to come forward with claims of this sort and thereby give a signal to a certain extent for the first partition of the Chinese Empire. Rather we should have to

wait until other powers set about to realize similar purposes.

Whether or not it comes to this will depend on the peace negotiations. Japan holds back for the time being the conditions which it will set up and appears to be willing to reveal its final demands only gradually. There are in the meantime indications that these will be very hard for China. The Japanese Ambassador here spoke a few days ago in strictest confidence and with the request for secrecy of an exchange of views between the Russians and his Government at the end of last month whereby Japan would acquiesce in the Russian demand for the complete independence of Korea and in return Russia will accord its benevolent support in the peace negotiations in the sense of procuring war indemnity, surrender of territory, and new regulations of commercial relations between Japan and China. In harmony with this is the fact that according to the announcement of Your Majesty's Ambassador in London, Russia and England have agreed that the independence of Korea is to be maintained.

Mr. Aoki added the confidential communication that Japanese military men consider the cession of Port Arthur with a part of the hinterland as indispensable while in their eyes the surrender of an island, for example Formosa, would be only of lesser significance.

Now, in my opinion, Port Arthur in Japanese hands would signify the domination of the Gulf of Chili and hence a standing menace to the Chinese capital. It may be assumed therefore that the Chinese will resist such a cession to the utmost.

To be sure, China's position in a military way is almost hopeless. Your Majesty's minister in Peking answered to questions sent by telegraph to the effect that he did not believe that the Chinese forces could hold the enemy back from Peking; that the capture of the capital would not necessarily result in the dissolution of the existing political order; but that nevertheless Le-Hung-Chang considers the withdrawal of the Court from Peking as no longer possible. On the other hand, Baron von Gutschmid telegraphs from Tokyo that Japan can continue the war till next winter without fearing exhaustion of man power, financial means or materials of war. Moreover, that the war enthusiasm of the Japanese nation was undiminished.

Likewise, it seems not impossible that the disposition which has thus far prevailed among Chinese statesmen to deceive themselves regarding the true situation reaches even to the extent of renewing the unequal struggle if Japan will not drop its demand regarding Port Arthur and be satisfied possibly with Formosa.

In this case it might indeed come to an intervention of the powers in spite of existing differences of interests among them and so precipitate for us as well the Chinese question.

In this situation it follows in my humble opinion as a criterion of our policy that on the one hand we must avoid allowing ourselves to be drawn prematurely into action to serve primarily foreign interests, but on the other hand we must hold open to ourselves the participation in such undertakings as could lead to dislocations in the relative strength of the great European powers in Eastern Asia.

I ask Your Majesty, accordingly, to authorize me to direct the Imperial Ambassador in London, who is for the time being generally informed regarding the above-mentioned viewpoint, to give the Government there to understand at this time orally and without committing ourselves that Your Majesty's Government is not essentially opposed to the idea of a common intervention, and indeed would not hesitate, in the face of essential alterations in the situation in Eastern Asia, to take an emphatic stand for German interests.

England seems urgently to desire our participation to have at least a counterweight against France and Russia, judging from the utterances thus far of the statesmen there, and will undoubtedly meet our wishes to a certain extent at any rate.

What and how much we shall ask for our cooperation can scarcely at this time be determined and will depend among other things upon what the other powers claim. In this connection there is the statement of the English Ambassador, Sir F. Lascelles, at Petersburg, and reported by Your Majesty's Ambassador there, indicating that England would have no objections to Russia's annexing a part of Northern China on account of her railway and perhaps a harbor in Korea. What England would take for herself is not known. Past experience suggests among other possibilities the Island of Chusan opposite Ningpo, which was once occupied by her.

In the meantime I have asked the Secretary of State for the Imperial Navy for a statement as to which points in Eastern Asia might perhaps be desirable for Germany in the interest of her Navy. I still await this statement.

In this connection, the Island of Formosa could hardly be considered. Among other things, Baron von Richthofen, the Professor at the University here and a distinguished authority on China, warns against the acquisition of this place. So far as is known, it has no harbors suitable for large vessels; on account of its relatively dense and wild population it is unsuited for colonization; and on account of its extent it is hard to defend. An effort to secure Formosa would bring us into conflict not only with Japan but probably also with France who has herself asserted claims to it since 1885. On the other hand, it would not be disadvantageous to us if Japan with England's and Russia's support would make claims to Formosa because in that way France would be brought into a certain opposition to Russia.

Finally, as regards the Chinese Emperor's telegram mentioned at the beginning, I humbly ask permission to say to the Chinese envoy that Your Majesty has taken cognizance thereof and authorized him to report to his Imperial Master that Your Majesty has the most complete sympathy with his and his Empire's hard lot and also that Your Majesty's most fervent wishes are directed to the early success of the approaching peace negotiations. Your Majesty is ready and glad to have renewed expression of these wishes given to the Japanese Government.

Prince v. Hohenlohe

Source: *German Diplomatic Documents, 1871–1914*, selected and translated by E. T. S. Dugdale, vol. 3, *The Growing Antagonism, 1898–1910*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920.

Kaiser Wilhelm II on the Boxer Rebellion (July 2, 1900)

While mainland China was never formally colonized by Europeans, it was increasingly divided into "spheres of influence" by various European powers and Japan in the late nineteenth century. In these spheres, including that controlled by Germany in northeast China, centered on the Shandong

province, European colonizers enjoyed special economic privileges and virtual immunity from Chinese laws. This created great resentment among many Chinese. In 1900, a secret organization, the Society of Righteous Fists (called Boxers in the West), rose up in violent protest, killing many westerners and besieging many more in their colonial enclaves. A multinational force was sent to lift the siege. The following are excerpts from three different speeches given by Kaiser Wilhelm II to German troops leaving for China.

Into the midst of the deepest peace—alas, not surprising to me—the torch of war has been hurled. A crime unprecedented in its brazenness, horrifying in its cruelty, has struck my trusted representative and carried him off. The ambassadors of the other powers are in danger of their lives and along with them your comrades who were dispatched for their protection. Perhaps, they have today fought their last battle. The German flag has been insulted, and the German Empire held up to scorn. This demands an exemplary punishment and revenge.

With fearful speed the conditions have become extremely serious. Since I have summoned you to arms, [the situation has become] still more serious. What I had hoped to restore with the help of the marines will now require the united contingents of troops from all the civilized nations. Today the chief of the cruiser squadron has implored me to consider sending an [entire] division.

You will oppose an enemy no less resolute in the face of death than yourselves. Trained by European officers, the Chinese have learned the use of European weapons. Thank God your comrades in the marines and in my navy, with whom you will join, have asserted and maintained the old German repute in combat; they have defended themselves with glory and victory and eased your task.

Thus I send you now to avenge injustice, and I shall not rest until the German flag, united with those of the other powers, waves victoriously over the Chinese, planted on the walls of Peking, and dictating peace to the Chinese.

Maintain a good comradeship with all the troops whom you will join with there. Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and whoever else—they all fight for one cause, for civilization.

Yet we also bear in mind something higher, our religion, and the defense and protection of our brothers overseas, some of whom have stood up for their Savior with their life.

Think also of our military honor, of those who have fought for you, and depart with the old motto of the flag of Brandenburg: "Trust God, defend yourself bravely. In that lies all your honor! For whoever ventures on God with a full heart will never be routed."

The flags that wave above you here go into fire for the first time. Bring them back to me pure, unblemished, and without stain!

My thanks and my concern, my prayers and my solicitude will not leave you. With these I accompany you.

Great overseas tasks have fallen to the newly arisen German Empire, tasks far greater than many of my countrymen expected. It is in character for the German Empire to meet the obligation of defending its citizens who are being oppressed in foreign lands. These tasks that the old Holy Roman Empire was not up to, the new German Empire is in position to perform. The means that makes this possible is our army. During thirty years of peaceful labor it has been built up according to the principles of my late grandfather [Wilhelm I, 1861–88]. You, too, have received your training according to these principles and shall now test them before the enemy. Your comrades in the navy have already undergone this test and have demonstrated that the principles of our training are sound. I am proud of the praise from foreign leaders which your comrades have earned over there. It is for you to do the same.

A great task awaits you: You must see to it that a serious injustice is expiated. The Chinese have overturned the law of nations. Never before in world history have the sanctity of diplomats and the obligations of hospitality been subjected to such contempt. It is all the more outrageous that these crimes have been committed by a nation which prides itself on its ancient culture.

Maintain the old Prussian virtue. Show yourselves Christians in the joyful bearing of sorrow. May honor and fame follow your banners and your arms. Give all the world an example of manliness and discipline. Well you know that you shall be fighting against a sly, brave, well-armed, and cruel foe.

When you come upon him, know this: *Pardon will not be given.* Prisoners will not be taken. Bear

your weapons so that for a thousand years *no Chinaman will dare even to squint at a German.*

Carry yourselves like men, and the blessing of God go with you. The prayers of the entire nation and my good wishes go with you, each and everyone. *Open the way for civilization once and for all!* Now you can depart! Adieu, comrades!

The task which I am sending you out to do is a great one. You must see that a serious injustice is expiated. In this case the Chinese have dared to overturn a thousand year old international law and to make a mockery of the sanctity of the diplomat and the right of hospitality. The case is unprecedented in world history—and this from a people proud of its ancient culture!

But you can see from this what a culture not based on Christianity comes to. *Every heathen culture, no matter how beautiful or august, will come to nought at the first catastrophe!*

. . . When you come upon the enemy, smite him. Pardon will not be given. Prisoners will not be taken. Whoever falls into your hands is forfeit. Once, a thousand years ago, the Huns under their King Attila made a name for themselves, one still potent in legend and tradition. May you in this way make the name German remembered in China for a thousand years so that no Chinaman will ever again dare to *even squint at a German!*

You will have to fight a force superior in numbers. But, as our military history demonstrates, we are accustomed to this. . . . Gather new laurels for your [regimental] flags. The blessings of the Lord go with you and your prayers. An entire nation accompanies you on all your paths. My best wishes to you for the fortune of your arms. . . . And may God's blessing attach itself to your banner and bring a blessing upon this war so that Christianity may survive in that land and such sad events never reoccur. To this end stand by your oath. And now, a prosperous voyage! Adieu, comrades!

Source: Schroeder, Wilhelm, ed. *Das persönliche Regiment: Reden und sonstige öffentliche Äusserungen Wilhelms II.* Munich, 1912.

Proclamation of General von Trotha to the Hottentot People (April 22, 1905)

Namibia, an arid and semi-arid region on the southwest coast of Africa, was first settled by Ger-

man settlers in the late nineteenth century and formally claimed by the German Reich following the Berlin Congress of 1884–1885, in which virtually all of Africa was apportioned among various European colonial powers. The Herero, pejoratively referred to at the time as Hottentot, were evicted from their lands to make way for German colonists. When they rose up in rebellion in the early 1900s, their revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. In spite of the conciliatory tone of this proclamation by the German commander in charge of the colony, more than 60,000 Herero were massacred by the Germans in what has been called the first genocide of the twentieth century.

To the Rebellious Hottentots:

The powerful, great German Kaiser wants to grant clemency to those of the Hottentot people who surrender themselves voluntarily, they will be presented with life. Only those who at the beginning of the rebellion have committed murder against Whites or who have commanded that Whites be murdered have by law forfeited their lives. This I declare publicly and state further that of the few who have not been defeated, it will fare with them just as it has fared with the Hereros, who in their blindness also believed that they could make successful war against the powerful German Kaiser and the great German people. I ask you, where are the Hereros today, where are their chiefs? Samuel Maherero, who at one time styled himself the ruler of thousands of children, has, hunted like a wild animal, fled across the English border; he has become as poor as the poorest field Herero and now owns nothing. Just so has it fared with the other Herero people, most of whom have lost their lives—some having died of hunger and thirst in the *Sandfeld*, some having been killed by German *Reiters*, some having been murdered by the Owambos. No harm will befall the Hottentot people as soon as they voluntarily appear and turn over their weapons. You should come with a white cloth on a stick along with your entire household and nothing shall happen to you. You will be given work and will receive food until after the conclusion of the war when the great German Kaiser will present new rules governing the affairs of the Protectorate. He who after this chooses not to make an application for mercy must emigrate, because where he allows himself to be seen in the German

area, he will be shot until all are exterminated. For the surrender of the murderous culprits, whether dead or alive, I offer the following rewards: for Hendrik Witboi 5,000 Marks, Stürmann 3,000 Marks, Cornelius 3,000 Marks, and for the remaining guilty leaders 1,000 Marks.

signed

Trotha.

Source: Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung I des Grossen Generalstabes. *Die Kämpfe der deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika*. Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1907.

Maherero on the Uprising in German South-West Africa (1905)

In what some historians consider to be the first genocide of the twentieth century, the German army massacred roughly one-third of the Herero population of Southwest Africa (now Namibia), a German settler colony, between 1901 and 1906. The genocide followed an uprising by the Hereros, who had been witnessing their herds slaughtered and lands confiscated by German settlers. In this brief statement to the German colonial authorities in Southwest Africa, Herero chief Maherero proclaims the innocence of his people.

I and my headmen reply to you as follows: I did not commence the war this year; it has been started by the white people; for as you know how many Hereros have been killed by the white people, particularly traders, with rifles and in the prisons. And always when I brought these cases to Windhoek the blood of the people was valued at no more than a few head of small stock, namely, from fifty to fifteen. The traders increased the troubles also in this way, that they voluntarily gave credit to my people. After doing so they robbed us; they went so far as to pay themselves by, for instance, taking away by force two or three head of cattle to cover a debt of one pound sterling. It is these things which have caused the war in this land. And in these times the white people said to us you who were peacefully disposed and liked us, were no longer here. They said to us, the Governor who loves you has gone to a difficult war; he is dead, and as he is dead you also [the Hereros] must die.

Source: Morel, E. D. *The Black Man's Burden*. London, 1920.

German Conservative Party Proclamation on Imperialism (1906)

As in other European colonial powers, German politics included a powerful anti-imperialist strain. Again, as in other countries, this was usually associated with the left, in Germany's case, the Social Democrats. Not so concerned with the fate of indigenous peoples, the left in Germany believed that the maintenance of empire increased the power of the conservative military and siphoned off government revenues that could be used for social welfare at home. The Conservative Party's response, as in this manifesto issued before the 1907 national elections—in which the question of imperialism loomed large—was that the Social Democrats were unpatriotic in their opposition to the expansion of German power globally.

The Reichstag has been dissolved because it did not grant the government the troops and supplies demanded for the energetic and complete suppression of the uprisings in German Southwest Africa. For the first time the Reichstag has been dissolved for reasons which belong to the sphere of foreign policy, and which spring from the necessity of defending our rapidly growing interests beyond the seas. With just indignation at the triumphant vote of the opposition, the Chancellor exclaims: "Shall the German nation show itself weaker than other nations, and acknowledge itself weaker?" That is the great question which the German people must answer at the polls on January 25. For the German nation, which for thirty years has been restricted to its position of a great power in Europe, has to-day to direct its attention not only to its colonial possessions but also to its overseas trade, mounting upward into the billions.

We Conservatives, for our part, cannot and will not leave the government in the lurch in its task of guarding and maintaining the honor, power, and national dignity of our country, whether it be to protect the German Empire itself or the colonies dearly bought and boldly defended by the life blood of thousands of German soldiers; for their economic development and settlement are attainable only under this preliminary condition. Only thus can we expect a conscious, well-directed, and orderly administration conformable to the conditions of each colony; and only thus can we hope

that the government, taking into account our financial resources, will guard and advance the development of our colonies in the interests of the German nation, and yet with due regard for the principle of constitutional responsibility.

In the conflict for our national possessions and ideals as well as for our social and political institutions, sorely threatened by Social Democracy, we expect from the imperial authority energetic and effective measures which will oppose more vigorously than ever before the endeavors of those unpatriotic socialists who are in open opposition to the Christian culture of the German Empire.

And now to the election campaign for German honor, courage, and reputation against all enemies.

The Committee of the German Conservative Party, Berlin, December 18, 1906

Source: Schulthess, H., ed. *European History Calendar*. Munich, 1906.

Versailles Treaty (1919)

At the Versailles conference of 1919, the victorious Allied powers attempted to establish a new order for Europe in the wake of World War I. High on the agenda of some of the delegates, particularly those of France and Britain, was the punishment of Germany for its alleged role in starting the conflict. Along with heavy reparations payments, the Allies punished Germany by stripping it of its colonies in Africa and the Pacific, as well as its legal, political, and economic privileges in other parts of the non-European world.

PART IV

GERMAN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OUTSIDE GERMANY.

ARTICLE 118.

In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present Treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers.

Germany hereby undertakes to recognise and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the Principal Allied and

Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third Powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

In particular Germany declares her acceptance of the following Articles relating to certain special subjects.

SECTION I.

GERMAN COLONIES.

ARTICLE 119.

Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea possessions.

ARTICLE 120.

All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories, on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

ARTICLE 121.

The provisions of Sections I and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of Government adopted for them.

ARTICLE 122.

The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 123.

The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German oversea possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

ARTICLE 124.

Germany hereby undertakes to pay, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the French Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil

and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 125.

Germany renounces all rights under the Conventions and Agreements with France of November 4, 1911, and September 28, 1912, relating to Equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by that Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, etc., effected by virtue of these instruments in favour of Germany.

ARTICLE 126.

Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other Power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the General Act of Berlin of February 26, 1885, the General Act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying the same.

ARTICLE 127.

The native inhabitants of the former German oversea possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over those territories.

SECTION II.

CHINA.

ARTICLE 128.

Germany renounces in favour of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on September 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

ARTICLE 129.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively:

(1) The Arrangement of August 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff;

(2) The Arrangement of September 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary Arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these Arrangements.

ARTICLE 130.

Subject to the provisions of Section VIII of this Part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German Concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking without the consent of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Powers which, on the coming into force of the present Treaty, remain Parties to the Final Protocol of September 7, 1901.

ARTICLE 131.

Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900–1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance and installation in Peking.

ARTICLE 132.

Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

ARTICLE 133.

Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China,

or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights and interests in that country since August 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 134.

Germany renounces in favour of the Government of His Britannic Majesty the German State property in the British Concession at Shameen at Canton. She renounces in favour of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly the property of the German school situated in the French Concession at Shanghai.

SECTION III.

SIAM.

ARTICLE 135.

Germany recognises that all treaties, conventions and agreements between her and Siam, and all rights, title and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

ARTICLE 136.

All goods and property in Siam belonging to the German Empire or to any German State, with the exception of premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, pass ipso facto and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property and private rights of German nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 137.

Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the seizure or condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

SECTION IV.

LIBERIA.

ARTICLE 138.

Germany renounces all rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to

nominate a German Receiver of Customs in Liberia.

She further renounces all claim to participate in any measures whatsoever which may be adopted for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

ARTICLE 139.

Germany recognises that all treaties and arrangements between her and Liberia terminated as from August 4, 1917.

ARTICLE 140.

The property, rights and interests of Germans in Liberia shall be dealt with in accordance with Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

SECTION V.

MOROCCO.

ARTICLE 141.

Germany renounces all rights, titles and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algieras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German Agreements of February 9, 1909, and November 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from August 3, 1914

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other Powers.

ARTICLE 142.

Germany having recognised the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the regime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 3, 1914.

ARTICLE 143.

The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German protected persons, *semsars* and "associés agricoles," shall be considered as having ceased, as from August 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

ARTICLE 144.

All property and possessions in the Sherifian Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognised as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan Mining Regulations shall form the subject of a valuation, which the arbitrators shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

ARTICLE 145.

The German Government shall ensure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so dispossessed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted towards the State Bank of Morocco.

ARTICLE 146.

Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods

SECTION VI.

EGYPT.

ARTICLE 147.

Germany declares that she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914, and that she renounces the regime of the Capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from August 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 148.

All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from August 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other Powers.

ARTICLE 149.

Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by His Highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over German nationals and property by the British Consular Tribunals.

ARTICLE 150.

The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

ARTICLE 151.

Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by His Highness the Khedive on November 28, 1914, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

ARTICLE 152.

Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to His Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian Authorities of the powers of that Board.

ARTICLE 153.

All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other Royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III and IV of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 154.

Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

SECTION VII

TURKEY AND BULGARIA.

ARTICLE 155.

Germany undertakes to recognise and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, interests and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present Treaty.

SECTION VIII

SHANTUNG.

ARTICLE 156.

Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

ARTICLE 157.

The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

ARTICLE 158.

Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may

be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements

or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

Source: The Treaty of Versailles and After: Annotations of the Text of the Treaty. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1944.

INTERNATIONAL

The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African (1789)

Other than a few settlements along the coasts and in southern Africa, Europeans largely stayed away from Africa until the mid-nineteenth century. While much of the Americas and Asia was colonized, Africa remained ruled by Africans. At the same time, Africa was crucial to the colonial order in that its people—as slaves—provided the labor force for the plantation and mining economies of European colonies in the Americas. In this famous eighteenth-century memoir, a former slave describes the terror and brutality by which slaves were brought to the Western Hemisphere.

Their [the Europeans] complexions, differing so much from ours, their long hair and the language they spoke, which was different from any I had ever heard, united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed, such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave of my own country. When I looked around the ship and saw a large furnace of copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted my fate. Quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little, I found some black people about me, and I believe some were those who had brought me on board

and had been receiving their pay. They talked to me in order to cheer me up, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces and long hair. They told me I was not.

I took a little down my palate, which, instead of reviving me as they thought it would, threw me into the greatest consternation at the strange feeling it produced, having never tasted such liquor before. Soon after this, the blacks who had brought me on board went off and left me abandoned to despair.

I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly. I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind.

There I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life. With the loathsomeness of the stench and the crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, Death, to relieve me.

Soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables and on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands and laid me across the windlass and tied my feet while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced anything of this kind before. If I could have gotten over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not. The crew used to watch very closely those of us who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water. I have

seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself.

I inquired of these what was to be done with us. They gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate. But still I feared that I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted in so savage a manner. I have never seen among my people such instances of brutal cruelty, and this not only shown towards us blacks, but also to some of the whites themselves.

One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast that he died in consequence of it, and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear these people the more, and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner.

I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place? They told me they did not but came from a distant land. "Then," said I, "how comes it that in all our country we never heard of them?"

They told me because they lived so far off. I then asked where were their women? Had they any like themselves? I was told they had.

"And why do we not see them?" I asked. They answered, "Because they were left behind."

I asked how the vessel would go? They told me they could not tell, but there was cloth put upon the masts by the help of the ropes I saw, and then vessels went on, and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the vessel when they liked.

I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would sacrifice me. But my wishes were in vain—for we were so quartered that it was impossible for us to make our escape.

At last, when the ship we were in had got in all her cargo, they made ready with many fearful noises, and we were all put under deck, so that we could not see how they managed the vessel.

The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome, that it was

dangerous to remain there for any time . . . some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air. But now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together, it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place and the heat of the climate, added to the number of the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us.

This produced copious perspirations so that the air became unfit for respiration from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died—thus falling victims of the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, which now became insupportable, and the filth of the necessary tubs [toilets] into which the children often fell and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women and the groans of the dying rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.

Happily perhaps for myself, I was soon reduced so low that it was necessary to keep me almost always on deck and from my extreme youth I was not put into fetters. In this situation I expected every hour to share the fate of my companions, some of whom were almost daily brought upon the deck at the point of death, which I began to hope would soon put an end to my miseries. Often did I think many of the inhabitants of the deep much more happy than myself. I envied them the freedom they enjoyed, and as often wished I could change my condition for theirs. Every circumstance I met with, served only to render my state more painful and heightened my apprehensions and my opinion of the cruelty of the whites.

One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together (I was near them at the time), preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made through the nettings and jumped into the sea. Immediately another quite dejected fellow, who on account of his illness was suffered to be out of irons, followed their example. I believe many more would very soon have done the same if they had not been prevented by the ship's crew, who were instantly alarmed. Those of us that were the most active were in a moment put down under the deck, and there was such a noise and confusion among the people of the ship as I never heard be-

fore to stop her and get the boat out to go after the slaves. However, two of the wretches were drowned, but they got the other and afterwards flogged him unmercifully for thus attempting to prefer death to slavery.

I can now relate hardships which are inseparable from this accursed trade. Many a time we were near suffocation from the want of fresh air, which we were often without for whole days together. This, and the stench of the necessary tubs, carried off many.

Source: Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African*. London, 1789.

Treaty between France and the Ottoman Empire (June 25, 1802)

To many partisans, the principles of democracy inherent in the French Revolution of 1789 should not be confined to France. With the rise of an expansionist state under Napoleon in the late 1790s that belief was acted upon as France and French agents spread the revolutionary message throughout Europe, including the Balkan territories controlled by the autocratic Ottoman Empire. This led to a break between the two countries, especially after Napoleon invaded Egypt. With Napoleon's defeat there, a rapprochement between France and the Ottoman sultan was achieved in this 1802 treaty. Still, the seeds of liberty planted by the French in the late eighteenth century would bear fruit in the nineteenth, as numerous subject nationalities of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans rebelled, starting with the Greeks.

A. Definitive Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte

The first consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, and the sublime Ottoman emperor, being desirous to restore the relations of peace and amity which have of old subsisted between France and the sublime Porte, have for that purpose appointed ministers plenipotentiaries, viz. the first consul, in the name of the French people, citizen C. M. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs to the French republic; and the

sublime Ottoman Porte, Esseid Mahomed Said Ghalib Effendi, private secretary and director of foreign affairs; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

1. There shall hereafter be peace and friendship between the French republic and the sublime Ottoman Porte: hostilities shall for the future, and for ever, cease between the two states.

2. The treaties or capitulations which, before the war, defined the respective relations of every kind, existing between the two powers, shall be renewed in all their particulars.

In consequence of this renewal, and in fulfillment of the ancient capitulation, according to which the French have a right to enjoy, in the states of the sublime Porte, all the advantages granted to other nations, the sublime Porte consents that the French merchant ships bearing the French flag, shall for the future possess the undisputed right to navigate and pass freely in the Black sea. The sublime Porte likewise consents, that the said French merchant ships, on their passage into and out of this sea, shall, with respect to every thing that can favor the free navigation of it, be placed precisely on the same footing with the merchant ships of those nations which now navigate it.

The sublime Porte and the government of the French republic will with common consent take vigorous measures to cleanse the seas, which the ships of both states navigate, from all kinds of pirates.

The sublime Porte promises to protect the French trading ships in the Black Sea against all kinds of pirates.

It is hereby understood, that the advantages secured by the present article to the French in the Ottoman empire, shall in like manner extend to the subjects and flag of the sublime Porte in the seas and territory of the French republic.

3. The French republic shall, in the Ottoman countries which lie on, or in the vicinity of, the Black Sea, both with respect to their trade and the agents and commissars which that trade may render it necessary to appoint in such places, enjoy the same rights and privileges which France, before the war, enjoyed by virtue of the old capitulations, in any other parts of the states of the sublime Porte.

4. The sublime Porte assents to all that was stipulated with respect to it in the treaty concluded at Amiens between France and England, on the 4th

Germinal of the year ten (25th of March 1801), or the 22d of Zillides, of the year of the Hegira 1216. All the articles of this treaty, which have relation to the sublime Porte, are by the present treaty formally renewed.

5. The French republic and the sublime Porte mutually guaranty the integrity of the possessions.

6. The restorations and indemnifications which are due to the agents of the two powers, or to their citizens and subjects, whose effects have been confiscated or sequestered during the war, shall be regulated in an equitable manner, by a particular agreement to be concluded between the two governments at Constantinople.

7. Until by common consent new regulations shall be agreed on, with respect to the tolls or customs on which disputes may have arisen, these shall in both countries continue to be regulated by the old capitulations.

8. Should any prisoners be found in the two countries, who are detained in consequence of the war, they shall immediately be set at liberty, without ransom.

9. As the French republic and the sublime Porte, by the present treaty, wish to place their states reciprocally in the situation of the most favoured powers, it is expressly understood that each state grants to the other, all the advantages which have been or shall be granted to any other powers, in the same manner as if they were expressly stipulated in the present treaty.

10. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within eighty days, or sooner, if possible, at Paris.

Done at Paris, the 6th of Messidor, of the year ten (June 25, 1802), or the 24th of Safernair, the year of the Hegira 1217.

Ch. Mau. Talleyrand. Esseid Mahomed Said Ghalib Effendi.

Source: The Annual Register, or, A View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1802. London: Printed by R. Wilks for W. Otridge and Sons, et al. (Publisher varies by year.) Published for the years 1758–1837 in 80 volumes.

Alaska Purchase Treaty (1867)

From the late Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, the Russian Empire gradually expanded

eastward across Siberia to the Bering Strait. Beginning with the founding of the Russian American Company in 1799 and the first settlement at Sitka in 1802, Russian traders and settlers moved into Alaska. Eventually, the Russian presence was felt as far south as northern California. Indeed, President Monroe's issuing of his doctrine in 1823, insisting that European powers stay out of the Americas, came about in part because of Russian encroachment. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Russians were eager to shed the costly colony, especially since they believed that much of its wealth—specifically, sea mammals for their hides—had been depleted. Americans, at the same time, believed that their secretary of state, William Seward, had been sold a worthless piece of real estate. For years, the new territory was referred to as "Seward's folly."

CONVENTION between the United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, for the Cession of the Russian Possessions in North America to the United States, Concluded at Washington, March 30, 1867; Ratification Advised by Senate, April 9, 1867; Ratified by President, May 28, 1867; Ratification Exchanged at Washington, June 20, 1867; Proclaimed, June 20, 1867.

The United States of America and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them, have, for that purpose, appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, the President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Privy Counsellor Edward de Stoeckl, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States;

And the said Plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles:

Article I His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth, to wit: The eastern limit is the line of demarcation between the Russian and

the British possessions in North America, as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain, of February 28-16, 1825, and described in Articles III and IV of said convention, in the following terms:

“III Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

“IV With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—“1st That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia” (now, by this cession to the United States).

“2d That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit to the possessions ceded by this convention), shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.” The western limit within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained passes through a point in Behring’s Straits on the parallel of sixty-five degrees thirty minutes north latitude, at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the islands of Krusenstern of Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north without limitation, into the same Frozen Ocean. The same western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly southwest, through Behring’s Straits and

Behring’s Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of one hundred and seventy-two west longitude; thence, from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group, in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of one hundred and ninety-three degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of that meridian.

Article II In the cession of territory and dominion made by the preceding article, are included the right of property in all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private individual property. It is, however, understood and agreed, that the churches which have been built in the ceded territory by the Russian Government, shall remain the property of such members of the Greek Oriental Church resident in the territory as may choose to worship therein. Any Government archives, papers, and documents relative to the territory and dominion aforesaid, which may now be existing there, will be left in the possession of the agent of the United States; but an authenticated copy of such of them as may be required, will be, at all times, given by the United States to the Russian Government, or to such Russian officers or subjects as they may apply for.

Article III The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their natural allegiance, may return to Russia within three years; but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.

Article IV His Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, shall appoint, with convenient despatch, an agent or agents for the purpose of formally delivering to a similar agent or agents, appointed on

behalf of the United States, the territory, dominion, property, dependencies, and appurtenances which are ceded as above, and for doing any other act which may be necessary in regard thereto. But the cession, with the right of immediate possession, is nevertheless to be deemed complete and absolute on the exchange of ratifications, without waiting for such formal delivery.

Article V Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, any fortifications or military posts which may be in the ceded territory shall be delivered to the agent of the United States, and any Russian troops which may be in the territory shall be withdrawn as soon as may be reasonably and conveniently practicable.

Article VI In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States agree to pay at the Treasury in Washington, within ten months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, duly authorized to receive the same, seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold. The cession of territory and dominion herein made is hereby declared to be free and unincumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions, by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, Russian or any other; or by any parties, except merely private individual property-holders; and the cession hereby made conveys all the rights, franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominion, and appurtenances thereto.

Article VII When this convention shall have been duly ratified by the President, of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and, on the other, by His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within three months from the date thereof, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington, the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

William H. Seward Edward de Stoeckl

Source: *American Historical Documents, 1000–1904*.
Cambridge, MA: Harvard Classics, 1909–1914.

Official Summary of Anglo-Portuguese Treaty (February 26, 1884)

Since the 1870s, King Leopold II had attempted to colonize the Congo River basin as his own personal fiefdom. By the early 1800s, he had come close to achieving his end, which the British considered detrimental to their own interests in the region. Lacking claims to the basin itself, Britain signed a treaty with the geriatric Portuguese empire, giving it control over the mouth of the Congo River. In doing so, the British cut off Leopold's access to the Atlantic, while gaining navigation rights on the lower part of the river themselves. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1884 was part of the multilateral maneuvering by European imperial powers that came to be called the "scramble for Africa."

Treaty between Her Majesty and His Majesty the King of Portugal respecting the Rivers Congo and Zambesi, and the Territory on the West Coast of Africa between the 8° and 5° 12' of South Latitude. Signed at London, 26th February, 1884.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, &c., &c., &c., and His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, etc., etc., etc., being animated with the desire to draw closer the ties of friendship which unite the two nations; to put an end to all difficulties relative to the rights of sovereignty over the districts at the mouth of the Congo on the West Coast of Africa, situated between 8° and 5° 12' of south latitude; to provide for the complete extinction of the Slave Trade; and to promote the development of commerce and civilization in the African Continent; have resolved to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, and have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, the Right Honourable Granville George, Earl Granville, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., &c.;

And His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, Senhor Miguel Martins d'Antas, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Faithful Majesty at the Court of Her Britannic Majesty, &c., &c.;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Article I. Subject to the conditions of the present Treaty, Her Britannic Majesty agrees to recognize the sovereignty of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves over that part of the West Coast of Africa situated between 8° and 5° 12' of south latitude: and inland as far as follows:—

On the River Congo the limit shall be Nokki.

On the coast situated between 8° and 5° 12' of south latitude the inland eastern frontier shall coincide with the boundaries of the present possessions of the coast and riparian tribes. This frontier shall be defined, and the definition shall be communicated with the least possible delay by His Most Faithful Majesty to Her Britannic Majesty.

The definition, when approved by the High Contracting Parties, shall be recorded in a Protocol to be annexed to the present Treaty.

Article II.—Right of Access of Subjects of all Nations to the above Territory.

Article III.—Freedom of Navigation of the Rivers Congo and Zambesi and their affluents. Claims of Portugal on the Shiré not to extend beyond the confluence of the River Ruo with that river.

Article IV.—Freedom of Trade and Navigation, &c.

Article V.—No Transit or other Duties to be levied.

Article VI.—Open Roads.

Article VII.—Protection of Missionaries. Religious Liberty.

Article VIII.—Treaties with Native Chiefs to be communicated by either Power to the other.

Article IX.—Customs Tariff.

Article X.—Confirmation of Privileges to British Subjects and their Commerce Most-favoured-nation Treatment.

Article XI.—Wrecks.

Article XII.—Slavery and the Slave Trade. Permission to British Ships of War to enter Territorial Waters of Portuguese Eastern African Colonies for Suppression of the Slave Trade. Similar powers to be given, if required, to Portuguese Vessels in British South African Possessions.

Article XIII.—Stipulations of Art. I. to apply to all Territories hereafter brought under Portuguese Sovereignty.

Article XIV.—British right of pre-emption in event of abandonment by Portugal of Fort of St. John the Baptist of Ajudá, on the Coast of Mina, or of any rights claimed by Portugal between 5° East and 5° West Longitude on the same coast.

Source: Hertslet, Sir Edward. *Map of Africa by Treaty*, 3d ed. London, 1909.

Berlin Act of 1885, Berlin Imperialist Conference (1885)

Beginning in the 1870s, King Leopold II had attempted to take control of the central African region drained by the Congo River (modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo). This land-grab antagonized the great colonial powers of Europe, including Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal. In order to prevent a general conflict over the Congo and other disputed regions of Africa, the great powers met in Berlin in the winter of 1884–1885 to divide up the continent and set forth collective policies for its administration. The United States, attending as an observer, agreed to the final protocols. No Africans, however, were invited. The arbitrary borders created at the conference—lumping certain antagonistic ethnic groups into the same jurisdiction, while dividing other ethnic groups into different jurisdictions—were maintained after the colonies achieved nationhood in the mid-twentieth century, leading to numerous internal postindependence conflicts.

Chap. I [relating to the Congo River Basin and adjacent territories]

I. The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom

II. All flags, without distinction of nationality, shall have free access to the whole of the coast-line of the territories . . .

III. Wares of whatever origin, imported into these regions, under whatsoever flag, by sea or river, or overland, shall be subject to no other taxes than such as may be levied as fair compensation for expenditure in the interests of trade . . .

IV. Merchandise imported into these regions shall remain free from import and transit duties [subject to review after 20 years]

V. No power which exercises or shall exercise sovereign rights in the regions shall be allowed to

grant therein a monopoly or favor of any kind in matters of trade . . .

VI. All the powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade. They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favor all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization. Christian missionaries, scientists, and explorers, with their followers, property, and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection. Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners . . .

Chap. II Documents relative to the Slave Trade

IX. the Powers which do or shall exercise sovereign rights or influence in the territories forming the basin of the Congo declare that these territories may not serve as a market or means of transit for the trade in slaves, of whatever race they may be. Each of the Powers binds itself to employ all the means at its disposal for putting an end to this trade and for punishing those who engage in it.

Chap. IV Act of Navigation for the Congo

XIII. The navigation of the Congo, without excepting any of its branches or outlets, is, and shall remain, free for the merchant ships of all nations equally . . . the subjects and flags of all nations shall in all respects be treated on a footing of perfect equality . . . no exclusive privilege of navigation will be conceded to Companies, Corporations, or private persons whatsoever . . .

Chap. V Act of Navigation for the Niger.

XXVI. The navigation of the (River) Niger, without excepting any of its branches and outlets, is and shall remain entirely free for the merchant ships of all nations equally . . .

Chap. VI [Regarding new occupations on the coasts of Africa]

XXXIV. Any power which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African Continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such pos-

sessions, shall acquire them . . . shall accompany the respective act with a notification thereof, addressed to the other Signatory Powers of the present Act, in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claims of their own.

XXXV. The Signatory Powers of the present Act recognize the obligation to insure the establishment of authority in the regions occupied by them on the coasts of the African Continent sufficient to protect existing rights, and, as the case may be, freedom of trade and of transit under the conditions agreed upon.

XXXVII. The Powers signatory to the present general Act reserve to themselves the right of eventually, by mutual agreement, introducing therein modifications or improvements the utility of which has been shown by experience . . .

Done at Berlin, the 26th day of February, 1885.

Source: web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob45.html.

U.S. Recognition of Cuban Independence (1898)

Beginning as early as the 1870s and culminating in the late 1890s, the people of Cuba rose up in rebellion against the rule of Spain. By the latter part of this period, the American press—particularly the major urban dailies controlled by William Randolph Hearst and other media moguls—had taken up the cause of Cuban freedom. When the U.S. battleship Maine blew up in Havana harbor, Americans jumped to the conclusion that the deed had been committed by agents of Spain. The outcome was an increased bellicosity in the United States toward Spain and, on April 11, a congressional joint resolution recognizing the independence of the Cuban people, a stance that inevitably led to war with Spain. In that war, the United States would seize a number of Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific, although Cuba, ironically, would be given its independence within a couple of years, while other territories would be held for decades or, in the case of Puerto Rico, through the present day.

Whereas, the abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the Island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States,

have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with two hundred and sixty-six of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April eleventh, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, upon which the action of Congress was invited: Therefore,

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States, the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Islands except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people.

Approved, April 20, 1898.

Source: *American Historical Documents, 1000–1904*.
Cambridge, MA: Harvard Classics, 1909–1914.

Boxer Protocol (September 7, 1901)

Following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895, European powers moved in to divide the country up into "spheres of influence." Not fully colonies, these spheres nevertheless offered commercial privileges and judicial immunity to various European colonizers. While the imperial government had little power to confront the Europeans directly, it did sponsor secret societies to fight back, including the Society

of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, known in the West as the Boxers. In 1900, the Boxers rose up in rebellion and besieged thousands of Europeans in their urban enclaves in Beijing, until they were defeated by a multinational force. The resulting Boxer Protocol (excerpted here), which called for a western military presence in the capital of Beijing and the paying of indemnities to the West, was a further humiliation for China, but it did set in motion reforms that would modernize the Chinese state.

Peace Agreement between the Great Powers and China.

THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES of . . . [Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Spain, United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Russia, China] have met for the purpose of declaring that China has complied with the conditions laid down in the note of the 22nd December, 1900, and which were accepted in their entirety by His Majesty the Emperor of China in a Decree dated the 27th December, 1900.

ARTICLE I.

1) By an Imperial Edict of the 9th June last, Prince of the First Rank, Chun, was appointed Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor of China, and directed in that capacity to convey to His Majesty the German Emperor the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of the Chinese Government at the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, German Minister. Prince Chun left Peking on the 12th July last to carry out the orders which had been given him. 2) The Chinese Government has stated that it will erect on the spot of the assassination of his Excellency the late Baron von Ketteler, commemorative monument worthy of the rank of the deceased, and bearing an inscription in the Latin, German, and Chinese languages which shall express the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China for the murder committed. The Chinese Plenipotentiaries have informed his Excellency the German Plenipotentiary, in a letter dated the 22nd July last, that an arch of the whole width of the street would be erected on the said spot, and that work on it was begun on the 25th June last.

ARTICLE II.

1) Imperial Edicts of the 13th and 21st February, 1901, inflicted the following punishments on

the principal authors of the attempts and of the crimes committed against the foreign Governments and their nationals:—Tsa-Ii, Prince Tuan, and Tsai-Lan, Duke Fu-kuo, were sentenced to be brought before the Autumnal Court of Assize for execution, and it was agreed that if the Emperor saw fit to grant them their lives, they should be exiled to Turkestan, and there imprisoned for life, without the possibility of commutation of these punishments. Tsai Hsun, Prince Chuang, Ying-Nien, President of the Court of Censors, and Chao Shu-chiao, President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to commit suicide. Yu Hsun, Governor of Shansi, Chi Hsiu, President of the Board of Rites, and Hsu Cheng-yu, formerly Senior Vice-President of the Board of Punishments, were condemned to death. Posthumous degradation was inflicted on Kang Yi, Assistant Grand Secretary, President of the Board of Works, Hsu Tung, Grand Secretary, and Li Ping-heng, former Governor-General of Szu-chuan. Imperial Edict of the 13th February last rehabilitated the memories of Hsu Yung-yi, President of the Board of War; Li Shan, President of the Board of Works; Hsu Ching Cheng, Senior Vice-President of the Board of Civil Office; Lien Yuan, Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Council; and Yuan Chang, Vice-President of the Court of Sacrifices, who had been put to death for having protested against the outrageous breaches of international law of last year. Prince Chuang committed suicide on the 21st February last; Ying Nien and Chao Shu-chiao on the 24th February; Yu Hsien was executed on the 22nd February; Chi Hsiu and Hsu Cheng-yu on the 26th February; Tung Fu-hsiang, General in Kan-su, has been deprived of his office by Imperial Edict of the 13th February last, pending the determination of the final punishment to be inflicted on him. Imperial Edicts, dated the 29th April and 19th August, 1901, have inflicted various punishments on the provincial officials convicted of the crimes and outrages of last summer. 2) An Imperial Edict, promulgated the 19th August, 1901, ordered the suspension of official examinations for five years in all cities where foreigners were massacred or submitted to cruel treatment.

ARTICLE III.

So as to make honourable reparation for the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, His Majesty the Emperor of

China, by an Imperial Edict of the 18th June, 1901, appointed Na T'ung, Vice-President of the Board of Finances, to be his Envoy Extraordinary, and specially directed him to convey to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan the expression of the regrets of His Majesty the Emperor of China and of his Government at the assassination of Mr. Sugiyama.

ARTICLE IV.

The Chinese Government has agreed to erect an expiatory monument in each of the foreign or international cemeteries which were desecrated, and in which the tombs were destroyed. It has been agreed with the Representatives of the Powers that the Legations interested shall settle the details for the erection of these monuments, China bearing all the expenses thereof, estimated at 10,000 taels, for the cemeteries at Peking and in its neighbourhood, and at 5,000 taels for the cemeteries in the provinces. The amounts have been paid, and the list of these cemeteries is inclosed herewith.

ARTICLE V.

China has agreed to prohibit the importation into its territory of arms and ammunition, as well as of materials exclusively used for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. An Imperial Edict has been issued on the 25th August, forbidding said importation for a term of two years. New Edicts may be issued subsequently extending this by other successive terms of two years in case of necessity recognized by the Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

By an Imperial Edict dated the 29th May, 1901, His Majesty the Emperor of China agreed to pay the Powers an indemnity of 450,000,000 of Haikwan taels. This sum represents the total amount of the indemnities for States, Companies, or Societies, private individuals and Chinese, referred to in Article 6 of the note of the 22nd December, 1900. 1) These 450,000,000 constitute a gold debt calculated at the rate of the Haikwan tael to the gold currency of each country [335 million gold dollars, etc.] . . .

This sum in gold shall bear interest at 4 per cent. per annum, and the capital shall be reimbursed by China in thirty-nine years in the manner indicated in the annexed plan of amortization. Capital and interest shall be payable in gold or at the rates of exchange corresponding to the dates at which the different payments fall due. The amorti-

zation shall commence the 1st January, 1902, and shall finish at the end of the year 1940. The amortizations are payable annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st January, 1903. Interest shall run from the 1st July, 1901, but the Chinese Government shall have the right to pay off within a term of three years, beginning January 1902, the arrears of the first six months ending the 31st December, 1901, on condition, however, that it pays compound interest at the rate of 4 per cent. a year on the sums the payment of which shall have been thus deferred. Interest shall be payable semi-annually, the first payment being fixed on the 1st July, 1902.

2) The service of the debt shall take place in Shanghai in the following manner:—Each Power shall be represented by a Delegate on a Commission of bankers authorized to receive the amount of interest and amortization which shall be paid to it by the Chinese authorities designated for that purpose, to divide it among the interested parties, and to give a receipt for the same.

3) The Chinese Government shall deliver to the Doyen [i.e., the senior member] of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking a bond for the lump sum, which shall subsequently be converted into fractional bonds bearing the signature of the Delegates of the Chinese Government designated for that purpose. This operation and all those relating to issuing of the bonds shall be performed by the above-mentioned Commission, in accordance with the instructions which the Powers shall send their Delegates.

4) The proceeds of the revenues assigned to the payment of the bonds shall be paid monthly to the Commission.

5) The seven assigned as security for the bonds are the following: a) The balance of the revenues of the Imperial Maritime Customs, after payment of the interest and amortization of preceding loans secured on these revenues, plus the proceeds of the raising to 5 per cent. effective of the present tariff of maritime imports, including articles until now on the free list, but exempting rice, foreign cereals, and flour, gold and silver bullion and coin. b) The revenues of the native Customs, administered in the open ports by the Imperial Maritime Customs. c) The total revenues of the salt gabelle, exclusive of the fraction previously set aside for other foreign loans.

6) The raising of the present tariff on imports to 5 per cent. effective is agreed to on the conditions mentioned below. It shall be put in force two months after the signing of the present Protocol, and no exceptions shall be made except for merchandize in transit not more than ten days after the said signing. b) The beds of the Rivers Whangpoo and Peiho shall be improved with the financial participation of China.

ARTICLE VII.

The Chinese Government has agreed that the quarter occupied by the Legations shall be considered as one specially reserved for their use and placed under their exclusive control, in which Chinese shall not have the right to reside, and which may be made defensible. In the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, China recognized the right of each Power to maintain a permanent guard in the said quarter for the defence of its Legation.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Chinese Government has consented to raze the forts of Taku, and those which might impede free communication between Peking and the sea. Steps have been taken for carrying this out.

ARTICLE IX.

The Chinese Government conceded the right to the Powers in the Protocol annexed to the letter of the 16th January, 1901, to occupy certain points, to be determined by an Agreement between them for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea. The points occupied by the Powers are:— Huang-tsun, Lang-fang, Yang-tsun, Tien-tsin, Chun-liang-Cheng, Tong-ku, Lu-tai, Tong-shan, Lan-chou, Chang-li, Chin-wang Tao, Shan-hai Kuan.

ARTICLE X.

The Chinese Government has agreed to post and to have published during two years in all district cities the following Imperial Edicts: 1) Edict of the 1st February, 1901, prohibiting for ever under pain of death, membership in any anti-foreign society. 2) Edicts of the 13th and 21st February, 29th April and 19th August, 1901, enumerating the punishments inflicted on the guilty. 3) Edict of the 19th August, 1901, prohibiting examinations in all cities where foreigners were massacred or subjected to cruel treatment. 4) Edicts of the 1st February, 1901, declaring all Governors General, Governors, and

provincial or local officials responsible for order in their respective districts, and that in case of new anti-foreign troubles or other infractions of the Treaties which shall not be immediately repressed and the authors of which shall not have been punished, these officials shall be immediately dismissed without possibility of being given new functions or new honours. The posting of these Edicts is being carried on throughout the Empire.

ARTICLE XI.

The Chinese Government has agreed to negotiate the amendments deemed necessary by the foreign Governments to the Treaties of Commerce and Navigation and the other subjects concerning commercial relations with the object of facilitating them. At present, and as a result of the stipulation contained in Article 6 concerning the indemnity, the Chinese Government agrees to assist in the improvement of the courses of the Rivers Peiho and Whangpoo, as stated below.- 1) The works for the improvement of the navigability of the Peiho, begun in 1898 with the co-operation of the Chinese Government, have been resumed under the direction of an International Commission. As soon as the Administration of Tien-tsin shall have been handed back to the Chinese Government it will be in a position to be represented on this Commission, and will pay each year a sum of 60,000 Haikwan taels for maintaining the works.

2) A Conservancy Board, charged with the management and control of the works for straightening the Whangpoo and the improvement of the course of that river, is hereby created. The Board shall consist of members representing the interests of the Chinese Government and those of foreigners in the shipping trade of Shanghai. The expenses incurred for the works and the general management of the undertaking are estimated at the annual sum of 460,000 Haikwan taels for the first twenty years. This sum shall be supplied in equal portions by the Chinese Government and the foreign interests concerned.

ARTICLE XII.

An Imperial Edict of the 24th July, 1901, reformed the Office of Foreign Affairs, Tsung-li Yamen, on the lines indicated by the Powers, that is to say, transformed it into a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Wai Wu Pu, which takes precedence over the six other Ministries of State; the same Edict

appointed the principal Members of this Ministry. An agreement has also been reached concerning the modification of Court ceremonial as regards the reception of foreign Representatives, and has been the subject of several notes from the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, the substance of which is embodied in a Memorandum herewith annexed. Finally, it is expressly understood that as regards the declarations specified above and the annexed documents originating with the foreign Plenipotentiaries, the French text only is authoritative. The Chinese Government having thus complied to the satisfaction of the Powers with the conditions laid down in the above-mentioned note of the 22nd December, 1900, the Powers have agreed to accede to the wish of China to terminate the situation created by the disorders of the summer of 1900. In consequence thereof, the foreign Plenipotentiaries are authorized to declare in the names of their Governments that, with the exception of the Legation guards mentioned in Article VII, the international troops will completely evacuate the city of Peking on the 7th September, 1901, and, with the exception of the localities mentioned in Article IX, will withdraw from the Province of Chihli on the 22nd September, 1901. The present final Protocol has been drawn up in twelve identical copies, and signed by all the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting countries.

Source: Fox, Charles James. *The Protocol of 1901, Charter of Peking's Diplomacy*. Tientsin: North China Star, 1926.

John Hobson: *Imperialism* (1902)

John Hobson, a British economist and journalist, was one of the first theorists to dispense with self-glorifying explanations for empire and examine its economic underpinnings. In his classic Imperialism: A Study (1902), Hobson argued that Europe's imperialist expansion was a product of its economy, specifically its excess of capital in search of investment markets. While Hobson was not against empire per se, his writings inspired such ardent anti-imperialists as the Bolshevik Vladimir Lenin.

Amid the welter of vague political abstractions to lay one's finger accurately upon any "ism" so as to pin it down and mark it out by definition seems

impossible. Where meanings shift so quickly and so subtly, not only following changes of thought, but often manipulated artificially by political practitioners so as to obscure, expand, or distort, it is idle to demand the same rigour as is expected in the exact sciences. A certain broad consistency in its relations to other kindred terms is the nearest approach to definition which such a term as Imperialism admits. Nationalism, internationalism, colonialism, its three closest congeners, are equally elusive, equally shifty, and the changeful overlapping of all four demands the closest vigilance of students of modern politics.

During the nineteenth century the struggle towards nationalism, or establishment of political union on a basis of nationality, was a dominant factor alike in dynastic movements and as an inner motive in the life of masses of population. That struggle, in external politics, sometimes took a disruptive form, as in the case of Greece, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria breaking from Ottoman rule, and the detachment of North Italy from her unnatural alliance with the Austrian Empire. In other cases it was a unifying or a centralising force, enlarging the area of nationality, as in the case of Italy and the Pan-Slavist movement in Russia. Sometimes nationality was taken as a basis of federation of States, as in United Germany and in North America.

It is true that the forces making for political union sometimes went further, making for federal union of diverse nationalities, as in the cases of Austria-Hungary, Norway and Sweden, and the Swiss Federation. But the general tendency was towards welding into large strong national unities the loosely related States and provinces with shifting attachments and alliances which covered large areas of Europe since the break-up of the Empire. This was the most definite achievement of the nineteenth century. The force of nationality, operating in this work, is quite as visible in the failures to achieve political freedom as in the successes; and the struggles of Irish, Poles, Finns, Hungarians, and Czechs to resist the forcible subjection to or alliance with stronger neighbours brought out in its full vigour the powerful sentiment of nationality.

The middle of the century was especially distinguished by a series of definitely "nationalist" revivals, some of which found important interpreta-

tion in dynastic changes, while others were crushed or collapsed. Holland, Poland, Belgium, Norway, the Balkans, formed a vast arena for these struggles of national forces.

The close of the third quarter of the century saw Europe fairly settled into large national States or federations of States, though in the nature of the case there can be no finality, and Italy continued to look to Trieste, as Germany still looks to Austria, for the fulfillment of her manifest destiny.

This passion and the dynastic forms it helped to mould and animate are largely attributable to the fierce prolonged resistance which peoples, both great and small, were called on to maintain against the imperial designs of Napoleon. The national spirit of England was roused by the tenseness of the struggle to a self-consciousness it had never experienced since "the spacious days of great Elizabeth." Jena made Prussia into a great nation; the Moscow campaign brought Russia into the field of European nationalities as a factor in politics, opening her for the first time to the full tide of Western ideas and influences.

Turning from this territorial and dynastic nationalism to the spirit of racial, linguistic, and economic solidarity which has been the underlying motive, we find a still more remarkable movement. Local particularism on the one hand, vague cosmopolitanism upon the other, yielded to a ferment of nationalist sentiment, manifesting itself among the weaker peoples not merely in a sturdy and heroic resistance against political absorption or territorial nationalism, but in a passionate revival of decaying customs, language, literature and art; while it bred in more dominant peoples strange ambitions of national "destiny" and an attendant spirit of Chauvinism.

No mere array of facts and figures adduced to illustrate the economic nature of the new Imperialism will suffice to dispel the popular delusion that the use of national force to secure new markets by annexing fresh tracts of territory is a sound and a necessary policy for an advanced industrial country like Great Britain. . . .

But these arguments are not conclusive. It is open to Imperialists to argue thus: "We must have markets for our growing manufactures, we must have new outlets for the investment of our surplus capital and for the energies of the adventurous surplus of our population: such expansion is

a necessity of life to a nation with our great and growing powers of production. An ever larger share of our population is devoted to the manufactures and commerce of towns, and is thus dependent for life and work upon food and raw materials from foreign lands. In order to buy and pay for these things we must sell our goods abroad. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century we could do so without difficulty by a natural expansion of commerce with continental nations and our colonies, all of which were far behind us in the main arts of manufacture and the carrying trades. So long as England held a virtual monopoly of the world markets for certain important classes of manufactured goods, Imperialism was unnecessary.

After 1870 this manufacturing and trading supremacy was greatly impaired: other nations, especially Germany, the United States, and Belgium, advanced with great rapidity, and while they have not crushed or even stayed the increase of our external trade, their competition made it more and more difficult to dispose of the full surplus of our manufactures at a profit. The encroachments made by these nations upon our old markets, even in our own possessions, made it most urgent that we should take energetic means to secure new markets. These new markets had to lie in hitherto undeveloped countries, chiefly in the tropics, where vast populations lived capable of growing economic needs which our manufacturers and merchants could supply. Our rivals were seizing and annexing territories for similar purposes, and when they had annexed them closed them to our trade. The diplomacy and the arms of Great Britain had to be used in order to compel the owners of the new markets to deal with us: and experience showed that the safest means of securing and developing such markets is by establishing 'protectorates' or by annexation. . . .

It was this sudden demand for foreign markets for manufactures and for investments which was avowedly responsible for the adoption of Imperialism as a political policy. . . . They needed Imperialism because they desired to use the public resources of their country to find profitable employment for their capital which otherwise would be superfluous. . . .

Every improvement of methods of production, every concentration of ownership and control,

seems to accentuate the tendency. As one nation after another enters the machine economy and adopts advanced industrial methods, it becomes more difficult for its manufacturers, merchants, and financiers to dispose profitably of their economic resources, and they are tempted more and more to use their Governments in order to secure for their particular use some distant undeveloped country by annexation and protection.

The process, we may be told, is inevitable, and so it seems upon a superficial inspection. Everywhere appear excessive powers of production, excessive capital in search of investment. It is admitted by all business men that the growth of the powers of production in their country exceeds the growth in consumption, that more goods can be produced than can be sold at a profit, and that more capital exists than can find remunerative investment.

It is this economic condition of affairs that forms the taproot of Imperialism. If the consuming public in this country raised its standard of consumption to keep pace with every rise of productive powers, there could be no excess of goods or capital clamorous to use Imperialism in order to find markets: foreign trade would indeed exist. . . .

Everywhere the issue of quantitative versus qualitative growth comes up. This is the entire issue of empire. A people limited in number and energy and in the land they occupy have the choice of improving to the utmost the political and economic management of their own land, confining themselves to such accessions of territory as are justified by the most economical disposition of a growing population; or they may proceed, like the slovenly farmer, to spread their power and energy over the whole earth, tempted by the speculative value or the quick profits of some new market, or else by mere greed of territorial acquisition, and ignoring the political and economic wastes and risks involved by this imperial career. It must be clearly understood that this is essentially a choice of alternatives; a full simultaneous application of intensive and extensive cultivation is impossible. A nation may either, following the example of Denmark or Switzerland, put brains into agriculture, develop a finely varied system of public education, general and technical, apply the ripest science to its special manufacturing industries, and so support in progressive comfort and character a con-

siderable population upon a strictly limited area; or it may, like Great Britain, neglect its agriculture, allowing its lands to go out of cultivation and its population to grow up in towns, fall behind other nations in its methods of education and in the capacity of adapting to its uses the latest scientific knowledge, in order that it may squander its pecuniary and military resources in forcing bad markets and finding speculative fields of investment in distant corners of the earth, adding millions of square miles and of unassimilable population to the area of the Empire.

The driving forces of class interest which stimulate and support this false economy we have explained. No remedy will serve which permits the future operation of these forces. It is idle to attack Imperialism or Militarism as political expedients or policies unless the axe is laid at the economic root of the tree, and the classes for whose interest Imperialism works are shorn of the surplus revenues which seek this outlet.

Source: Hobson, John A. *Imperialism: A Study*. New York: J. Pott, 1902.

Entente Cordiale between Britain and France (April 8, 1904)

In 1898, British and French forces—rapidly moving to consolidate their control over African territories—met at Fashoda, in modern-day Sudan. The Fashoda incident nearly led to general war between the two colonial powers. But cooler heads prevailed. Six years later, the two countries signed the Entente Cordiale, laying out their respective interests in Morocco, a disputed territory. But the agreement, which included secret protocols, angered the Germans, who called for yet another conference two years later, which gave Germany certain commercial rights in Morocco as well.

Formally titled, the 'Declaration between the United Kingdom and France Respecting Egypt and Morocco, Together with the Secret Articles Signed at the Same Time.'

The Franco-British Declaration, 1904

ARTICLE 1.

His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt.

The Government of the French Republic, for their part, declare that they will not obstruct the action of Great Britain in that country. . . .

It is agreed that the post of Director-General of Antiquities in Egypt shall continue, as in the past, to be entrusted to a French *savant*.

The French schools in Egypt shall continue to enjoy the same liberty as in the past.

ARTICLE 2.

The Government of the French Republic declare that they have no intention of altering the political status of Morocco.

His Britannic Majesty's Government, for their part, recognise that it appertains to France, more particularly as a Power whose dominions are continuous for a great distance with those of Morocco, to preserve order in that country, and to provide assistance for the purpose of all administrative, economic, financial, and military reforms which it may require.

They declare that they will not obstruct the action taken by France for this purpose, provided that such action shall leave intact the rights which Great Britain, in virtue of treaties, conventions, and usage, enjoys in Morocco, including the right of coasting trade between the ports of Morocco, enjoyed by British vessels since 1901.

ARTICLE 3.

His Britannic Majesty's Government for their part, will respect the rights which France, in virtue of treaties, conventions, and usage, enjoys in Egypt, including the right of coasting trade between Egyptian ports accorded to French vessels.

ARTICLE 4.

The two Governments, being equally attached to the principle of commercial liberty both in Egypt and Morocco, declare that they will not, in those countries, countenance any inequality either in the imposition of customs duties or other taxes, or of railway transport charges. The trade of both nations with Morocco and with Egypt shall enjoy the same treatment in transit through the French and British possessions in Africa. An agreement between the two Governments shall settle the conditions of such transit and shall determine the points of entry.

This mutual engagement shall be binding for a period of thirty years. Unless this stipulation is expressly denounced at least one year in advance, the period shall be extended for five years at a time.

Nevertheless the Government of the French Republic reserve to themselves in Morocco, and His Britannic Majesty's Government reserve to themselves in Egypt, the right to see that the concessions for roads, railways, ports, etc., are only granted on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the State over these great undertakings of public interest.

ARTICLE 5.

His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they will use their influence in order that the French officials now in the Egyptian service may not be placed under conditions less advantageous than those applying to the British officials in the service.

The Government of the French Republic, for their part, would make no objection to the application of analogous conditions to British officials now in the Moorish service.

ARTICLE 6.

In order to ensure the free passage of the Suez Canal, His Britannic Majesty's Government declare that they adhere to the treaty of the 29th October, 1888, and that they agree to their being put in force. The free passage of the Canal being thus guaranteed, the execution of the last sentence of paragraph 1 as well as of paragraph 2 of Article of that treaty will remain in abeyance.

ARTICLE 7.

In order to secure the free passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, the two Governments agree not to permit the erection of any fortifications or strategic works on that portion of the coast of Morocco comprised between, but not including, Melilla and the heights which command the right bank of the River Sebou.

This condition does not, however, apply to the places at present in the occupation of Spain on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean.

ARTICLE 8.

The two Governments, inspired by their feeling of sincere friendship for Spain, take into special consideration the interests which that country derives from her geographical position and from her territorial possessions on the Moorish coast of the Mediterranean. In regard to these interests the French Government will come to an understanding with the Spanish Government. The agreement which may be come to on the subject between France and Spain shall be communicated to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

ARTICLE 9.

The two Governments agree to afford to one another their diplomatic support, in order to obtain the execution of the clauses of the present Declaration regarding Egypt and Morocco.

In witness whereof his Excellency the Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, duly authorised for that purpose, have signed the present Declaration and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, in duplicate, the 8th day of April, 1904.

[Henry Charles Keith Petty-Fitzmaurice] LANS-
DOWNE

PAUL CAMBON

Secret Articles

ARTICLE 1.

In the event of either Government finding themselves constrained, by the force of circumstances, to modify their policy in respect to Egypt or Morocco, the engagements which they have undertaken towards each other by Articles 4, 6, and 7 of the Declaration of today's date would remain intact.

ARTICLE 2.

His Britannic Majesty's Government have no present intention of proposing to the Powers any changes in the system of the Capitulations, or in the judicial organisation of Egypt.

In the event of their considering it desirable to introduce in Egypt reforms tending to assimilate the Egyptian legislative system to that in force in other civilised Countries, the Government of the French Republic will not refuse to entertain any such proposals, on the understanding that His Britannic Majesty's Government will agree to entertain the suggestions that the Government of the French Republic may have to make to them with a view of introducing similar reforms in Morocco.

ARTICLE 3.

The two Governments agree that a certain extent of Moorish territory adjacent to Melilla, Ceuta, and other *presides* should, whenever the Sultan ceases to exercise authority over it, come within the sphere of influence of Spain, and that

the administration of the coast from Melilla as far as, but not including, the heights on the right bank of the Sebou shall be entrusted to Spain.

Nevertheless, Spain would previously have to give her formal assent to the provisions of Articles 4 and 7 of the Declaration of today's date, and undertake to carry them out.

She would also have to undertake not to alienate the whole, or a part, of the territories placed under her authority or in her sphere of influence.

ARTICLE 4.

If Spain, when invited to assent to the provisions of the preceding article, should think proper to decline, the arrangement between France and Great Britain, as embodied in the Declaration of today's date, would be none the less at once applicable.

ARTICLE 5.

Should the consent of the other Powers to the draft Decree mentioned in Article I of the Declaration of today's date not be obtained, the Government of the French Republic will not oppose the repayment at par of the Guaranteed, Privileged, and Unified Debts after the 15th July, 1910.

Done at London, in duplicate, the 8th day of April, 1904.

LANSDOWNE PAUL CAMBON

Source: Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*. Vol. CIII, Cmd. 5969. London, 1911.

Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905)

In February 1904, the Japanese launched a surprise attack against the Russian warships at Port Arthur, China, setting off the Russo-Japanese War. The two powers were fighting over influence in the Port Arthur region of northeast China. Japan, worried that the completion of a Russian railway would secure Moscow's control of the strategic port, decided to make their move before the track was finished. Japan's victory over the Russians, confirmed in the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war, was more than just another imperialist tussle—it was the first defeat of a European power by a non-European power in modern times. In addition, the treaty—negotiated by U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt—signaled America's growing emergence as a force in international politics.

The Emperor of Japan on the one part, and the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, animated by a desire to restore the blessings of peace, have resolved to conclude a treaty of peace, and have for this purpose named their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, for his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Baron Komura Jutaro, Jusami, Grand Cordon of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, and his Excellency Takahira Kogoro, Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, his Minister to the United States, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his Excellency Sergius Witte, his Secretary of State and President of the Committee of Ministers of the Empire of Russia, and his Excellency Baron Roman Rosen, Master of the Imperial Court of Russia, his Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I. There shall henceforth be peace and amity between their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of all the Russias, and between their respective States and subjects.

ARTICLE II. The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests engages neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures for guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find necessary to take in Korea. It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated in exactly the same manner as the subjects and citizens of other foreign Powers; that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects and citizens of the most favored nation. It is also agreed that, in order to avoid causes of misunderstanding, the two high contracting parties will abstain on the Russian-Korean frontier from taking any military measure which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory.

ARTICLE III. Japan and Russia mutually engage: First.—To evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula, in conformity with the provisions of the additional article I annexed to this treaty, and,

Second.—To restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria now in occupation, or under the

control of the Japanese or Russian troops, with the exception of the territory above mentioned.

The Imperial Government of Russia declares that it has not in Manchuria any territorial advantages or preferential or exclusive concessions in the impairment of Chinese sovereignty, or inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity.

ARTICLE IV. Japan and Russia reciprocally engage not to obstruct any general measures common to all countries which China may take for the development of the commerce or industry of Manchuria.

ARTICLE V. The Imperial Russian Government transfers and assigns to the Imperial Government of Japan, with the consent of the Government of China, the lease of Port Arthur, Talien and the adjacent territorial waters, and all rights, privileges and concessions connected with or forming part of such lease, and it also transfers and assigns to the Imperial government of Japan all public works and properties in the territory affected by the above-mentioned lease.

The two contracting parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government mentioned in the foregoing stipulation.

The Imperial Government of Japan, on its part, undertakes that the proprietary rights of Russian subjects in the territory above referred to shall be perfectly respected.

ARTICLE VI. The Imperial Russian Government engages to transfer and assign to the Imperial Government of Japan, without compensation and with the consent of the Chinese Government, the railway between Chang-chunfu and Kuanchangtsu and Port Arthur, and all the branches, together with all the rights, privileges and properties appertaining thereto in that region, as well as all the coal mines in said region belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway. The two high contracting parties mutually engage to obtain the consent of the Government of China mentioned in the foregoing stipulation.

ARTICLE VII. Japan and Russia engage to exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes and no-wise for strategic purposes. It is understood that this restriction does not apply to the railway in the territory affected by the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula.

ARTICLE VIII. The imperial Governments of Japan and Russia with the view to promote and fa-

cilitate intercourse and traffic will as soon as possible conclude a separate convention for the regulation of their connecting railway services in Manchuria.

ARTICLE IX. The Imperial Russian Government cedes to the Imperial Government of Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the southern portion of the Island of Saghalin and all the islands adjacent thereto and the public works and properties thereon. The fiftieth degree of north latitude is adopted as the northern boundary of the ceded territory. The exact alignment of such territory shall be determined in accordance with the provisions of the additional article II annexed to this treaty.

Japan and Russia mutually agree not to construct in their respective possessions on the Island of Saghalin or the adjacent islands any fortification or other similar military works. They also respectively engage not to take any military measures which may impede the free navigation of the Strait of La Perouse and the Strait of Tartary.

ARTICLE X. It is reserved to Russian subjects, inhabitants of the territory ceded to Japan, to sell their real property and retire to their country, but if they prefer to remain in the ceded territory they will be maintained protected in the full exercise of their industries and rights of property on condition of submitting to the Japanese laws and jurisdiction. Japan shall have full liberty to withdraw the right of residence in or to deport from such territory of any inhabitants who labor under political or administrative disability. She engages, however, that the proprietary rights of such inhabitants shall be fully respected.

ARTICLE XI. Russia engages to arrange with Japan for granting to Japanese subjects rights of fishery along the coasts of the Russian possession in the Japan, Okhotsk and Bering Seas.

It is agreed that the foregoing engagement shall not affect rights already belonging to Russian or foreign subjects in those regions.

ARTICLE XII. The treaty of commerce and navigation between Japan and Russia having been annulled by the war the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia engage to adopt as a basis for their commercial relations pending the conclusion of a new treaty of commerce and navigation the basis of the treaty which was in force previous to the present war, the system of reciprocal treatment

on the footing of the most favored nation, in which are included import and export duties, customs formalities, transit and tonnage dues and the admission and treatment of agents, subjects and vessels of one country in the territories of the other.

ARTICLE XIII. As soon as possible after the present treaty comes in force all prisoners of war shall be reciprocally restored. The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia shall each appoint a special commissioner to take charge of the prisoners. All prisoners in the hands of one Government shall be delivered to and be received by the commissioner of the other Government or by his duly authorized representative in such convenient numbers and at such convenient ports of the delivering State as such delivering State shall notify in advance to the commissioner of the receiving State.

The Governments of Japan and Russia shall present each other as soon as possible after the delivery of the prisoners is completed with a statement of the direct expenditures respectively incurred by them for the care and maintenance of the prisoners from the date of capture or surrender and up to the time of death or delivery. Russia engages to repay as soon as possible after the exchange of statement as above provided the difference between the actual amount so expended by Japan and the actual amount similarly disbursed by Russia.

ARTICLE XIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of all the Russias. Such ratification shall be with as little delay as possible, and in any case no later than fifty days from the date of the signature of the treaty, to be announced to the Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia respectively through the French Minister at Tokio and the Ambassador of the United States at St. Petersburg, and from the date of the latter of such announcements shall in all its parts come into full force. The formal exchange of ratifications shall take place at Washington as soon as possible.

ARTICLE XV. The present treaty shall be signed in duplicate in both the English and French languages. The texts are in absolute conformity, but in case of a discrepancy in the interpretation the French text shall prevail.

SUB-ARTICLES In conformity with the provisions of articles 3 and 9 of the treaty of the peace

between Japan and Russia of this date the undersigned plenipotentiaries have concluded the following additional articles:

SUB-ARTICLE TO ARTICLE III. The Imperial Governments of Japan and Russia mutually engage to commence the withdrawal of their military forces from the territory of Manchuria simultaneously and immediately after the treaty of peace comes into operation, and within a period of eighteen months after that date the armies of the two countries shall be completely withdrawn from Manchuria, except from the leased territory of the Liaotung Peninsula. The forces of the two countries occupying the front positions shall first be withdrawn.

The high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to maintain guards to protect their respective railway lines in Manchuria. The number of such guards shall not exceed fifteen per kilometre and within that maximum number the commanders of the Japanese and Russian armies shall by common accord fix the number of such guards to be employed as small as possible while having in view the actual requirements.

The commanders of the Japanese and Russian forces in Manchuria shall agree upon the details of the evacuation in conformity with the above principles and shall take by common accord the measures necessary to carry out the evacuation as soon as possible, and in any case not later than the period of eighteen months.

SUB-ARTICLE TO ARTICLE IX. As soon as possible after the present treaty comes into force a committee of delimitation composed of an equal number of members is to be appointed by the two high contracting parties which shall on the spot mark in a permanent manner the exact boundary between the Japanese and Russian possessions on the Island of Saghalin. The commission shall be bound so far as topographical considerations permit to follow the fiftieth parallel of north latitude as the boundary line, and in case any deflections from that line at any points are found to be necessary compensation will be made by correlative deflections at other points. It shall also be the duty of the said commission to prepare a list and a description of the adjacent islands included in the cession, and finally the commission shall prepare and sign maps showing the boundaries of the ceded territory. The work of the commission shall

be subject to the approval of the high contracting parties.

The foregoing additional articles are to be considered ratified with the ratification of the treaty of peace to which they are annexed.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed seals to the present treaty of peace.

Done at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, this fifth day of the ninth month of the thirty-eighth year of the Meiji, corresponding to the twenty-third day of August, one thousand nine hundred and five (September 5, 1905).

Source: Tyler, Sydney. *The Japan-Russia War*. Harrisburg, PA: Minter Company, 1905.

Anglo-Russian Agreement Concerning Persia (1907)

While much of Asia was absorbed into European (and Japanese) empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several states were spared this fate, usually because they served as useful buffers between competing empires. One such state was the Persian empire (modern-day Iran). Situated between the expanding Russian empire looking for access to warm water ports and British possessions on the subcontinent of India, Persia was eventually divided into Russian and British spheres of influence by the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907, reprinted in part here.

The Governments of Great Britain and Russia having mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and sincerely desiring the preservation of order throughout that country and its peaceful development, as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the trade and industry of all other nations;

Considering that each of them has, for geographical and economic reasons, a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia adjoining, or in the neighborhood of, the Russian frontier on the one hand, and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the other hand; and being desirous of avoiding all cause of conflict between their respective interests in the above-mentioned provinces of Persia;

Have agreed on the following terms:—

I. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of British subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature—such as Concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc.—beyond a line starting from Kasr-i-Shirin, passing through Isfahan, Yezd, Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the Russian Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Great Britain engages not to seek the Concessions referred to.

II. Russia, on her part, engages not to seek for herself and not to support, in favour of Russian subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature—such as Concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc.—beyond a line going from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman, and ending at Bunder Abbas, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the British Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Russia engages not to seek the Concessions referred to.

III. Russia, on her part, engages not to oppose, without previous arrangement with Great Britain, the grant of any Concessions whatever to British subjects in the regions of Persia situated between the lines mentioned in Articles I and II.

Great Britain undertakes a similar engagement as regards the grant of Concessions to Russian subjects in the same regions of Persia.

All Concessions existing at present in the regions indicated in Articles I and II are maintained.

IV. It is understood that the revenues of all the Persian customs, with the exception of those of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf, revenues guaranteeing the amortization and the interest of the loans concluded by the Government of the Shah with the “Banque d’Escompte et des Prêts de Perse” up to the date of the signature of the present Agreement, shall be devoted to the same purpose as in the past.

It is equally understood that the revenues of the Persian customs of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf, as well as those of the fisheries on the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea and those of the Posts and Telegraphs, shall be devoted, as in the past, to the service of the loans concluded by the Government of the Shah with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present Agreement.

V. In the event of irregularities occurring in the amortization or the payment of the interest of the Persian loans concluded with the “Banque d’Escompte et des Prets de Perse” and with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present Agreement, and in the event of the necessity arising for Russia to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the first-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article II of the present Agreement, or for Great Britain to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the second-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article I of the present Agreement, the British and Russian Governments undertake to enter beforehand into a friendly exchange of ideas with a view to determine, in agreement with each other, the measures of control in question and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles governing the present Agreement. . . .

Source: Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*. Volume CXXV. London: 1908.

Sykes-Picot Agreement (May 9, 1916)

The Sykes-Picot Treaty, named after its negotiators, Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France, was a secret agreement reached by the two countries, with the assent of ally Russia, during World War I. The purpose of the agreement was to divide up the Middle Eastern holdings of the enemy Ottoman Empire after the war. This agreement completely contravened an understanding reached between Hashemite ruler Husain ibn Ali, the sharif of Mecca, and British High Commissioner for Egypt Henry McMahon, promising independence for Arab peoples after the war. Following the Russian Revolu-

tion of 1917, Bolshevik leaders released the details of the agreement, causing a deep sense of betrayal among many Arab leaders.

It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments:

That France and Great Britain are prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab states or a confederation of Arab states (a) and (b) marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) great Britain, shall have priority of right of enterprise and local loans. That in area (a) France, and in area (b) great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

That in the blue area France, and in the red area great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

That in the brown area there shall be established an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other allies, and the representatives of the sheriff of Mecca.

That great Britain be accorded (1) the ports of Haifa and acre, (2) guarantee of a given supply of water from the Tigres and Euphrates in area (a) for area (b). His majesty’s government, on their part, undertake that they will at no time enter into negotiations for the cession of Cyprus to any third power without the previous consent of the French government.

That Alexandretta shall be a free port as regards the trade of the British empire, and that there shall be no discrimination in port charges or facilities as regards British shipping and British goods; that there shall be freedom of transit for British goods through Alexandretta and by railway through the blue area, or (b) area, or area (a); and there shall be no discrimination, direct or indirect, against British goods on any railway or against British goods or ships at any port serving the areas mentioned.

That Haifa shall be a free port as regards the trade of France, her dominions and protectorates, and there shall be no discrimination in port charges or facilities as regards French shipping and

French goods. There shall be freedom of transit for French goods through Haifa and by the British railway through the brown area, whether those goods are intended for or originate in the blue area, area (a), or area (b), and there shall be no discrimination, direct or indirect, against French goods on any railway, or against French goods or ships at any port serving the areas mentioned.

That in area (a) the Baghdad railway shall not be extended southwards beyond Mosul, and in area (b) northwards beyond Samarra, until a railway connecting Baghdad and Aleppo via the Euphrates valley has been completed, and then only with the concurrence of the two governments.

That great Britain has the right to build, administer, and be sole owner of a railway connecting Haifa with area (b), and shall have a perpetual right to transport troops along such a line at all times. It is to be understood by both governments that this railway is to facilitate the connection of Baghdad with Haifa by rail, and it is further understood that, if the engineering difficulties and expense entailed by keeping this connecting line in the brown area only make the project unfeasible, that the French government shall be prepared to consider that the line in question may also traverse the Polgon Baniyas Keis Marib Salkhad tell Otsda Mesmie before reaching area (b).

For a period of twenty years the existing Turkish customs tariff shall remain in force throughout the whole of the blue and red areas, as well as in areas (a) and (b), and no increase in the rates of duty or conversions from *ad valorem* to specific rates shall be made except by agreement between the two powers.

There shall be no interior customs barriers between any of the above mentioned areas. The customs duties leviable on goods destined for the interior shall be collected at the port of entry and handed over to the administration of the area of destination.

It shall be agreed that the French government will at no time enter into any negotiations for the cession of their rights and will not cede such rights in the blue area to any third power, except the Arab state or confederation of Arab states, without the previous agreement of his majesty's government, who, on their part, will give a similar undertaking to the French government regarding the red area.

The British and French government, as the protectors of the Arab state, shall agree that they will not themselves acquire and will not consent to a third power acquiring territorial possessions in the Arabian peninsula, nor consent to a third power installing a naval base either on the east coast, or on the islands, of the red sea. This, however, shall not prevent such adjustment of the Aden frontier as may be necessary in consequence of recent Turkish aggression.

The negotiations with the Arabs as to the boundaries of the Arab states shall be continued through the same channel as heretofore on behalf of the two powers.

It is agreed that measures to control the importation of arms into the Arab territories will be considered by the two governments.

I have further the honor to state that, in order to make the agreement complete, his majesty's government are proposing to the Russian government to exchange notes analogous to those exchanged by the latter and your excellency's government on the 26th April last. Copies of these notes will be communicated to your excellency as soon as exchanged. I would also venture to remind your excellency that the conclusion of the present agreement raises, for practical consideration, the question of claims of Italy to a share in any partition or rearrangement of turkey in Asia, as formulated in article 9 of the agreement of the 26th April, 1915, between Italy and the allies.

His Majesty's government further consider that the Japanese government should be informed of the arrangements now concluded.

Source: Winer, Joel H. *Great Britain: Foreign Policy and the Span of Empire, 1689–1971, A Documentary History*, vol. 3. New York: Chelsea House, 1972.

Vladimir Lenin: *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917)

With his Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Russian Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin attempted to apply Marxist theory to the phenomenon of empire. In the lengthy pamphlet, originally published in 1917, Lenin emphasized the importance of monopoly capitalism as a motivating factor for the acquisition of empire, as well as the need for markets for surplus investment capital in metro-

poles. In much of this theorizing, Lenin was borrowing from the path-breaking work of British economist John A. Hobson and his work *Imperialism: A Study*. [See above, p. 168]

During the last fifteen to twenty years, especially since the Spanish-American War (1898), and the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the economic and also the political literature of the two hemispheres has more and more often adopted the term “imperialism” in order to describe the present era. In 1902, a book by the English economist J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, was published in London and New York. This author, whose point of view is that of bourgeois social reformism and pacifism which, in essence, is identical with the present point of view of the ex-Marxist, K. Kautsky, gives a very good and comprehensive description of the principal specific economic and political features of imperialism. . . .

I. CONCENTRATION OF PRODUCTION AND MONOPOLIES

The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of concentration of production in ever-larger enterprises are one of the most characteristic features of capitalism. Modern censuses of production give most complete and most exact data on this process. . . .

And concentration goes on further and further. Individual enterprises are becoming larger and larger. An ever-increasing number of enterprises in one, or in several different industries, join together in giant enterprises, backed up and directed by half a dozen big Berlin banks. In relation to the German mining industry, the truth of the teachings of Karl Marx on concentration is definitely proved, true, this applies to a country where industry is protected by tariffs and freight rates. The German mining industry is ripe for expropriation

Such is the conclusion which a conscientious bourgeois economist, and such are the exception, had to arrive at. It must be noted that he seems to place Germany in a special category because her industries are protected by high tariffs. But this circumstance could only accelerate concentration and the formation of monopolist manufacturers’ combines, cartels, syndicates, etc. It is extremely important to note that in free-trade England, con-

centration also leads to monopoly, although somewhat later and perhaps in another form. . . .

Half a century ago, when Marx was writing *Capital*, free competition appeared to the overwhelming majority of economists to be a “natural law.” Official science tried, by a conspiracy of silence, to kill the works of Marx, who by a theoretical and historical analysis of capitalism proved that free competition gives rise to the concentration of production, which, in turn, at a certain stage of development, leads to monopoly. Today, monopoly has become a fact.

The economists are writing mountains of books in which they describe the diverse manifestations of monopoly, and continue to declare in chorus that “Marxism is refuted.” But facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb says, and they have to be reckoned with, whether we like it or not. The facts show that differences between capitalist countries, e.g., in the matter of protection or free trade, only give rise to insignificant variations in the form of monopolies or in the moment of their appearance; and that the rise of monopolies, as the result of the concentration of production, is a general and fundamental law of the present stage of development of capitalism.

For Europe, the time when the new capitalism definitely superseded the old can be established with fair precision: it was the beginning of the twentieth century. . . .

Competition becomes transformed into monopoly. The result is immense progress in the socialization of production. In particular, the process of technical invention and improvement becomes socialized.

This is something quite different from the old free competition between manufacturers, scattered and out of touch with one another, and producing for an unknown market. Concentration has reached the point at which it is possible to make an approximate estimate of all sources of raw materials (for example, the iron ore deposits) of a country and even, as we shall see, of several countries, or of the whole world. Not only are such estimates made, but these sources are captured by gigantic monopolist combines. An approximate estimate of the capacity of markets is also made, and the combines “divide” them up amongst themselves by agreement. Skilled labor is monopolized, the best engineers are engaged; the means

of transport are captured: railways in America, shipping companies in Europe and America. Capitalism in its imperialist stage leads right up to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization.

Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, but the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable. . . .

Crises of every kind—economic crises most frequently, but not only these—in their turn increase very considerably the tendency towards concentration and towards monopoly.

In other words, the old capitalism, the capitalism of free competition with its indispensable regulator, the Stock Exchange, is passing away. A new capitalism has come to take its place, bearing obvious features of something transient, a mixture of free competition and monopoly. The question naturally arises: to what is this new capitalism “passing”? But the bourgeois scholars are afraid to raise this question.

“Thirty years ago, businessmen, freely competing against one another, performed nine-tenths of the work connected with their business other than manual labor. At the present time, nine-tenths of this ‘brain work’ is performed by officials. Banking is in the forefront of this evolution. . . .” This admission by Schulze-Gaevernitz brings us once again to the question: to what is this new capitalism, capitalism in its imperialist stage, passing?

Among the few banks which remain at the head of all capitalist economy as a result of the process of concentration, there is naturally to be observed an increasingly marked tendency towards monopolist agreements, towards a bank trust. In America, not nine, but two very big banks, those of the billionaires Rockefeller and Morgan, control a capital of eleven billion marks.

The old capitalism has had its day. The new capitalism represents a transition towards something. It is hopeless, of course, to seek for “firm principles and a concrete aim” for the purpose of “reconciling” monopoly with free competition. . . .

At precisely what period were the “new activities” of the big banks finally established? Jeidels gives us a fairly exact answer to this important question:

“The connections between the banks and industrial enterprises, with their new content, their new forms and their new organs, namely, the big banks which are organized on both a centralized and a decentralized basis, were scarcely a characteristic economic phenomenon before the nineties; in one sense, indeed this initial date may be advanced to the year 1897, when the important ‘mergers’ took place and when, for the first time, the new form of decentralized organization was introduced to suit the industrial policy of the banks. This starting point could perhaps be placed at an even later date, for it was the crisis of 1900 that enormously accelerated and intensified the process of concentration of industry and of banking, consolidated that process, for the first time transformed the connection with industry into the actual monopoly of the big banks, and made this connection much closer and more active.”

Thus, the twentieth century marks the turning point from the old capitalism to the new, from the domination of capital in general to the domination of finance capital. . . .

III. FINANCE CAPITAL AND THE FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY

. . . . We now have to describe how, under the general conditions of commodity production and private property, the “business operations” of capitalist monopolies inevitably become the domination of a financial oligarchy. It should be noted that the representatives of bourgeois German—and not only German—science, like Riesser, Schulze-Gaevernitz, Liefmann and others, are all apologists of imperialism and of finance capital. . . .

But the monstrous facts concerning the monstrous rule of the financial oligarchy are so glaring that in all capitalist countries, in America, France and Germany, a whole literature has sprung up, written from the bourgeois point of view, but which, nevertheless, gives a fairly truthful picture and criticism—petty-bourgeois, naturally—of this oligarchy.

The “holding system,” to which we have already briefly referred above, should be made the corner-

stone. The German economist, Heymann, probably the first to call attention to this matter, describes the essence of it in this way:

“The head of the concern controls the principal company” (literally: the “mother company”); “the latter reigns over the subsidiary companies” (“daughter companies”) “which in their turn control still other subsidiaries” [“grandchild companies”], “etc. In this way, it is possible with a comparatively small capital to dominate immense spheres of production. Indeed, if holding 50 per cent of the capital is always sufficient to control a company, the head of the concern needs only one million to control eight million in the second subsidiaries. And if this ‘interlocking’ is extended, it is possible with one million to control sixteen million, thirty-two million, etc.”

. . . It is characteristic of capitalism in general that the ownership of capital is separated from the application of capital to production, that money capital is separated from industrial or productive capital, and that the rentier who lives entirely on income obtained from money capital is separated from the entrepreneur and from all who are directly concerned in the management of capital. Imperialism, or the domination of finance capital, is that highest stage of capitalism at which this separation reaches vast proportions. The supremacy of finance capital over all other forms of capital means the predominance of the rentier and of the financial oligarchy; it means the singling out of a small number of financially “powerful” states from among all the rest. . . .

IV. THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL

Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of goods. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of capital.

Capitalism is commodity production at its highest stage of development, when labor power itself becomes a commodity. The growth of internal exchange, and particularly of international exchange, is the characteristic distinguishing feature of capitalism. Uneven and spasmodic development of individual enterprises, of individual branches of industry and individual countries, is inevitable under the capitalist system. England became a capitalist country before any other, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, having

adopted free trade, claimed to be the “workshop of the world,” the purveyor of manufactured goods to all countries, which in exchange were to keep her supplied with raw materials. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this monopoly was already undermined; for other countries, sheltering themselves by “protective” tariffs, developed into independent capitalist states. On the threshold of the twentieth century we see the formation of a new type of monopoly: firstly, monopolist capitalist combines in all capitalistically developed countries; secondly, the monopolist position of a few very rich countries, in which the accumulation of capital has reached gigantic proportions. An enormous “superabundance of capital” has arisen in the advanced countries.

It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today frightfully lags behind industry everywhere, if it could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still half-starved and poverty-stricken, in spite of the amazing technical progress, there could be no talk of a superabundance of capital. This “argument” is very often advanced by the petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism. But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism; for both uneven development and a semi-starvation level of existence of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and premises of this mode of production. As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilized not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap. The possibility of exporting capital is created by the fact that a number of backward countries have already been drawn into world capitalist intercourse; main railways have either been or are being built there, the elementary conditions for industrial development have been created, etc. The necessity for exporting capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become “overripe” and (owing to the backward stage of agriculture and the impoverished state of the masses) capital cannot find a field for “profitable” investment. . . .

The capital exporting countries have divided the world among themselves in the figurative sense of the term. But finance capital has led to the actual division of the world.

V. THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD AMONG CAPITALIST COMBINES

Monopolist capitalist combines, cartels, syndicates and trusts divide among themselves, first of all, the home market, seize more or less complete possession of the industry of a country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist combines expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these combines, and towards the formation of international cartels.

This is a new stage of world concentration of capital and production, incomparably higher than the preceding stages. . . .

The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits. And they divide it "in proportion to capital," "in proportion to strength," because there cannot be any other method of division under commodity production and capitalism. But strength varies with the degree of economic and political development. In order to understand what is taking place, it is necessary to know what questions are settled by the changes in strength. The question as to whether these changes are "purely" economic or non-economic (e.g., military) is a secondary one, which cannot in the least affect the fundamental views on the latest epoch of capitalism. To substitute the question of the form of the struggle and agreements (today peaceful, tomorrow warlike, the next day warlike again) for the question of the substance of the struggle and agreements between capitalist combines is to sink to the role of a sophist.

The epoch of the latest stage of capitalism shows us that certain relations between capitalist combines grow up, based on the economic division of the world, while parallel and in connection with it, certain relations grow up between political

combines, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the "struggle for economic territory."

VI. THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD AMONG THE GREAT POWERS

. . . The characteristic feature of the period under review is the final partition of the globe—final, not in the sense that a repartition is impossible; on the contrary, repartitions are possible and inevitable—but in the sense that the colonial policy of the capitalist countries has completed the seizure of the unoccupied territories on our planet. For the first time the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only redivision is possible, i.e., territories can only pass from one "owner" to another, instead of passing as ownerless territory to an "owner."

Hence, we are passing through a peculiar epoch of world colonial policy, which is most closely connected with the "latest stage in the development of capitalism," with finance capital. For this reason, it is essential first of all to deal in greater detail with the facts, in order to ascertain as exactly as possible what distinguishes this epoch from those preceding it, and what the present situation is. In the first place, two questions of fact arise here: is an intensification of colonial policy, a sharpening of the struggle for colonies, observed precisely in this epoch of finance capital? And how, in this respect, is the world divided at the present time?

The American writer, Morris, in his book on the history of colonization, has made an attempt to sum up the data on the colonial possessions of Great Britain, France and Germany during different periods of the nineteenth century. . . . We clearly see how "complete" was the partition of the world on the border line between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. After 1876 colonial possessions increased to enormous dimensions, more than fifty per cent, from 40,000,000 to 25,000,000 square kilometers in area for the six biggest powers; the increase amounts to 25,000,000 square kilometers, fifty per cent larger than the area of the metropolitan countries (16,500,000 square kilometers). In 1876 three powers had no colonies, and a fourth, France, had scarcely any. By 1914 these four powers had acquired colonies of an area of 14,100,000 square kilometers, i.e., about fifty per cent larger than

that of Europe, with a population of nearly 100,000,000. The unevenness in the rate of expansion of colonial possessions is very great. If, for instance, we compare France, Germany and Japan, which do not differ very much in area and population, we will see that the first has acquired almost three times as much colonial territory as the other two combined. In regard to finance capital, France, at the beginning of the period we are considering, was also, perhaps, several times richer than Germany and Japan put together. In addition to, and on the basis of, purely economic conditions, geographical and other conditions also affect the dimensions of colonial possessions. However strong the process of leveling the world, of leveling the economic and living conditions in different countries, may have been in the past decades as a result of the pressure of large-scale industry, exchange and finance capital, considerable differences still remain; and among the six powers mentioned we see, firstly, young capitalist countries (America, Germany, Japan) whose progress has been extraordinarily rapid; secondly, countries with an old capitalist development (France and Great Britain), whose progress lately has been much slower than that of the previously mentioned countries, and thirdly, a country which is economically most backward (Russia), where modern capitalist imperialism is enmeshed, so to speak, in a particularly close network of precapitalist relations.

Alongside the colonial possessions of the Great Powers, we have placed the small colonies of the small states, which are, so to speak, the next objects of a possible and probable "redivision" of colonies. Most of these small states are able to retain their colonies only because of the conflicting interests, friction, etc., among the big powers, which prevent them from coming to an agreement in regard to the division of the spoils. The "semicolonial" states provide an example of the transitional forms which are to be found in all spheres of nature and society. Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence; we shall shortly see examples of this. Of course, finance capital finds most "convenient," and is able to extract the greatest profit from such

a subjection as involves the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and peoples. In this connection, the semicolonial countries provide a typical example of the "middle stage." It is natural that the struggle for these semidependent countries should have become particularly bitter in the epoch of finance capital, when the rest of the world has already been divided up.

Colonial policy and imperialism existed before this latest stage of capitalism, and even before capitalism. Rome, founded on slavery, pursued a colonial policy and practiced imperialism. But "general" disquisitions on imperialism, which ignore, or put into the background, the fundamental difference between social-economic systems, inevitably degenerate into the most rapid banality or bragging, like the comparison: "Greater Rome and Greater Britain." Even the capitalist colonial policy of previous stages of capitalism is essentially different from the colonial policy of finance capital.

The principal feature of the latest stage of capitalism is the domination of monopolist combines of the big capitalists. These monopolies are most firmly established when all the sources of raw materials are captured by one group, and we have seen with what zeal the international capitalist combines exert every effort to make it impossible for their rivals to compete with them by buying up, for example, iron ore fields, oil fields, etc. Colonial possession alone gives the monopolies complete guarantee against all contingencies in the struggle with competitors, including the contingency that the latter will defend themselves by means of a law establishing a state monopoly. The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies.

. . . Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the epoch of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. Typical of this epoch is not only the two main groups of countries: those owning colonies, and colonies, but

also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, officially, are politically independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence. We have already referred to one form of dependence—the semicolony. An example of another is provided by Argentina.

“South America, and especially Argentina,” writes Schulze-Gaevernitz in his work on British imperialism, “is so dependent financially on London that it ought to be described as almost a British commercial colony.” Basing himself on the report of the Austro-Hungarian consul at Buenos Aires for 1909, Schilder estimates the amount of British capital invested in Argentina at 8,750,000 francs. It is not difficult to imagine what strong connections British finance capital (and its faithful “friend,” diplomacy) thereby acquires with the Argentine bourgeoisie, with the circles that control the whole of that country’s economic and political life. . . .

VII. IMPERIALISM, AS A SPECIAL STAGE OF CAPITALISM

We must now try to sum up, put together, what has been said above on the subject of imperialism. Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites, when the features of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves all along the line. Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the fundamental characteristic of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still larger-scale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free compe-

tion, do not eliminate the latter, but exist over it and alongside of it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system.

If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist combines of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolistic possession of the territory of the world which has been completely divided up.

But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since very important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined have to be especially deduced. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its complete development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features: 1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this “finance capital,” of a financial oligarchy; 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; 4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves, and 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.

We shall see later that imperialism can and must be defined differently if we bear in mind, not only the basic, purely economic concepts—to which the above definition is limited—but also the historical place of this stage of capitalism in relation to capitalism in general, or the relation between imperialism and the two main trends in the working-class movement. The point to be noted just now is that imperialism, as interpreted above, undoubtedly represents a special stage in the development of capitalism. To enable the reader to obtain the most well-grounded idea of imperialism possible, we deliberately tried to quote as largely as possible bourgeois economists who are obliged to admit the particularly incontrovertible facts concerning the latest stage of capitalist economy. With the same object in view, we have quoted detailed statistics which enable one to see to what degree bank capital, etc., has grown, in what precisely the transformation of quantity into quality, of developed capitalism into imperialism, was expressed. Needless to say, of course, all boundaries in nature and in society are conditional and changeable, that it would be absurd to argue, for example, about the particular year or decade in which imperialism “definitely” became established. . . .

One of the special features of imperialism connected with the facts we are describing, is the decline in emigration from imperialist countries and the increase in immigration into these countries from the more backward countries where lower wages are paid. As Hobson observes, emigration from Great Britain has been declining since 1884. In that year the number of emigrants was 242,000, while in 1900, the number was 169,000.

. . . Imperialism has the tendency to create privileged sections also among the workers, and to detach them from the broad masses of the proletariat.

It must be observed that in Great Britain the tendency of imperialism to divide the workers, to strengthen opportunism among them and to cause temporary decay in the working-class movement, revealed itself much earlier than the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. . . .

This clearly shows the causes and effects. The causes are: 1) exploitation of the whole world by this country; 2) its monopolistic position in the world market; 3) its colonial monopoly. The effects

are: 1) a section of the British proletariat becomes bourgeois; 2) a section of the proletariat permits itself to be led by men bought by, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie. The imperialism of the beginning of the twentieth century completed the division of the world among a handful of states, each of which today exploits (i.e., draws superprofits from) a part of the “whole world” only a little smaller than that which England exploited in 1858; each of them occupies a monopoly position in the world market thanks to trusts, cartels, finance capital and creditor and debtor relations; each of them enjoys to some degree a colonial monopoly. . . .

The distinctive feature of the present situation is the prevalence of such economic and political conditions as could not but increase the irreconcilability between opportunism and the general and vital interests of the working-class movement: imperialism has grown from the embryo into the predominant system; capitalist monopolies occupy first place in economics and politics; the division of the world has been completed; on the other hand, instead of the undivided monopoly of Great Britain, we see a few imperialist powers contending for the right to share in this monopoly, and this struggle is characteristic of the whole period of the beginning of the twentieth century. Opportunism cannot now be completely triumphant in the working-class movement of one country for decades as it was in England in the second half of the nineteenth century; but in a number of countries it has grown ripe, over-ripe, and rotten, and has become completely merged with bourgeois policy in the form of “social chauvinism.” . . .

IX. THE CRITIQUE OF IMPERIALISM

By the critique of imperialism, in the broad sense of the term, we mean the attitude towards imperialist policy of the different classes of society in connection with their general ideology.

The enormous dimensions of finance capital concentrated in a few hands and creating an extraordinarily far-flung and close network of relationships and connections which subordinates not only the small and medium, but also even the very small capitalists and small masters, on the one hand, and the increasingly intense struggle waged against other national state groups of financiers for the division of the world and domination over

other countries, on the other hand, cause the possessing classes to go over entirely to the side of imperialism. "General" enthusiasm over the prospects of imperialism, furious defense of it and painting it in the brightest colors—such are the signs of the times. The imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class. No Chinese Wall separates it from the other classes. The leaders of the present-day, so-called, "Social-Democratic" Party of Germany are justly called "social-imperialists," that is, Socialists in words and imperialists in deeds; but as early as 1902, Hobson noted the existence in England of "Fabian imperialists" who belonged to the opportunist Fabian Society.

Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defense of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form; they obscure its complete domination and its profound roots, strive to push into the forefront particular and secondary details and do their very best to distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for "reform," such as police supervision of the trusts or banks, etc. Less frequently, cynical and frank imperialists come forward who are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental characteristics of imperialism.

X. THE PLACE OF IMPERIALISM IN HISTORY

... The extent to which monopolist capital has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism is generally known. It is sufficient to mention the high cost of living and the tyranny of the cartels. This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital.

Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations—all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. More and more prominently there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "rentier state," the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie to an ever increasing degree lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons." It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperial-

ism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before; but this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (England).

In regard to the rapidity of Germany's economic development, Riesser, the author of the book on the big German banks, states: "The progress of the preceding period (1848–70), which had not been exactly slow, stood in about the same ratio to the rapidity with which the whole of Germany's national economy, and with it German banking, progressed during this period (1870–1905) as the speed of the mail coach in the good old days stood to the speed of the present-day automobile... which is whizzing past so fast that it endangers not only innocent pedestrians in its path, but also the occupants of the car." In its turn, this finance capital which has grown with such extraordinary rapidity is not unwilling, precisely because it has grown so quickly, to pass on to a more "tranquil" possession of colonies which have to be seized—and not only by peaceful methods—from richer nations. In the United States, economic development in the last decades has been even more rapid than in Germany, and for this very reason, the parasitic features of modern American capitalism have stood out with particular prominence. On the other hand, a comparison of, say, the republican American bourgeoisie with the monarchist Japanese or German bourgeoisie shows that the most pronounced political distinction diminishes to an extreme degree in the epoch of imperialism—not because it is unimportant in general, but because in all these cases we are discussing a bourgeoisie which has definite features of parasitism.

The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases

this striving. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most clearly in England, owing to the fact that certain features of imperialist development were observable there much earlier than in other countries. Some writers, L. Martov, for example, are prone to wave aside the connection between imperialism and opportunism in the working-class movement—a particularly glaring fact at the present time—by resorting to “official optimism” (à la Kautsky and Huysmans) like the following: the cause of the opponents of capitalism would be hopeless if it were precisely progressive capitalism that led to the increase of opportunism, or, if it were precisely the best paid workers who were inclined towards opportunism, etc. We must have no illusions about “optimism” of this kind. It is optimism in regard to opportunism; it is optimism which serves to conceal opportunism. As a matter of fact the extraordinary rapidity and the particularly revolting character of the development of opportunism is by no means a guarantee that its victory will be durable: the rapid growth of a malignant abscess on a healthy body can only cause it to burst more quickly and thus relieve the body of it. The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.

From all that has been said in this book on the economic essence of imperialism, it follows that we must define it as capitalism in transition, or, more precisely, as moribund capitalism.

Written January–June 1916

Published in pamphlet form in Petrograd, April 1917

Source: Lenin, Vladimir. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. New York: International Publishers, 1939.

Joseph A. Schumpeter: “The Sociology of Imperialism” (1918)

Joseph Schumpeter, a German economist, differed with British economist John Hobson and Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin about the causes of imperialism. It was not essentially an outgrowth of the capitalist economy, as the British liberal and Russian

Marxist argued, but an atavistic impulse of colonizer nations’ warrior classes, a carry-over from the time of absolute monarchies, argued Schumpeter in this excerpt from Imperialism and Social Classes, originally published in 1918. Indeed, he said, by rational capitalist decision-making, imperialism made no sense whatsoever.

Imperialism is objectless expansion, a pattern simply learned from the behavior of other nations and institutionalized into the domestic political processes of a state by a “warrior” class. This warrior class is created because of the need for defense, but, over time, the class will manufacture reasons to perpetuate its existence, usually through manipulation of crises.

For it is always a question, when one speaks of imperialism, of the assertion of an aggressiveness whose real basis does not lie in the aims followed at the moment but an aggressiveness in itself. And actually history shows us people and classes who desire expansion for the sake of expanding, war for the sake of fighting, domination for the sake of dominating. It values conquest not so much because of the advantages it brings, which are often more than doubtful, as because it is conquest, success, activity. Although expansion as self-purpose always needs concrete objects to activate it and support it, its meaning is not included therein. Hence its tendency toward the infinite unto the exhaustion of its forces, and its motto: *plus ultra*. Thus we define: *Imperialism is the object-less disposition of a state to expansion by force without assigned limits.*

Our analysis of historical material show: First, the undoubted fact that object-less tendencies toward forceful expansion without definite limits of purpose, non-rational and irrational, purely instinctive inclinations to war and conquest, play a very great role in the history of humanity. As paradoxical as it sounds, innumerable wars, perhaps the majority of all wars, have been waged without sufficient reason. Secondly, the explanation of the martial, functional need, this will to war, lies in the necessities of a situation, in which peoples and classes must become fighters or go under, and in the fact that the physical dispositions and social structure acquired in the past, once existent and consolidated, maintain themselves and continue to work after they have lost their meaning and their function of preserving life. Thirdly, the existence of

supporting elements which ease the continued life of these dispositions and structures can be divided into groups. Martial dispositions are especially furthered by the groups ruling the internal relationships of interests. And with martial dispositions are allied the influences of all those who individually stand to gain, either economically or socially, by martial policy. Both groups of motives are in general overgrown by another kind of foliage which is not merely political propaganda but also individual psychological motivation. Imperialism is an atavism. It falls in the great group of those things that live on from earlier epochs, things which play so great a role in every concrete situation and which are to be explained not from the conditions of the present but from the conditions of the past. It is an atavism of social structure and an atavism of individual emotional habits. Since the necessities which created it have gone forever, it must—though ever martial development tends to revitalize it—disappear in time.

Modern Imperialism is one of the heirlooms of the absolute monarchical state. The “inner logic” of capitalism would have never evolved it. Its sources come from the policy of the princes and the customs of a pre-capitalist milieu. But even export monopoly is not imperialism and it would never have developed to imperialism in the hands of the pacific bourgeoisie. This happened only because the war machine, its social atmosphere, and the martial will were inherited and because a martially-oriented class (*i.e.*, the nobility) maintained itself in a ruling position with which of all the varied interests of the bourgeoisie the martial ones could ally themselves. This alliance keeps alive fighting instincts and ideas of domination. It led to social relations which perhaps ultimately are to be explained by relations of production but not by the productive relations of capitalism alone.

Source: Schumpeter, Joseph Alois. *Imperialism and Social Classes*. Trans. Heinz Norden; ed. and with an introduction by Paul M. Sweezy. New York: A. M. Kelly, 1951.

E. D. Morel: *Black Man's Burden* (1920)

Born in Paris in 1873, but raised in England, E. D. Morel was a Liverpool-based journalist and one of

*the most articulate and forceful spokespersons for colonized Africa in the age of high imperialism. In the early 1900s, Morel led an international human rights campaign that helped liberate the Congo River basin from the brutal regime established by King Leopold II of Belgium. Although couched in what now seems like condescending language, Morel's *Black Man's Burden* of 1920 remains one of the great anti-imperialist books of the era, as it argued powerfully against the common notion that the white man's rule in Africa was largely benevolent, helping to “civilize” a benighted continent.*

It is [the peoples of Africa] who carry the “Black man's burden.” They have not withered away before the white man's occupation. Indeed . . . Africa has ultimately absorbed within itself every Caucasian and, for that matter, every Semitic invader, too. In hewing out for himself a fixed abode in Africa, the white man has massacred the African in heaps. The African has survived, and it is well for the white settlers that he has. . . .

What the partial occupation of his soil by the white man has failed to do; what the mapping out of European political “spheres of influence” has failed to do; what the maxim and the rifle, the slave gang, labor in the bowels of the earth and the lash, have failed to do; what imported measles, smallpox and syphilis have failed to do; what ever the overseas slave trade failed to do, the power of modern capitalistic exploitation, assisted by modern engines of destruction, may yet succeed in accomplishing.

For from the evils of the latter, scientifically applied and enforced, there is no escape for the African. Its destructive effects are not spasmodic: they are permanent. In its permanence resides its fatal consequences. It kills not the body merely, but the soul. It breaks the spirit. It attacks the African at every turn, from every point of vantage. It wrecks his polity, uproots him from the land, invades his family life, destroys his natural pursuits and occupations, claims his whole time, enslaves him in his own home.

Economic bondage and wage slavery, the grinding pressure of a life of toil, the incessant demands of an industrial capitalism—these things a landless European proletariat physically endures, though hardly. . . . The recuperative forces of a temperate climate are there to arrest the ravages, which alleviating influences in the shape of prophylactic and

curative remedies will still further circumscribe. But in Africa, especially in tropical Africa, which a capitalistic imperialism threatens and has, in part, already devastated, man is incapable of reacting against unnatural conditions. In those regions man is engaged in a perpetual struggle against disease and an exhausting climate, which tells heavily upon child-bearing; and there is no scientific machinery for salving the weaker members of the community. The African of the tropics is capable of tremendous physical labors. But he cannot accommodate himself to the European system of monotonous, uninterrupted labor, with its long and regular hours, involving, moreover, as it frequently does, severance from natural surroundings . . . [resulting in] melancholy resulting from separation from home, a malady to which the African is specially prone. Climatic conditions forbid it. When the system is forced upon him, the tropical African droops and dies.

Nor is violent physical opposition to abuse and injustice henceforth possible for the African in any part of Africa. His chances of effective resistance have been steadily dwindling with the increasing perfectibility in the killing power of modern armament . . . Against the latest intentions, physical bravery, though associated with a perfect knowledge of the country, can do nothing. . . .

Thus the African is really helpless against the material gods of the white man, as embodied in the trinity of imperialism, capitalistic-exploitation, and militarism. . . .

To reduce all the varied and picturesque, and stimulating episodes in savage life to a dull routine of endless toil for uncomprehended ends; to dislocate social ties and disrupt social institutions; to stifle nascent desires and crush mental development; to graft upon primitive passions the annihilating evils of scientific slavery, and the bestial imaginings of civilized man, unrestrained by convention or law; in fine, to kill the soul in a people—this is a crime which transcends physical murder.

Source: Morel, E. D. *The Black Man's Burden*. London, 1920.

League of Nations Charter, Article 22 (Mandates) (1924)

Among the issues that the League of Nations had to deal with in the wake of World War I was what to do

with the colonies belonging to the defeated central powers of Germany and the former Ottoman Empire. The League came up with the system of mandates, whereby the colonies were turned over to the victorious Allies—most notably Britain and France—for administration. The mandatory powers were expected to prepare most of these territories for self-government, although no schedule for this process was laid out.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms

traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Source: www.rmc.ca/academic/gradrech/UNCharter-LeagueCov.doc.

United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods. Summary of Agreements (July 22, 1944)

The Allied political and business leaders who met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944 created a number of institutions that have dominated the international finances of the postwar era, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. While these leaders believed that the institutions they were creating would avoid the kind of nationalist economics that many saw as the cause of the Great Depression and hence World War II, critics have come to see the IMF and the World Bank as pillars of a neocolonial order, whereby large donors to the bank—most notably the United States—can con-

trol the economic destinies of the underdeveloped nations of the world.

This Conference at Bretton Woods, representing nearly all the peoples of the world, has considered matters of international money and finance which are important for peace and prosperity. The Conference has agreed on the problems needing attention, the measures which should be taken, and the forms of international cooperation or organization which are required. The agreements reached on these large and complex matters are without precedent in the history of international economic relations.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Since foreign trade affects the standard of life of every people, all countries have a vital interest in the system of exchange of national currencies and the regulations and conditions which govern its working. Because these monetary transactions are international exchanges, the nations must agree on the basic rules which govern the exchanges if the system is to work smoothly. When they do not agree, and when single nations and small groups of nations attempt by special and different regulations of the foreign exchanges to gain trade advantages, the result is instability, a reduced volume of foreign trade, and damage to national economies. This course of action is likely to lead to economic warfare and to endanger the world's peace.

The Conference has therefore agreed that broad international action is necessary to maintain an international monetary system which will promote foreign trade. The nations should consult and agree on international monetary changes which affect each other. They should outlaw practices which are agreed to be harmful to world prosperity, and they should assist each other to overcome short-term exchange difficulties.

The Conference has agreed that the nations here represented should establish for these purposes a permanent international body, *The International Monetary Fund*, with powers and resources adequate to perform the tasks assigned to it. Agreement has been reached concerning these powers and resources and the additional obligations which the member countries should undertake. Draft Articles of Agreement on these points have been prepared.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT [WORLD BANK]

It is in the interest of all nations that post-war reconstruction should be rapid. Likewise, the development of the resources of particular regions is in the general economic interest. Programs of reconstruction and development will speed economic progress everywhere, will aid political stability and foster peace.

The Conference has agreed that expanded international investment is essential to provide a portion of the capital necessary for reconstruction and development.

The Conference has further agreed that the nations should cooperate to increase the volume of foreign investment for these purposes, made through normal business channels. It is especially important that the nations should cooperate to share the risks of such foreign investment, since the benefits are general.

The Conference has agreed that the nations should establish a permanent international body to perform these functions, to be called The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It has been agreed that the Bank should assist in providing capital through normal channels at reasonable rates of interest and for long periods for projects which will raise the productivity of the borrowing country. There is agreement that the Bank should guarantee loans made by others and that through their subscriptions of capital in all countries should share with the borrowing country in guaranteeing such loans. The Conference has agreed on the powers and resources which the Bank must have and on the obligations which the member countries must assume, and has prepared draft Articles of Agreement accordingly.

The Conference has recommended that in carrying out the policies of the institutions here proposed special consideration should be given to the needs of countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities.

The proposals formulated at the Conference for the establishment of the Fund and the Bank are now submitted, in accordance with the terms of the invitation, for consideration of the governments and people of the countries represented.

Source: Pillars of Peace, Documents Pertaining to American Interest in Establishing a Lasting World

Peace: January 1941–February 1946. Pamphlet No. 4. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Book Department, Army Information School, 1946.

United Nations Charter (1945)

The Charter of the United Nations was signed on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, and came into force on October 24, 1945. Like the League of Nations charter, which it replaced, the UN charter included provisions on non-self-governing territories. But in place of the old League mandate system, the UN established trusteeships. As in the case of the League's mandates, many of the trusteeships were for territories seized from the enemies of the Allies, specifically Japan, during the world war just concluded.

Chapter XI: Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- c. to further international peace and security;
- d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a

view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Chapter XII: International Trusteeship System

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- a. territories now held under mandate;
- b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories

under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of

their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII. The Trusteeship Council

COMPOSITION

Article 86

3. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- a. those Members administering trust territories;
- b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
- c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

4. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

FUNCTIONS and POWERS

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the

General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

VOTING

Article 89

3. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

4. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Source: United Nations. United Nations Charter, 1945.
www.un.org/aboutun/charter/.

UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan for Palestine) (November 29, 1947)

From just after World War I until shortly after World War II, Britain had a mandate to govern Palestine, formerly a province of the Ottoman Empire. During that nearly thirty-year mandate, Jewish settlers emigrated to Palestine in large numbers, alienating the native Arab population. Britain tried to placate the two groups by making them both promises of an independent state in the territory. Despairing of ever reconciling the two antagonistic populations, Britain turned the problem over to the newly formed United Nations, which drew up the following partition plan for two states—one Jewish and one Arab—in the mandate. Ultimately, the Arabs, angry that over 50 percent of the territory was being given to the Jews, who represented about 10 percent of the population, rejected the plan and went to war with the

Jews, resulting in the formation of the Jewish state of Israel, which occupied roughly 75 percent of the former Palestine mandate.

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future Government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364)(1) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future Government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

- a. The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;
- b. The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

- c. The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;
- d. The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part 1, Section B, Paragraph I below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.*

The General Assembly,

Authorizes the Secretary-General to draw from the Working Capital Fund a sum not to exceed 2,000,000 dollars for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine.

PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

Part I.—Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

A. TERMINATION OF MANDATE, PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE

1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

2. The armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948. The mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the mandate and to evacuate each area. The mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a sub-

stantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.

3. Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in Part III of this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948. The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

4. The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendation on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

B. STEPS PREPARATORY TO INDEPENDENCE

1. A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. The Members represented on the Commission shall be elected by the General Assembly on as broad a basis, geographically and otherwise, as possible.

2. The administration of Palestine shall, as the mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission, which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. The mandatory Power shall to the fullest possible extent coordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated. In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, the boundaries as described in Part II of this Plan are to be modified in such a way

that village areas as a rule will not be divided by state boundaries unless pressing reasons make that necessary.

4. The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. If by 1 April 1948 a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action with respect to that State as the Security Council may deem proper, and to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the United Nations.

5. Subject to the provisions of these recommendations, during the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State's independence.

7. The Commission shall instruct the Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government, central and local.

8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State, sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

9. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after

the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines. The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State; and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State. Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies. During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.

10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The Constitutions of the States shall embody Chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration provided for in section C below and include, inter alia, provisions for:

- a. Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature;
- b. Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;
- c. Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations;
- d. Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political,

economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association;

e. Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem, subject to considerations of national security, provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.

11. The Commission shall appoint a preparatory economic commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in section D below.

12. During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for administration in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall assist the mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions.

13. With a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that, on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the mandatory Power to the Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory Power have been withdrawn.

14. The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue. The measures taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the Commis-

sion has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council. The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

15. The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

C. DECLARATION

A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the Provisional Government of each proposed State before independence. It shall contain, inter alia, the following clauses:

General Provision

The stipulations contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Chapter 1: Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites

1. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

2. In so far as Holy Places are concerned, the liberty of access, visit, and transit shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all residents and citizens of the other State and of the City of Jerusalem, as well as to aliens, without distinction as to nationality, subject to requirements of national security, public order and decorum. Similarly, freedom of worship shall be guaranteed in conformity with existing rights, subject to the maintenance of public order and decorum.

3. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Government that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or community concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

4. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the State. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate

between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

5. The Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution of the State in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the State and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community with respect to such places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full co-operation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the State.

Chapter 2: Religious and Minority Rights

1. Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be ensured to all.

2. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.

3. All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

4. The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

5. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

6. The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority, respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions. The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational estab-

lishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

7. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the State of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.(3)

8. No expropriation of land owned by an Arab in the Jewish State (by a Jew in the Arab State)(4) shall be allowed except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation as fixed by the Supreme Court shall be said previous to dispossession.

Chapter 3: Citizenship, International Conventions and Financial Obligations

1. Citizenship

Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights. Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt, within one year from the date of recognition of independence of the State in which they reside, for citizenship of the other State, providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish State and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab State. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under eighteen years of age of persons so opting.

Arabs residing in the area of the proposed Jewish State and Jews residing in the area of the proposed Arab State who have signed a notice of intention to opt for citizenship of the other State shall be eligible to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of that State, but not in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the State in which they reside.

2. International conventions

a. The State shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such

agreements and conventions shall be respected by the State throughout the period for which they were concluded.

b. Any dispute about the applicability and continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the mandatory Power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

3. Financial obligations

a. The State shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the mandatory Power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognized by the State. This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities.

b. These obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole, and individually in respect of those applicable to, and fairly apportionable between, the States.

c. A Court of Claims, affiliated with the Joint Economic Board, and composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom and one representative of the State concerned, should be established. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the State respecting claims not recognized by the latter should be referred to that Court.

d. Commercial concessions granted in respect of any part of Palestine prior to the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the concession-holders and the State.

Chapter 4: Miscellaneous Provisions

1. The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the atten-

tion of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.

2. Any dispute relating to the application or interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

D. ECONOMIC UNION AND TRANSIT

1. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall enter into an undertaking with respect to Economic Union and Transit. This undertaking shall be drafted by the Commission provided for in section B, paragraph 1, utilizing to the greatest possible extent the advice and cooperation of representative organizations and bodies from each of the proposed States. It shall contain provisions to establish the Economic Union of Palestine and provide for other matters of common interest. If by 1 April 1948 the Provisional Councils of Government have not entered into the undertaking, the undertaking shall be put into force by the Commission.

The Economic Union of Palestine

2. The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be:

- a. A customs union;
- b. A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate;
- c. Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways inter-State highways; postal, telephone and telegraphic services and ports and airports involved in international trade and commerce;
- d. Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation;
- e. Access for both States and for the City of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.

3. There shall be established a Joint Economic Board, which shall consist of three representatives of each of the two States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The foreign members shall be appointed in the first instance for a term

of three years; they shall serve as individuals and not as representatives of States.

4. The functions of the Joint Economic Board shall be to implement either directly or by delegation the measures necessary to realize the objectives of the Economic Union. It shall have all powers of organization and administration necessary to fulfil its functions.

5. The States shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

6. In the event of failure of a State to take the necessary action the Board may, by a vote of six members, decide to withhold an appropriate portion of the part of the customs revenue to which the State in question is entitled under the Economic Union. Should the State persist in its failure to cooperate, the Board may decide by a simple majority vote upon such further sanctions, including disposition of funds which it has withheld, as it may deem appropriate.

7. In relation to economic development, the functions of the Board shall be planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake such projects except with the assent of both States and the City of Jerusalem, in the event that Jerusalem is directly involved in the development project.

8. In regard to the joint currency system, the currencies circulating in the two States and the City of Jerusalem shall be issued under the authority of the Joint Economic Board, which shall be the sole issuing authority and which shall determine the reserves to be held against such currencies.

9. So far as is consistent with paragraph 2(b) above, each State may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licences, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit. During the first two years after the termination of the Mandate, the Joint Economic Board shall have the authority to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that—to the extent that the total foreign exchange revenues of the two States from the export of goods and services permit, and provided that each State takes appropriate measures to conserve its own foreign exchange resources—each State shall have avail-

able, in any twelve months' period, foreign exchange sufficient to assure the supply of quantities of imported goods and services for consumption in its territory equivalent to the quantities of such goods and services consumed in that territory in the twelve months' period ending 31 December 1947.

10. All economic authority not specifically vested in the Joint Economic Board is reserved to each State.

11. There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the States, and between the States and the City of Jerusalem.

12. The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the States in equal numbers, and shall be submitted to the Joint Economic Board for approval by a majority vote. In case of disagreement in the Tariff Commission, the Joint Economic Board shall arbitrate the points of difference. In the event that the Tariff Commission fails to draw up any schedule by a date to be fixed, the Joint Economic Board shall determine the tariff schedule.

13. The following items shall be a first charge on the customs and other common revenue of the Joint Economic Board:

- a. The expenses of the customs service and of the operation of the joint services;
- b. The administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board;
- c. The financial obligations of the Administration of Palestine, consisting of:
 - i. The service of the outstanding public debt;
 - ii. The cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in the future, in accordance with the rules and to the extent established by paragraph 3 of chapter 3 above.

14. After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the City of Jerusalem; the residue shall be allocated to each State by the Joint Economic Board equitably, with the objective of maintaining a sufficient and suitable level of government and social services in each State, except

that the share of either State shall not exceed the amount of that State's contribution to the revenues of the Economic Union by more than approximately four million pounds in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the Union. After five years, the principles of the distribution of the joint revenue may be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity.

15. All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariff rates, and those communications services under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Board, shall be entered into by both States. In these matters, the two States shall be bound to act in accordance with the majority of the Joint Economic Board.

16. The Joint Economic Board shall endeavour to secure for Palestine's exports fair and equal access to world markets.

17. All enterprises operated by the Joint Economic Board shall pay fair wages on a uniform basis.

Freedom of Transit and Visit

18. The undertaking shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both States and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations; provided that each State and the City shall control residence within its borders.

Termination, Modification and Interpretation of the Undertaking

19. The undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall remain in force for a period of ten years. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect two years thereafter, is given by either of the parties.

20. During the initial ten-year period, the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly.

21. Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court Of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

E. ASSETS

1. The movable assets of the Administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish

States and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable basis. Allocations should be made by the United Nations Commission referred to in section B, paragraph 1, above. Immovable assets shall become the property of the government of the territory in which they are situated.

2. During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power shall, except in respect of ordinary operations, consult with the Commission on any measure which it may contemplate involving the liquidation, disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government, such as the accumulated treasury surplus, the proceeds of Government bond issues, State lands or any other asset.

F. ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this plan has become effective and the declaration and undertaking, as envisaged in this plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Part II.—Boundaries

A. THE ARAB STATE

The area of the Arab State in Western Galilee is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras en Naqura to a point north of Saliha. From there the boundary proceeds southwards, leaving the built-up area of Saliha in the Arab State, to join the southernmost point of this village. There it follows the western boundary line of the villages of 'Alma, Rihaniya and Teitaba, thence following the northern boundary line of Meirun village to join the Acre-Safad Sub-District boundary line. It follows this line to a point west of Es Sammu'i village and joins it again at the northernmost point of Faradiya. Thence it follows the sub-district boundary line to the Acre-Safad main road. From here it follows the western boundary of Kafr-I'nan village until it reaches the Tiberias-Acre Sub-District boundary line, passing to the west of the junction of the Acre-Safad and Lubiya-Kafr-I'nan roads. From the south-west corner of Kafr-I'nan village the boundary line follows the western boundary of

the Tiberias Sub-District to a point close to the boundary line between the villages of Maghar and 'Eilabun, thence bulging out to the west to include as much of the eastern part of the plain of Battuf as is necessary for the reservoir proposed by the Jewish Agency for the irrigation of lands to the south and east.

The boundary rejoins the Tiberias Sub-District boundary at a point on the Nazareth-Tiberias road south-east of the built-up area of Tur'an; thence it runs southwards, at first following the sub-district boundary and then passing between the Kadoorie Agricultural School and Mount Tabor, to a point due south at the base of Mount Tabor. From here it runs due west, parallel to the horizontal grid line 230, to the north-east corner of the village lands of Tel Adashim. It then runs to the northwest corner of these lands, whence it turns south and west so as to include in the Arab State the sources of the Nazareth water supply in Yafa village. On reaching Ginneiger it follows the eastern, northern and western boundaries of the lands of this village to their south-west corner, whence it proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Haifa-Afula railway on the boundary between the villages of Sarid and El-Mujeidil. This is the point of intersection. The south-western boundary of the area of the Arab State in Galilee takes a line from this point, passing northwards along the eastern boundaries of Sarid and Gevat to the north-eastern corner of Nahalal, proceeding thence across the land of Kefar ha Horesh to a central point on the southern boundary of the village of 'Ilut, thence westwards along that village boundary to the eastern boundary of Beit Lahm, thence northwards and north-eastwards along its western boundary to the north-eastern corner of Waldheim and thence north-westwards across the village lands of Shafa'Amr to the southeastern corner of Ramat Yohanan. From here it runs due north-north-east to a point on the Shafa'Amr-Haifa road, west of its junction with the road of I'billin. From there it proceeds north-east to a point on the southern boundary of I'billin situated to the west of the I'billin-Birwa road. Thence along that boundary to its westernmost point, whence it turns to the north, follows across the village land of Tamra to the north-westernmost corner and along the western boundary of Julis until it reaches the Acre-Safad road. It then runs westwards along the southern side of the

Safad-Acre road to the Galilee-Haifa District boundary, from which point it follows that boundary to the sea.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea starts on the Jordan River at the Wadi Malih south-east of Beisan and runs due west to meet the Beisan-Jericho road and then follows the western side of that road in a north-westerly direction to the junction of the boundaries of the Sub-Districts of Beisan, Nablus, and Jenin. From that point it follows the Nablus-Jenin sub-District boundary westwards for a distance of about three kilometres and then turns north-westwards, passing to the east of the built-up areas of the villages of Jalbun and Faqu'a, to the boundary of the Sub-Districts of Jenin and Beisan at a point northeast of Nuris. Thence it proceeds first north-westwards to a point due north of the built-up area of Zie'in and then westwards to the Afula-Jenin railway, thence north-westwards along the District boundary line to the point of intersection on the Hejaz railway. From here the boundary runs southwestwards, including the built-up area and some of the land of the village of Kh. Lid in the Arab State to cross the Haifa-Jenin road at a point on the district boundary between Haifa and Samaria west of El-Mansi. It follows this boundary to the southernmost point of the village of El-Buteimat. From here it follows the northern and eastern boundaries of the village of Ar'ara rejoining the Haifa-Samaria district boundary at Wadi 'Ara, and thence proceeding south-south-westwards in an approximately straight line joining up with the western boundary of Qaqun to a point east of the railway line on the eastern boundary of Qaqun village. From here it runs along the railway line some distance to the east of it to a point just east of the Tulkarm railway station. Thence the boundary follows a line half-way between the railway and the Tulkarm-Qalqiliya-Jaljuliya and Ras El-Ein road to a point just east of Ras El-Ein station, whence it proceeds along the railway some distance to the east of it to the point on the railway line south of the junction of the Haifa-Lydd and Beit Nabala lines, whence it proceeds along the southern border of Lydda airport to its south-west corner, thence in a south-westerly direction to a point just west of the built-up area of Sarafand El 'Amar, whence it turns south, passing just to the

west of the built-up area of Abu El-Fadil to the north-east corner of the lands of Beer Ya'aqov. (The boundary line should be so demarcated as to allow direct access from the Arab State to the airport.) Thence the boundary line follows the western and southern boundaries of Ramle village, to the north-east corner of El Na'ana village, thence in a straight line to the southernmost point of El Barriya, along the eastern boundary of that village and the southern boundary of 'Innaba village. Thence it turns north to follow the southern side of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road until El-Qubab, whence it follows the road to the boundary of Abu-Shusha. It runs along the eastern boundaries of Abu Shusha, Seidun, Hulda to the southernmost point of Hulda, thence westwards in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of Umm Kalkha, thence following the northern boundaries of Umm Kalkha, Qazaza and the northern and western boundaries of Mukhezim to the Gaza District boundary and thence runs across the village lands of El-Mismiya El-Kabira, and Yasur to the southern point of intersection, which is midway between the built-up areas of Yasur and Batani Sharqi.

From the southern point of intersection the boundary lines run north-westwards between the villages of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the sea at a point half way between Nabi Yunis and Minat El-Qila, and south-eastwards to a point west of Qastina, whence it turns in a south-westerly direction, passing to the east of the built-up areas of Es Sawafir Esh Sharqiya and 'Ibdis. From the south-east corner of 'Ibdis village it runs to a point southwest of the built-up area of Beit 'Affa, crossing the Hebron-El-Majdal road just to the west of the built-up area of 'Iraq Suweidan. Thence it proceeds southward along the western village boundary of El-Faluja to the Beersheba Sub-District boundary. It then runs across the tribal lands of 'Arab El-Jubarat to a point on the boundary between the Sub-Districts of Beersheba and Hebron north of Kh. Khuweilifa, whence it proceeds in a south-westerly direction to a point on the Beersheba-Gaza main road two kilometres to the north-west of the town. It then turns south-eastwards to reach Wadi Sab' at a point situated one kilometre to the west of it. From here it turns north-eastwards and proceeds along Wadi Sab' and along the Beersheba-Hebron road for a dis-

tance of one kilometre, whence it turns eastwards and runs in a straight line to Kh. Kuseifa to join the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary. It then follows the Beersheba-Hebron boundary eastwards to a point north of Ras Ez-Zuweira, only departing from it so as to cut across the base of the indentation between vertical grid lines 150 and 160.

About five kilometres north-east of Ras Ez-Zuweira it turns north, excluding from the Arab State a strip along the coast of the Dead Sea not more than seven kilometres in depth, as far as 'Ein Geddi, whence it turns due east to join the Trans-jordan frontier in the Dead Sea.

The northern boundary of the Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis, passing between the built-up areas of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the point of intersection. From here it turns south-westwards, running across the lands of Batani Sharqi, along the eastern boundary of the lands of Beit Daras and across the lands of Julis, leaving the built-up areas of Batani Sharqi and Julis to the westwards, as far as the north-west corner of the lands of Beit-Tima. Thence it runs east of El-Jiya across the village lands of El-Barbara along the eastern boundaries of the villages of Beit Jirja, Deir Suneid and Dimra. From the south-east corner of Dimra the boundary passes across the lands of Beit Hanun, leaving the Jewish lands of Nir-Am to the eastwards. From the south-east corner of Beit Hanun the line runs south-west to a point south of the parallel grid line 100, then turns north-west for two kilometres, turning again in a southwesterly direction and continuing in an almost straight line to the north-west corner of the village lands of Kirbet Ikhza'a. From there it follows the boundary line of this village to its southernmost point. It then runs in a southerly direction along the vertical grid line 90 to its junction with the horizontal grid line 70. It then turns south-eastwards to Kh. El-Ruheiba and then proceeds in a southerly direction to a point known as El-Baha, beyond which it crosses the Beersheba-El 'Auja main road to the west of Kh. El-Mushrif. From there it joins Wadi El-Zaiyatin just to the west of El-Subeita. From there it turns to the north-east and then to the south-east following this Wadi and passes to the east of 'Abda to join Wadi Nafkh. It then bulges to the south-west along Wadi Nafkh, Wadi 'Ajrim

and Wadi Lassan to the point where Wadi Lassan crosses the Egyptian frontier.

The area of the Arab enclave of Jaffa consists of that part of the town-planning area of Jaffa which lies to the west of the Jewish quarters lying south of Tel-Aviv, to the west of the continuation of Herzl street up to its junction with the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, to the south-west of the section of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road lying south-east of that junction, to the west of Miqve Yisrael lands, to the northwest of Holon local council area, to the north of the line linking up the north-west corner of Holon with the northeast corner of Bat Yam local council area and to the north of Bat Yam local council area. The question of Karton quarter will be decided by the Boundary Commission, bearing in mind among other considerations the desirability of including the smallest possible number of its Arab inhabitants and the largest possible number of its Jewish inhabitants in the Jewish State.

B. THE JEWISH STATE

The north-eastern sector of the Jewish State (Eastern Galilee) is bounded on the north and west by the Lebanese frontier and on the east by the frontiers of Syria and Trans-jordan. It includes the whole of the Huleh Basin, Lake Tiberias, the whole of the Beisan Sub-District, the boundary line being extended to the crest of the Gilboa mountains and the Wadi Malih. From there the Jewish State extends north-west, following the boundary described in respect of the Arab State. The Jewish section of the coastal plain extends from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis in the Gaza Sub-District and includes the towns of Haifa and Tel-Aviv, leaving Jaffa as an enclave of the Arab State. The eastern frontier of the Jewish State follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab State.

The Beersheba area comprises the whole of the Beersheba Sub-District, including the Negeb and the eastern part of the Gaza Sub-District, but excluding the town of Beersheba and those areas described in respect of the Arab State. It includes also a strip of land along the Dead Sea stretching from the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary line to 'Ein Geddi, as described in respect of the Arab State.

C. THE CITY OF JERUSALEM

The boundaries of the City of Jerusalem are as defined in the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem. (See Part III, section B, below).

Part III.—City of Jerusalem(5)

A. SPECIAL REGIME

The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a corpus separatum under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority on behalf of the United Nations.

B. BOUNDARIES OF THE CITY

The City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, 'Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of Motsa); and the most northern Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map (annex B).

C. STATUTE OF THE CITY

The Trusteeship Council shall, within five months of the approval of the present plan, elaborate and approve a detailed statute of the City which shall contain, inter alia, the substance of the following provisions:

1. Government machinery; special objectives. The Administering Authority in discharging its administrative obligations shall pursue the following special objectives:

a. To protect and to preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, Christian, Jewish and Moslem; to this end to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem;

b. To foster cooperation among all the inhabitants of the city in their own interests as well as in order to encourage and support the peaceful development of the mutual relations between the two Palestinian peoples throughout the Holy Land; to promote the security, well-being and any constructive measures of development of the residents having regard to the special circumstances and customs of the various peoples and communities.

2. Governor and Administrative staff. A Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council and shall be responsible to it. He shall be selected on the basis of special qual-

ifications and without regard to nationality. He shall not, however, be a citizen of either State in Palestine. The Governor shall represent the United Nations in the City and shall exercise on their behalf all powers of administration, including the conduct of external affairs. He shall be assisted by an administrative staff classed as international officers in the meaning of Article 100 of the Charter and chosen whenever practicable from the residents of the city and of the rest of Palestine on a non-discriminatory basis. A detailed plan for the organization of the administration of the city shall be submitted by the Governor to the Trusteeship Council and duly approved by it.

3. Local autonomy

- a. The existing local autonomous units in the territory of the city (villages, townships and municipalities) shall enjoy wide powers of local government and administration.
- b. The Governor shall study and submit for the consideration and decision of the Trusteeship Council a plan for the establishment of special town units consisting, respectively, of the Jewish and Arab sections of new Jerusalem. The new town units shall continue to form part the present municipality of Jerusalem.

4. Security measures

- a. The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized; neutrality shall be declared and preserved, and no para-military formations, exercises or activities shall be permitted within its borders.
- b. Should the administration of the City of Jerusalem be seriously obstructed or prevented by the non-cooperation or interference of one or more sections of the population the Governor shall have authority to take such measures as may be necessary to restore the effective functioning of administration.
- c. To assist in the maintenance of internal law and order, especially for the protection of the Holy Places and religious buildings and sites in the city, the Governor shall organize a special police force of adequate strength, the members of which shall be recruited outside of Palestine. The Governor shall be empowered to direct such budgetary provision as may be necessary for the maintenance of this force.

5. Legislative Organization.

A Legislative Council, elected by adult residents of the city irrespective of nationality on the basis of universal and secret suffrage and proportional representation, shall have powers of legislation and taxation. No legislative measures shall, however, conflict or interfere with the provisions which will be set forth in the Statute of the City, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them. The Statute shall grant to the Governor a right of vetoing bills inconsistent with the provisions referred to in the preceding sentence. It shall also empower him to promulgate temporary ordinances in case the Council fails to adopt in time a bill deemed essential to the normal functioning of the administration.

6. Administration of Justice.

The Statute shall provide for the establishment of an independent judiciary system, including a court of appeal. All the inhabitants of the city shall be subject to it.

7. Economic Union and Economic Regime.

The City of Jerusalem shall be included in the Economic Union of Palestine and be bound by all stipulations of the undertaking and of any treaties issued therefrom, as well as by the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The headquarters of the Economic Board shall be established in the territory City. The Statute shall provide for the regulation of economic matters not falling within the regime of the Economic Union, on the basis of equal treatment and non-discrimination for all members of the United Nations and their nationals.

8. Freedom of Transit and Visit.

Control of residents. Subject to considerations of security, and of economic welfare as determined by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council, freedom of entry into, and residence within the borders of the City shall be guaranteed for the residents or citizens of the Arab and Jewish States. Immigration into, and residence within, the borders of the city for nationals of other States shall be controlled by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council.

9. Relations with Arab and Jewish States.

Representatives of the Arab and Jewish States shall be accredited to the Governor of the City and charged with the protection of the interests of

their States and nationals in connection with the international administration of the City.

10. Official languages.

Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of the city. This will not preclude the adoption of one or more additional working languages, as may be required.

11. Citizenship.

All the residents shall become ipso facto citizens of the City of Jerusalem unless they opt for citizenship of the State of which they have been citizens or, if Arabs or Jews, have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively, according to Part 1, section B, paragraph 9, of this Plan. The Trusteeship Council shall make arrangements for consular protection of the citizens of the City outside its territory.

12. Freedoms of citizens

- a. Subject only to the requirements of public order and morals, the inhabitants of the City shall be ensured the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and press, assembly and association, and petition.
- b. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.
- c. All persons within the City shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.
- d. The family law and personal status of the various persons and communities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.
- e. Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.
- f. The City shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish communities respectively, in their own languages and in accordance with their cultural traditions. The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while

conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the City may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

g. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any inhabitant of the City of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

13. Holy Places

- a. Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.
- b. Free access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites and the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.
- c. Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Governor that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Governor may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Governor may carry it out himself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.
- d. No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the City. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

14. Special powers of the Governor in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the City and in any part of Palestine.

- a. The protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites located in the City of Jerusalem shall be a special concern of the Governor.
- b. With relation to such places, buildings and sites in Palestine outside the city, the Governor shall determine, on the ground of powers granted to him by the Constitution of both States, whether the provisions of the Constitution of the Arab and Jewish States in Palestine dealing therewith and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected.
- c. The Governor shall also be empowered to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine. In this task he may be assisted by a consultative council of representatives of different denominations acting in an advisory capacity.

D. DURATION OF THE SPECIAL REGIME

The Statute elaborated by the Trusteeship Council the aforementioned principles shall come into force not later than 1 October 1948. It shall remain in force in the first instance for a period of ten years, unless the Trusteeship Council finds it necessary to undertake a re-examination of these provisions at an earlier date. After the expiration of this period the whole scheme shall be subject to examination by the Trusteeship Council in the light of experience acquired with its functioning. The residents the City shall be then free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modifications of regime of the City.

Part IV. Capitulations

States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem.

Adopted at the 128th plenary meeting:

In favour: 33

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: 13

Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.

Abstained: 10

Argentina, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.

(1) See Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session Supplement No. 11, Volumes I-IV.

*At its hundred and twenty-eighth plenary meeting on 29 November 1947 the General Assembly, in accordance with the terms of the above resolution, elected the following members of the United Nations Commission on Palestine: Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and Philippines.

(2) This resolution was adopted without reference to a Committee.

(3) The following stipulation shall be added to the declaration concerning the Jewish State: "In the Jewish State adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the Courts and in the administration."

(4) In the declaration concerning the Arab State, the words "by an Arab in the Jewish State" should be replaced by the words "by a Jew in the Arab State."

(5) On the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem, see also General Assembly resolutions 185 (S-2) of 26 April 1948; 187 (S-2) of 6 May 1948, 303 (IV) of 9 December 1949, and resolutions of the Trusteeship Council (Section IV).

Source: Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH00ps0>.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Speech to Bandung Conference Political Committee (1955)

As leader of the largest noncommunist state in the world, Jawaharlal Nehru of India was a natural spokesperson for the group of developing nations meeting at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. In his speech, Nehru laid out one of the main principles of the new Non-Aligned Movement of nations established at Bandung: the need for neutrality in the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. But this neutrality was distrusted by both superpowers, who continued to try to manipulate the governments of the underdeveloped world throughout the decades of the Cold War.

We do not agree with the communist teachings, we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings, because they are both based on wrong principles. I never challenged the right of my country to defend itself; it has to. We will defend ourselves with whatever arms and strength we have, and if we have no arms we will defend ourselves without arms. I am dead certain that no country can conquer India. Even the two great power blocs together cannot conquer India; not even the atom or the hydrogen bomb. I know what my people are. But I know also that if we rely on others, whatever great powers they might be if we look to them for sustenance, then we are weak indeed. . . .

My country has made mistakes. Every country makes mistakes. I have no doubt we will make mistakes; we will stumble and fall and get up. The mistakes of my country and perhaps the mistakes of other countries here do not make a difference; but the mistakes the Great Powers make do make a difference to the world and may well bring about a terrible catastrophe. I speak with the greatest respect of these Great Powers because they are not only great in military might but in development, in culture, in civilization. But I do submit that greatness sometimes brings quite false values, false standards. When they begin to think in terms of military strength—whether it be the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union or the U.S.A.—then they are going away from the right track and the result of that will be that the overwhelming might of one country will conquer the world. Thus far the world has succeeded in preventing that; I cannot speak for the future. . . .

. . . So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what war takes place; we will not take part in it unless we have to defend ourselves. If I join any of these big groups I lose my identity. . . . If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world which may be called the *unaligned area* is a dangerous step and leads to war. It reduces that objective, that balance, that outlook which other countries without military might can perhaps exercise.

Honorable Members laid great stress on moral force. It is with military force that we are dealing now, but I submit that moral force counts and the moral force of Asia and Africa must, in spite of the atomic and hydrogen bombs of Russia, the U.S.A. or another country, count. . . .

. . . Many members present here do not obviously accept the communist ideology, while some of them do. For my part I do not. I am a positive person, not an 'anti' person. I want positive good for my country and the world. Therefore, are we, the countries of Asia and Africa, devoid of any positive position except being pro-communist or anti-communist? Has it come to this, that the leaders of thought who have given religions and all kinds of things to the world have to tag on to this kind of group or that and be hangers-on of this party or the other carrying out their wishes and occasionally giving an idea? It is most degrading and humiliating to any self-respecting people or nation. It is an intolerable thought to me that the great countries of Asia and Africa should come out of bondage into freedom only to degrade themselves or humiliate themselves in this way. . . .

I submit to you, every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the countries which have entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise. They have not added to the strength of any country, I submit, which it had singly. It may have produced some idea of security, but it is a false security. It is a bad thing for any country thus to be lulled into security. . . .

. . . Today in the world, I do submit, not only because of the presence of these two colossuses but also because of the coming of the atomic and

hydrogen-bomb age, the whole concept of war, of peace, of politics, has changed. We are thinking and acting in terms of a past age. No matter what generals and soldiers learned in the past, it is useless in this atomic age. They do not understand its implications or its use. As an eminent military critic said: 'The whole conception of War is changed. There is no precedent.' It may be so. Now it does not matter if one country is more powerful than the other in the use of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. One is more powerful in its ruin than the other. That is what is meant by saying that the point of saturation has been reached. However powerful one country is, the other is also powerful. To hit the nail on the head, the world suffers; there can be no victory. It may be said perhaps rightly that owing to this very terrible danger, people refrain from going to war. I hope so. The difficulty is that while Governments want to refrain from war, something suddenly happens and there is war and utter ruin. There is another thing: because of the present position in the world there can be aggression. If there is aggression anywhere in the world, it is bound to result in world war. It does not matter where the aggression is. If one commits the aggression there is world war.

I want the countries here to realise it and not to think in terms of any limitation. Today, a war however limited it may be is bound to lead to a big war. Even if tactical atomic weapons, as they are called, are used, the next step would be the use of the big atomic bomb. You cannot stop these things. In a country's life and death struggle, it is not going to stop short of this. It is not going to decide on our or anybody else's resolutions but it would engage in war, ruin and annihilation of others before it annihilates itself completely. Annihilation will result not only in the countries engaged in war, but owing to the radioactive waves which go thousands and thousands of miles it will destroy everything. That is the position. It is not an academic position; it is not a position of discussing ideologies; nor is it a position of discussing past history. It is looking at the world as it is today.

Source: Kahin, G. M. *The Asian-African Conference*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1956.

President Gamel Abdel Nasser: Denouncement of the Proposal for a

Canal Users' Association (September 15, 1956)

In 1956, newly elected President Gamel Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic—a temporary state comprising Syria and Egypt—nationalized the Suez Canal, seizing control of the waterway from Britain and France. In response, the French and British threatened punitive action against the canal. In this speech, Nasser—a staunch Arab nationalist—denounces this attempt to reassert western control over the canal. Within six weeks, Britain and France, along with ally Israel, would go to war with Egypt. While successful on the battlefield, Egypt's attackers were forced to back down when the United States objected to their actions. Historians often consider the Suez War of 1956 the last hurrah for old-style European imperialism in the Middle East.

In these decisive days in the history of mankind, these days in which truth struggles to have itself recognized in international chaos where powers of evil domination and imperialism have prevailed, Egypt stands firmly to preserve her sovereignty. Your country stands solidly and staunchly to preserve her dignity against imperialistic schemes of a number of nations who have uncovered their desires for domination and supremacy.

In these days and in such circumstances Egypt has resolved to show the world that when small nations decide to preserve their sovereignty, they will do that all right and that when these small nations are fully determined to defend their rights and maintain their dignity, they will undoubtedly succeed in achieving their ends. . . .

I am speaking in the name of every Egyptian Arab and in the name of all free countries and of all those who believe in liberty and are ready to defend it. I am speaking in the name of principles proclaimed by these countries in the Atlantic Charter. But they are now violating these principles and it has become our lot to shoulder the responsibility of reaffirming and establishing them anew. . . .

We have tried by all possible means to cooperate with those countries which claim to assist smaller nations and which promised to collaborate with us but they demanded their fees in advance. This we refused so they started to fight with

us. They said they will pay toward building the High Dam and then they withdrew their offer and cast doubts on the Egyptian economy. Are we to [disclaim] our sovereign right? Egypt insists her sovereignty must remain intact and refuses to give up any part of that sovereignty for the sake of money.

Egypt nationalized the Egyptian Suez Canal company. When Egypt granted the concession to de Lesseps it was stated in the concession between the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian company that the company of the Suez Canal is an Egyptian company subject to Egyptian authority. Egypt nationalized this Egyptian company and declared freedom of navigation will be preserved.

But the imperialists became angry. Britain and France said Egypt grabbed the Suez Canal as if it were part of France or Britain. The British Foreign Secretary forgot that only two years ago he signed an agreement stating the Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt.

Egypt declared she was ready to negotiate. But as soon as negotiations began threats and intimidations started. . . .

Eden stated in the House of Commons there shall be no discrimination between states using the canal. We on our part reaffirm that and declare there is no discrimination between canal users. He also said Egypt shall not be allowed to succeed because that would spell success for Arab nationalism and would be against their policy, which aims at the protection of Israel.

Today they are speaking of a new association whose main objective would be to rob Egypt of the canal and deprive her of rightful canal dues. Suggestions made by Eden in the House of Commons which have been backed by France and the United States are a clear violation of the 1888 convention, since it is impossible to have two bodies organizing navigation in the canal. . . .

By stating that by succeeding, Abdel Nasser would weaken Britain's stand against Arab nationalism, Eden is in fact admitting his real objective is not Abdel Nasser as such but rather to defeat Arab nationalism and crush its cause. Eden speaks and finds his own answer. A month ago he let out the cry that he was after Abdel Nasser. Today the Egyptian people are fully conscious of their sovereign rights and Arab nationalism is fully awakened to its new destiny. . . .

Those who attack Egypt will never leave Egypt alive. We shall fight a regular war, a total war, a guerrilla war. Those who attack Egypt will soon realize they brought disaster upon themselves. He who attacks Egypt attacks the whole Arab world. They say in their papers the whole thing will be over in forty-eight hours. They do not know how strong we really are.

We believe in international law. But we will never submit. We shall show the world how a small country can stand in the face of great powers threatening with armed might. Egypt might be a small power but she is great inasmuch as she has faith in her power and convictions. I feel quite certain every Egyptian shares the same convictions as I do and believes in everything I am stressing now.

We shall defend our freedom and independence to the last drop of our blood. This is the staunch feeling of every Egyptian. The whole Arab nation will stand by us in our common fight against aggression and domination. Free peoples, too, people who are really free will stand by us and support us against the forces of tyranny. . . .

Source: U.S. Department of State. The Suez Canal Problem, 26 July–22 September 1956, U.S. Department of State Publication No. 6392. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956.

All-African People's Conference: Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism (December 5–13, 1958)

In 1957, the British Gold Coast (renamed Ghana) became the first black-controlled colony in sub-Saharan Africa to win its independence from European colonists. Under the leadership of African nationalist Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana became a leader in pushing for the decolonization of Africa. In late 1958, Nkrumah called together a conference of African independence leaders in Accra, Ghana's capital. The Ghanaian leader's desire for independence for Africa was achieved within the next half dozen years, as most of the continent became sovereign states. But Nkrumah's vision for a unified Africa was never truly realized, although conferences like this one eventually resulted in the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.

CONFERENCE RESOLUTION ON IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM

(1) Whereas the great bulk of the African continent has been carved out arbitrarily to the detriment of the indigenous African peoples by European Imperialists, namely: Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal.

(2) Whereas in this process of colonisation two groups of colonial territories have emerged, to wit:

(a) Those territories where indigenous Africans are dominated by foreigners who have their seats of authority in foreign lands, for example, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Belgian Congo, Portuguese Guinea, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

(b) Those where indigenous Africans are dominated and oppressed by foreigners who have settled permanently in Africa and who regard the position of Africa under their sway as belonging more to them than to the Africa, e.g., Kenya, Union of South Africa, Algeria, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique.

(3) Whereas world opinion unequivocally condemns oppression and subjugation of one race by another in whatever shape or form.

(4) Whereas all African peoples everywhere strongly deplore the economic exploitation of African peoples by imperialist countries thus reducing Africans to poverty in the midst of plenty.

(5) Whereas all African peoples vehemently resent the militarisation of Africans and the use of African soldiers in a nefarious global game against their brethren as in Algeria, Kenya, South Africa, Cameroons, Ivory Coast, Rhodesia and in the Suez Canal invasion.

(6) Whereas fundamental human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of movement, freedom of worship, freedom to live a full and abundant life, as approved by the All-African People's Conference on 13th December, 1958, are denied to Africans through the activities of imperialists.

(7) Whereas denial of the franchise to Africans on the basis of race or sex has been one of the principal instruments of colonial policy by imperialists and their agents, thus making it feasible for a few white settlers to lord it over mil-

lions of indigenous Africans as in the proposed Central African Federation, Kenya, Union of South Africa, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and the Cameroons.

(8) Whereas imperialists are now coordinating their activities by forming military and economic pacts such as NATO, European Common Market, Free Trade Area, Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, Common Organisation in Sahara for the purpose of strengthening their imperialist activities in Africa and elsewhere,

Be it resolved and it is hereby resolved by; the All-African People's Conference meeting in Accra 5th to 13th December, 1958, and comprising over 300 delegates representing over 200 million Africans from all parts of Africa as follows:

1. That the All-African People's Conference vehemently condemns colonialism and imperialism in whatever shape or form these evils are perpetuated.

2. That the political and economic exploitation of Africans by imperialist Europeans should cease forthwith.

3. That the use of African manpower in the nefarious game of power politics by imperialists should be a thing of the past.

4. That independent African States should pursue in their international policy principles which will expedite and accelerate the independence and sovereignty of all dependent and colonial African territories.

5. That fundamental human rights be extended to all men and women in Africa and that the rights of indigenous Africans to the fullest use of their lands be respected and preserved.

6. That universal adult franchise be extended to all persons in Africa regardless of race or sex.

7. That independent African states ensure that fundamental human rights and universal adult franchise are fully extended to everyone within their states as an example to imperial nations who abuse and ignore the extension of those rights to Africans.

8. That a permanent secretariat of the All-African People's Conference be set up to organise the All-African Conference on a firm basis.

9. That a human rights committee of the Conference be formed to examine complaints of abuse of human rights in every part of Africa and to take appropriate steps to ensure the enjoyment of the rights by everyone.

10. That the All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support to all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience, as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. Where such retaliation becomes necessary, the Conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence and freedom as ordinary criminals.

Source: All-African People's Conference News Bulletin (Accra, Ghana)1, 4 (1959).

Castro Denounces Imperialism and Colonialism at the United Nations (September 1960)

In September 1960, Fidel Castro—who had recently taken power in Cuba after a lengthy armed struggle against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista—came to the United Nations to address the General Assembly. In a lengthy speech, he lambasted the United States for its hostility to the Cuban revolution. More significant for the subject of this encyclopedia, he laid out his vision of how neocolonialism worked. According to Castro, industrial countries—most notably, the United States—were able to exploit formerly colonized regions without actually annexing them politically through the support of repressive regimes and the control of local economies by Western corporate interests.

Mr. President,
Fellow Delegates

...How did our country become a colony of the United States? It was not because of its origins; the same men did not colonize the United States and Cuba. Cuba has a very different ethnical and cultural origin, and the difference was widened over the centuries. Cuba was the last country in America to free itself from Spanish colonial rule, to cast off, with due respect to the representative of Spain, the Spanish colonial yoke; and because it was the last, it also had to fight more fiercely.

Spain had only one small possession left in America and it defended it with tooth and nail. Our people, small in numbers, scarcely a million inhabitants at that time, had to face alone, for al-

most thirty years, an army considered one of the strongest in Europe. Against our small national population the Spanish Government mobilized an army as big as the total forces that had fought against South American independence. Half a million Spanish soldiers fought against the historic and unbreakable will of our people to be free.

For thirty years the Cubans fought alone for their independence; thirty years of struggle that strengthened our love for freedom and independence. But Cuba was a fruit—according to the opinion of a President of the United States at the beginning of the past century, John Adams—, it was an apple hanging from the Spanish tree, destined to fall, as soon as it was ripe enough, into the hands of the United States. Spanish power had worn itself out in our country. Spain had neither the men nor the economic resources to continue the war in Cuba; Spain had been defeated. Apparently the apple was ripe, and the United States Government held out its open hands.

Not one but several apples fell in to the hands of the United States. Puerto Rico fell—heroic Puerto Rico, which had begun its struggle for independence at the same time as Cuba. The Philippine Islands fell, and several other possessions. However, the method of dominating our country could not be the same. Our country had struggled fiercely, and thus had gained the favor of world public opinion. Therefore the method of taking our country had to be different.

The Cubans who fought for our independence and at that very moment were giving their blood and their lives believed in good faith in the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of April 20, 1898, which declared that “Cuba is, and by right ought to be, free and independent.”

The people of the United States were sympathetic to the Cuban struggle for liberty. That joint declaration was a law adopted by the Congress of the United States through which war was declared on Spain. But that illusion was followed by a rude awakening. After two years of military occupation of our country, the unexpected happened: at the very moment that the people of Cuba, through their Constituent Assembly, were drafting the Constitution of the Republic, a new law was passed by the United States Congress, a law proposed by Senator Platt, bearing such unhappy memories for the Cubans. That law stated that the constitution of

the Cuba must have an appendix under which the United States would be granted the right to intervene in Cuba's political affairs and, furthermore, to lease certain parts of Cuba for naval bases or coal supply station.

In other words, under a law passed by the legislative body of a foreign country, Cuban's Constitution had to contain an appendix with those provisions. Our legislators were clearly told that if they did not accept the amendment, the occupation forces would not be withdrawn. In other words, an agreement to grant another country the right to intervene and to lease naval bases was imposed by force upon my country by the legislative body of a foreign country.

It is well, I think, for countries just entering this Organization, countries just beginning their independent life, to bear in mind our history and to note any similar conditions which they may find waiting for them along their own road. And if it is not they, then those who came after them, or their children, or grandchildren, although it seems to us that we will not have to wait that long.

Then began the new colonization of our country, the acquisition of the best agricultural lands by United States firms, concessions of Cuban natural resources and mines, concessions of public utilities for exploitation purposes, commercial concessions of all types. These concessions, when linked with the constitutional right—constitutional by force—of intervention in our country, turned it from a Spanish colony into an American colony.

Colonies do not speak. Colonies are not known until they have the opportunity to express themselves. That is why our colony and its problems were unknown to the rest of the world. In geography books reference was made to a flag and a coat of arms. There was an island with another color on the maps, but it was not an independent republic. Let us not deceive ourselves, since by doing so we only make ourselves ridiculous. Let no one be mistaken. There was no independent republic; there was only a colony where orders were given by the Ambassador of the United States.

We are not ashamed to have to declare this. On the contrary: we are proud to say that today no embassy rules our country; our country is ruled by its people!

Once again the Cuban people had to resort to fighting in order to achieve independence, and

that independence was finally attained after seven bloody years of tyranny, who forced this tyranny upon us? Those who in our country were nothing more than tools of the interests which dominated our country economically . . .

How can an unpopular regime, inimical to the interests of the people, stay in power unless it is by force? Will we have to explain to the representatives of our sister republics of Latin America what military tyrannies are? Will we have to outline to them how these tyrannies have kept themselves in power? Will we have to explain the history of several of those tyrannies which are already classical? Will we have to say what forces, what national and international interests support them?

The military group which tyrannized our country was supported by the most reactionary elements of the nation, and, above all, by the foreign interests that dominated the economy of our country. Everybody knows, and we understand that even the Government of the United States admits it, that that was the type of government favored by the monopolies. Why? Because by the use of force it was possible to check the demands of the people; by the use of force it was possible to suppress strikes for improvement of living standards; by the use of force it was possible to crush all movements on the part of the peasants to own the land they worked; by the use of force it was possible to curb the greatest and most deeply felt aspirations of the nation.

That is why governments of force were favored by the ruling circles of the United States. That is why governments of force stayed in power for so long, and why there are governments of force still in power in America.

Naturally, it all depends on whether it is possible to secure the support of the United States.

For instance, now they say they oppose one of these governments of force; the Government of Trujillo. But they do not say they are against other governments of force—that of Nicaragua, or Paraguay, for example.

The Nicaraguan one is no longer government of force; it is a monarchy that is almost as constitutional as that of the United Kingdom, where the reins of power are handed down from father to son. The same would have occurred in my own country. It was the type of government of force—that of Fulgencio Batista—which suited

the American monopolies in Cuba, but it was not, of course, the type of government which suited the Cuban people, and the Cuban people, at a great cost in lives and sacrifices, overthrew the government.

What did the Revolution find when it came to power in Cuba? What marvels did the Revolution find when it came to power in Cuba? First of all the Revolution found that 600,000 able Cubans were unemployed—as many, proportionately, as were unemployed in the United States at the time of the great depression which shook this country and which almost created a catastrophe in the United States. That was our permanent unemployment.

Three million out of a population of somewhat over 6,000,000 did not have electric lights and did not enjoy the advantages and comforts of electricity. Three and a half million out of a total of slightly more than 6,000,000 lived in huts, shacks and slums, without the slightest sanitary facilities. In the cities, rents took almost one third of family incomes.

Electricity rates and rents were among the highest in the world.

Thirty-seven and one half percent of our population were illiterate; 70 per cent of the rural children had no teachers; 2 per cent of population, that is, 100,000 persons out of a total of more than 6,000,000 suffered from tuberculosis. Ninety-five per cent of the children in rural areas were affected by parasites, and the infant mortality rate was therefore very high, just the opposite of the average life span.

On the other hand, 85 per cent of the small farmers were paying rents for the use of land to the tune of almost 30 per cent of their income, while 1 1/2 percent of the landowners controlled 46 per cent of the total area of the nation. Of course, the proportion of hospital beds to the number of inhabitants of the country was ridiculous, when compared with countries that only have halfway decent medical services.

Public utilities, electricity and telephone services all belonged to the United States monopolies. A major portion of the banking business, of the importing business and the oil refineries, the greater part of the sugar production, the best land in Cuba, and the most important industries in all fields belonged to American companies. The balance of payments in the last ten years, from 1950

to 1960, had been favorable to the United States with regard to Cuba to the extent of one thousand million dollars.

This is without taking in to account the hundreds of millions of dollars that were extracted from the treasury of the country by the corrupt officials of the tyranny and were later deposited in United States or European Banks.

One thousand million dollars in ten years. This poor and underdeveloped Caribbean country, with 600,000 unemployed, was contributing greatly to the economic development of the most highly industrialized country in the world.

That was the situation we found, and it is probably not foreign to many of the countries represented in this Assembly, because, when all is said and done, what we have said about Cuba is like a diagnostic x-ray applicable to many of the countries represented here.

What alternative was there for the Revolutionary Government? To betray the people? Of course, as far as the President of the United States is concerned, we have betrayed our people, but it would certainly not have been considered so, if, instead of the Revolutionary Government being true to its people, it had been loyal to the big American monopolies that exploited the economy of our country. At least, let note be taken here of the wonders the Revolution found when it came to power. They were no more and no less than the usual wonder of imperialism, which are in themselves the wonders of the free world as far as we, the colonies, are concerned!

...And so the Revolutionary Government began to take the first steps . . .

Then another law was passed, a law canceling the concessions which had been granted by the tyranny of Batista to the Telephone Company, an American monopoly. Taking advantage of the fact our people were defenseless, they had obtained valuable concessions. The Revolutionary Government then cancelled these concessions and re-established normal prices for telephone services. Thus began the first conflict with the American monopolies.

The third measure was the reduction of electricity rates, which were the highest in the world. Then followed the second conflict with the American monopolies. We were beginning to appear communist; they were beginning to daub us in red

because we had clashed head on with the interests of the United States monopolies.

Then followed the next law, an essential and inevitable law for our country, and a law which sooner or later will have to be adopted by all countries of the world, at least by those which have not yet adopted it: the Agrarian Reform Law. Of course, in theory everybody agrees with the Agrarian Reform Law. Nobody will deny the need for it unless he is a fool.

No one can deny that agrarian reform is one of the essential conditions for the economic development of the country. In Cuba, even the big landowners agreed about the agrarian reform—only they wanted their own kind of reform, such as the one defended by many theoreticians; a reform which would not harm their interests, and above all, one which would not be put into effect as long as it could be avoided. This is something that is well known to the economic bodies of the United Nations, something nobody even cares to discuss any more. In my country it was absolutely necessary: more than 200,000 peasant families lived in the countryside without land on which to grow essential food crops.

Without an agrarian reform, our country would have been unable to take that step; we made an agrarian reform. Was it a radical agrarian reform?

We think not. It was a reform adjusted to the needs of our development, and in keeping with our own possibilities of agricultural development. In other words, was an agrarian reform which was to solve the problems of the landless peasants, the problem of supplying basic foodstuffs, the problem of rural unemployment, and which was to end, once and for all, the ghastly poverty which existed in the countryside of our native land.

And that is where the first major difficulty arose. In the neighboring Republic of Guatemala a similar case had occurred. And I honestly warn my colleagues of Latin America, Africa and Asia; whenever you set out to make a just agrarian reform, you must be ready to face a similar situation, especially if the best and largest tracts of land are owned by American monopolies, as was the case in Cuba . . .

But the truth is that in our country it was not only the land that was the property of the agrarian monopolies. The largest and most important mines were also owned by those monopolies. Cuba

produces, for example, a great deal of nickel. All of the nickel was exploited by American interests, and under the tyranny of Batista, an American company, the Moa Bay, had obtained such a juicy concession that in a mere five years—mark my words, in a mere five years—it intended amortizing an investment of \$120,000,000. A \$120,000,000 investment amortized in five years!

And who had given the Moa Bay company this concession through the intervention of the Government of the United States? Quite simply, the tyrannical government of Fulgencio Batista, which was there to defend the interests of the monopolies. And this is an absolutely true fact. Exempt from all taxes what were those companies going to leave for the Cubans?

The empty, worked out mines, the impoverished land, and not the slightest contribution to the economic development of our country.

And so the Revolutionary Government passed a mining law which forced those monopolies to pay a 25 per cent tax on the exportation of minerals.

The attitude of the Revolutionary Government already had been too bold. It had clashed with the interests of the international electric trusts; it had clashed with the interests of the international telephone trusts; it had clashed with the interests of the mining trusts; it had clashed with the interests of the United Fruit Co; and it had in effect, clashed with the most powerful interests of the United States, which, as you know, are very closely linked with each other. And that was more than the Government of the United States—or rather, the representatives of the United States monopolies—could possibly tolerate.

Then began a new period of harassment of the Revolution . . .

The attitude of the Cuban Revolution therefore had to be punished.

Punitive actions of all sorts—even the destruction of those insolent people—had to follow the audacity of the Revolutionary Government.

On our honor, we swear that up to that moment we had not had the opportunity even to exchange letters with the distinguished Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev. That is to say that when, for the North American press and the international news agencies that supply information to the world, Cuba was already a Communist Government, a red peril ninety miles from the

United States with a Government dominated by Communists, the Revolutionary Government had not even had the opportunity of establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union . . .

Then came the threats against our sugar quota, imperialism's cheap philosophy of showing generosity, egotistical and exploiting generosity; and they began showing kindness towards Cuba, declaring that they were paying us a preferential price for sugar, which amounted to a subsidy to Cuban sugar—a sugar which was not so sweet for Cubans, since we were not the owners of the best sugar-producing land, nor the owners of the largest sugar mills. Furthermore, in that affirmation lay hidden the true history of Cuban sugar, of the sacrifices which had been imposed upon my country during the periods when it was economically attacked.

However when quotas were established, our participation was reduced to 28 per cent, and the advantages which that law had granted us, the very few advantages which that law had granted us, were gradually taken away in successive laws, and, of course the colony depended on the colonial power.

The economy of the colony had been organized by the colonial power.

The colony had to be subjected to the colonial power, and if the colony took measures to free itself from the colonial powers that country would take measures to crush the colony. Conscious of the subordination of our economy to their market, the Government of the United States began to issue a series of warnings that our quota would be reduced further, and at the same time, other activities were taking place in the United States of America: the activities of counter-revolutionaries . . .

Did they sincerely believe in what they said when they stated that the agrarian reform would cause a drop in production? Perhaps they did.

Surely it is logical for each one to believe what his mind has been conditioned to believe. It is quite possible they may have felt that without the all-powerful monopolist companies, we Cubans would be unable to produce sugar; perhaps they were even sure we would ruin the country. And of course, if the Revolution had ruined the country, then the United States would not have had to at-

tack us; it would have left us alone, and the United States Government would have appeared as a good and honorable government, and we as people who ruined our own Nation, and as a great example that Revolutions should not be made because they ruin countries.

Fortunately, that was not the case. There is proof that revolutions do not ruin countries, and that proof has just been furnished by the Government of the United States. Among other things, it has been proved that revolutions do not ruin countries, and that imperialist governments do try to ruin countries.

Cuba had not been ruined; she therefore had to be ruined. Cuba needed new markets for its products, and we would honestly ask any delegation present if it does not want its country to sell what it produces and its export to increase. We wanted our exports to increase, and this is what all countries wish; this must be a universal law. Only egotistical interests can oppose the universal interest in trade and commercial exchange, which surely is one of the most ancient aspirations and needs of mankind.

We wanted to sell our products and went in search of new markets. We signed a trade treaty with the Soviet Union, according to which we would sell one million tons of sugar and would purchase a certain amount of Soviet products or articles. Surely no one can say that this is an incorrect procedure. There may be some who would not do such a thing because it might displease certain interests. We really did not have to ask permission from the State Department in order to sign a trade treaty with the Soviet Union, because we considered ourselves, and we continue to consider ourselves and we will always consider ourselves, a truly independent and free country . . .

Cuba was not the first victim of aggression; Cuba was not the first country to be in danger of aggression. In this hemisphere everyone knows that the Government of the United States has always imposed its own law—the law of the strongest, in virtue of which they have destroyed Puerto Rican nationhood and have imposed their domination on that friendly country law in accordance with which they seized and held the Panama Canal . . .

That is why we, the small countries, do not yet feel too sure that our rights will be preserved; that

is why we, the small countries, whenever we decide to become free, know that we become free at our own risk. In truth, when people are united and are defending a just right, they can trust their own energies. We are not, as we have been pictured, a mere group of men governing the country. We are a whole people governing a country—a whole people firmly united, with a great revolutionary consciousness, defending its rights. And this should be known by the enemies of the revolution and of Cuba, because if they ignore this fact, they will be making a regrettable error . . .

Thus far, the monopolies have certainly not cared very much, except about exploiting the underdeveloped countries. But comes the Cuban Revolution and suddenly the monopolists are worrying, and while they attack us economically trying to crush us, they offer aims to the countries of Latin America. The countries of Latin America are offered, not the resources for development that Latin America needs, but resources for social development—houses for men who have no work, schools where children will not go, and hospitals that would not be necessary if there were enough food to eat (APPLAUSE).

After all, although some of my Latin American colleagues may feel it their duty to be discreet at the United Nations, they should all welcome a revolution such as the Cuban Revolution which at any rate has forced the monopolists to return at least a small part of what they have been extracting from the natural resources and the sweat of the Latin American peoples . . .

Why is the United States Government unwilling to talk of development?

It is very simple: because the Government of the United States does not want to oppose the monopolies, and the monopolies require natural resources and markets for the investment of their capital. That is where the great contradiction lies. That is why the real solution to this problem is not sought. That is why planning for the development of underdeveloped countries with public funds is not done . . .

But there are even more alarming circumstances for our people. It is well known that, in virtue of the Platt Amendment, imposed by force upon our people, the Government of the United States assumed the right to establish naval bases on our territory, a right forcefully imposed and

maintained. A naval base in the territory of any country is surely a cause for concern. First of all, there is concern over the fact that a country which follows an aggressive and warlike international policy has a base in the heart of our country, which brings us the risk of being involved in any international conflict, in any atomic conflict, without our having anything to do with the problem, because we have absolutely nothing to do with the problems of the United States and the crises provoked by the Government of the United States. Yet, there is a base in the heart of our Island which entails danger for us in case of war.

But is that only danger? No. There is another danger that concerns us even more, since it is closer to home. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly expressed its concern over the fact that the imperialist government of the United States may use that base, located in the heart of our national territory, as an excuse to promote a self-aggression, in order to justify an attack on our country. I repeat: the Revolutionary Government of Cuba is seriously concerned—and makes known this concern—over the fact that the imperialist government of the United States of America may use a self-aggression in order to justify an attack on our country. And this concern on our part is becoming increasingly greater because of the intensified aggressiveness that the United States is displaying . . .

What does all this mean? There are many countries that have American bases in their territory, but they are not directed against the governments that made these concessions—at least not as far as we know. Yet ours is the most tragic case. There is a base on our island territory directed against Cuba and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, in the hands of those who declare themselves enemies of our country, enemies of our revolution, and enemies of our people. In the entire history of the world's present-day bases, the most tragic case is that of Cuba; a base imposed upon us by force, well within our territory, which is a good many miles away from the coast of the United States, an instrument used against Cuba and the Cuban people imposed by the use of force, and a constant threat and a cause for concern for our people.

That is why we must state here that all these rumors of attacks are intended to create hysteria and prepare the conditions for an aggression

against our country, that we have never spoken a single word implying the thought of any type of attack on the Guantanamo base, because we are the first in not wanting to give imperialism an excuse to attack us, and we state this categorically. But we also declare that from the very moment that base was turned into a threat to the security and peace of our country, a danger to our country, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba has been considering very seriously the requesting, within the framework of international law, of the withdrawal of the naval and military forces of the United States from that portion of our National territory.

But it is imperative that this Assembly be kept well informed regarding the problems of Cuba, because we have to be on the alert against deceit and confusion. We have to explain these problems very clearly because with them go the security and the fate of our country. And that is why we want exact note to be taken of the words I have spoken, particularly when one takes into consideration the fact that the opinions or erroneous ideas of the politicians of this country as regards Cuban problems do not show any signs of improving. I have here some declarations by Mr. Kennedy that would surprise anybody. On Cuba he says. "We must use all the power of the Organization of American States to prevent Castro from interfering in other Latin American countries, and we must use all that power to return freedom to Cuba." They are going to give freedom back to Cuba!

"We must state our intention," he says, "of not allowing the Soviet Union to turn Cuba into its Caribbean base, and of applying the Monroe Doctrine." Half-way or more into the twentieth century, this gentleman speaks of the Monroe doctrine!

"We must make Prime Minister Castro understand that we intend to defend our right to the Naval Base of Guantanamo." He is the third who speaks of the problem. "And we must make the Cuban people know that we sympathize with their legitimate economic aspirations. . . ." Why did they not feel sympathetic before? ". . . that we know their love of freedom, and that we shall never be happy until democracy is restored in Cuba. . . ." What democracy? The democracy "made" by the imperialist monopolies of the Government of the United States?

"The forces in exile that are struggling for freedom," he says—note this very carefully so that you

will understand why there are planes flying from American territory over Cuba: pay close attention to what this gentleman has to say. "The forces that struggle for liberty in exile and in the mountains of Cuba should be supported and assisted, and in other countries of Latin America communism must be confined and not allowed to expand."

If Kennedy were not an illiterate and ignorant millionaire (APPLAUSE) . . . he would understand that it is not possible to carry out a revolution supported by landowners against the peasant in the mountains, and that every time imperialism has tried to encourage counterrevolutionary groups, the peasant militia has captured them in the course of a few days.

But he seems to have read a novel, or seen a Hollywood film, about guerrillas, and he thinks it is possible to carry on guerrilla warfare in a country where the relations of the social forces are what they are in Cuba.

In any case, this is discouraging. Let no one think, however, that these opinions as regards Kennedy's statements indicate that we feel any sympathy towards the other one, Mr. Nixon . . . (LAUGHTER) who has made similar statements. As far as we are concerned, both lack political brains.

Up to this point we have been dealing with the problem of our country, a fundamental duty of ours when coming before the United Nations, but we understand that it would be a little egotistical on our part if our concern were to be limited to our specific case alone. It is also true that we have used up the greater part of our time informing this Assembly about the Cuban case, and that there is not much time left for us to deal with the remaining questions, to which we wish to refer briefly.

The case of Cuba is not isolated case. It would be an error to think of it only as the case of Cuba. The case of Cuba is the case of all underdeveloped countries. The case of Cuba is like that of the Congo, Egypt, Algeria, Iran . . . (APPLAUSE) . . . like that of Panama, which wishes to have its canal; it is like that of Puerto Rico, whose national spirit they are destroying; like that of Honduras, a portion of whose territory has been alienated. In short, although we have not made specific reference to other countries, the case of Cuba is the case of all underdeveloped, colonized countries.

The problems which we have been describing in relation to Cuba can be applied just as well to all

of Latin America. The control of Latin American economic resources by the monopolies, which, when they do not own the mines directly and are in charge of extraction, as the case with the copper of Chile, Peru, or Mexico, and with the oil of Venezuela—when this control is not exercised directly it is because they are the owners of the public utility companies, as is the case in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, or the owners of telephone services, which is the case in Chile, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, Paraguay and Bolivia, or they commercialize our products, as is the case with coffee in Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, or with the cultivation, marketing and transportation of bananas by the United Fruit Co. in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Honduras, or with the cotton in Mexico and Brazil. In other words, the monopolies control the most important industries. Woe to those countries, the day they try to make an agrarian reform! They will be asked for immediate, efficient, and just payment. And if, in spite of everything they make an agrarian reform, the representative of the friendly country who comes to the United Nations will be confined to Manhattan; they will not rent hotel space to him; insult will be heaped upon him, and it is even possible that he may be physically mistreated by the police.

The problem of Cuba is just an example of the situation in Latin America. And how long will Latin America wait for its development? It will have to wait, according to the point of view of the monopolies, until there are two Fridays in a week.

Who is going to industrialize Latin America? The monopolies?

Certainly not. There is a report by the economic Commission of the United Nations which explains how private capital, instead of going to the countries that need it most for the establishment of basic industries to contribute to their development, is being channeled referentially to the more industrialized countries, because there, according to their beliefs, private capital finds greater security. And, of course, even the Economic Secretariat of the United Nations has had to admit there is no possible chance for development through the investment of private capital—that is, through the monopolies.

The development of Latin America will have to be achieved through public investment, planned

and granted unconditionally without any political strings attached, because, naturally, we all like to be representatives of free countries. None of us like to represent a country that does not feel itself in full possession of its freedom . . .

The problems of Latin America are similar to those of the rest of the world: to those of Africa and Asia. The world is divided up among the monopolies; the same monopolies that we find in Latin America are also found in the Middle East. There the oil is in the hands of monopolistic companies that are controlled by France, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands. . . . in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, in short, in all corners of the world. The same thing is true, for instance, in the Philippines, and in Africa. The world has been divided among the monopolistic interests. Who would dare deny this historic truth? The monopolistic interests do not want to see the development of countries and the people themselves. And the sooner they recover or amortize the capital invested, the better.

The problems the Cuban people have had to face with the imperialistic government of the United States are the same which Saudi Arabia would face if it nationalized its oil, and this also applies to Iran or Iraq; the same problems that Egypt had when it quite justifiably nationalized the Suez Canal; the very same problems that Indonesia had when it wanted to become independent; the same surprise attacks as against Egypt and the Congo.

Have colonialists or imperialists ever lacked a pretext when they wanted to invade a country? Never! Somehow they have always found a pretext. And which are the colonialist and imperialist countries? Four or five countries—no, four or five groups of monopolies are the owners of the wealth of the world.

If a being from another planet were to come to this Assembly, one who had read neither the *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx nor the cables of the United Press or the Associated Press or other monopolist publications, if he were to ask how the world had been divided, and he saw on a map that the wealth of the world was divided among the monopolies of four or five countries, he would say, without further consideration; “The wealth of this world has been badly distributed, the world is being exploited . . .”

We have spoken here of the Cuban case. Our case has taught us because of the problems we have had with our own imperialism, that is, the particular imperialism that is ranged against us. But, since all imperialism are alike, they are all allies. A country that exploits the people of Latin America, or any other parts of the world, is an ally of the exploiters of the rest of the world . . .

The colonialists, therefore, are against disarmament. Using the weapon of world public opinion, we must fight to force disarmament on them as we must force them to respect the right of peoples to economic and political liberation.

The monopolies are against disarmament, because, besides being able to defend those interests with arms, the arms race has always been good business for them. For example, it is well known that the great monopolies in this country doubled their capital shortly after the Second World War.

Like vultures, the monopolies feed on the corpses which are the harvest of war.

And war is a business. Those who trade in war, those who enrich themselves by war, must be unmasked. We must open the eyes of the world and expose those who trade in the destiny of mankind, in the danger of war, particularly when the war may be so frightful that it leaves no hope of salvation.

We, the small and underdeveloped countries, urge the whole Assembly and especially the other small and underdeveloped nations to devote themselves to this task and to have this problem discussed here, because afterwards we will never forgive ourselves if, through our neglect or lack of firmness and energy on this basic issue, the world becomes involved once again in the perils of war . . .

That is to say, it is for Franco, for the colonization of Algeria, for the colonization of the Congo; it is for the maintenance of its privileges and interests in the Panama Canal, for colonialism through the world. It is for the German militarism and for the resurgence of German militarism. It is for Japanese militarism and for the resurgence of Japanese militarism . . .

That is why it has to be against the sovereignty of nations, because it must constantly limit sovereignty in order to maintain its policy of encircling the Soviet Union with bases. We believe that these problems are not properly explained to the American people. But the American people need only

imagine how uneasy they would feel if the Soviet Union began to establish a ring of atomic bases in Cuba, Mexico, or Canada. The population would not feel secure or calm. World opinion, including American opinion, must be taught to see the other person's point of view.

The underdeveloped peoples should not always be represented as aggressors; revolutionaries should not be presented as aggressors, as enemies of the American people, because we have seen Americans like Carleton Beals, Waldo Frank, and others, famous and distinguished intellectuals, shed tears at the thought of the mistakes that are being made, at the breach of hospitality towards us; there are many Americans, the most humane, the most progressive, and the most esteemed writers, in whom I see the nobility of this country's early leaders, the Washingtons, the Jeffersons, and the Lincolns. I say this in no spirit of demagoguery, but with the sincere admiration that we feel for those who once succeeded in freeing their people from colonial status and who did not fight in order that their country might today be the ally of all the reactionaries, the gangsters, the big landowners, the monopolists, the exploiters, the militarists, the fascists in the world, that is to say, the ally of the most reactionary forces, but rather in order that their country might always be the champion of noble and just ideals.

We know well what will be said about us, today, tomorrow, every day, to deceive the American people. But it does not matter. We are doing our duty by stating our views in this historic Assembly.

We proclaim the right of people to freedom, the right of people to nationhood; those who know that nationalism means the desire of the people to regain what is rightly theirs, their wealth, their natural resources, conspire against nationalism.

We are, in short, for all the noble aspirations of all the peoples.

That is our position. We are, and always shall be for everything that is just: against colonialism, exploitation, monopolies, militarism, the armaments race, and warmongering. We shall always be against such things.

That will be our position . . .

Some people wanted to know what the policy of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba was. Very well, then, this is our policy.

Source: Embassy of Cuba.

UN Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (December 14, 1960)

Conscious of the wave of decolonization sweeping Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the UN General Assembly went on record supporting an end to all colonial empires (Resolution 1514 [XV]). While Britain generally accepted the idea of decolonization, other colonizing nations in Europe—notably France and Portugal—resisted. However, like most General Assembly resolutions, number 1514 on independence had nothing in the way of enforcement power. The real power at the UN lay in the Security Council, where colonial powers like Britain and France had permanent seats and a permanent power of veto.

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international

economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in

accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

Source: United Nations, General Assembly, Official Records, Fifteenth Session, Supplement No. 16, 1960.

Organization of African Unity Charter (May 25, 1963)

The Organization of African Unity was founded in Addis Ababa in 1963, during a period in which much of sub-Saharan Africa was gaining its independence from European colonizers. The name the organization adopted reflected the hopes of a new generation of African leaders that the continent might overcome its colonial legacy. But Article III reflected a deeper reality. In its defense of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, it recognized the dangers of disputing existing borders, even though these latter were based on the whims of the colonizers rather than on the realities of African human and natural geography.

We, the Heads of African States and Governments assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny,

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples,

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in all spheres of human endeavour,

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences,

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained,

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms,

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa,

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the Principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among States,

Desirous that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured,

Resolved to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions,

Have agreed to the present Charter.

ESTABLISHMENT

Article I

1. The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish Organisation to be known as the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

2. The Organization shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar and other Islands surrounding Africa.

PURPOSES

Article II

1. The Organization shall have the following purposes:

- (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- (b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- (c) To defend their sovereigns, their territorial integrity and independence;
- (d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and

(e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . . .

3. To these ends, the Member States shall coordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields:

- (a) Political and diplomatic cooperation;
- (b) Economic cooperation, including transport and communications;
- (c) Educational and cultural cooperation;
- (d) Health, sanitation and nutritional cooperation;
- (e) Scientific and technical cooperation; and
- (f) Cooperation for defence and security.

PRINCIPLES

Article III

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

- 1. The sovereign equality of all Member States.
- 2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.
- 3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence.

4. Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediator conciliation or arbitration.

5. Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other States.

6. Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories, which are still dependent.

7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs. . . .

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and condition of service shall be defined by a separate Protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said Protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter . . .

IN FAITH WHEREOF, We, the Heads of African State Governments have signed this Charter.

Done in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,
25th day of May, 1963

Source: Organization of African Unity. Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity, 1965.

ITALIAN EMPIRE

Ferdinando Martini: "Imperialism of the Have-Nots" (1897)

In the late nineteenth century, Europeans divided their continent into the imperial "haves"—old nation-states like Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Portugal—with vast colonial holdings and "have-nots"—newer nations, most notably, Germany and Italy, with few colonies. In this excerpt from his book Concerning Africa, Ferdinando Martini, a liberal politician from Tuscany, argues that Italy should have an empire of its own. It was needed, he argued, not so much as a market for manufactured goods or a source of raw materials—Italy was still largely an agricultural nation—but as a repository for excess population, which was emigrating instead to the United States and Latin America, and thus draining Italy of human resources.

Italy has 108 inhabitants per square kilometer; France has only 73. In proportion to the territory, only these states in Europe surpass Italy in density of population: Belgium, Holland, and Great Britain. If we go on like this, soon there will be no state that surpasses Italy: in the ten years 1871–1881 the births surpassed the deaths by seven per cent, and in the ten following years by eleven per cent. Every year 100,000 farmers and agricultural laborers emigrate from Italy. In spite of this immense exodus, the country witnesses the fact that, to the greatest danger of her political and economic future, her place in the family of civilized peoples is growing smaller and smaller. In fact, during the last eighty years the English-speaking peoples have risen from 22 to 90 mil-

lions; the Russian-speaking peoples from 50 to 70; and so forth, down to the Spanish-speaking peoples who were 18 millions and are now 39. On the other hand, the Italian-speaking peoples have increased only from 20 to 31, and most of the increase has taken place within Italy's own geographical borders. And this is not surprising. Even though our emigrants at first seem to be spreading in foreign lands the name, the language, and the prestige of Italy, since all or nearly all of them go to areas very advanced in civilization, their sons or their grandsons, being attracted and encircled by the vigorous peoples giving them hospitality, end up by forgetting the language of their fathers and ancestors. They merely increase the number of other nations, like branches grafted on a different plant. . . .

. . . Since our stubbornness and our mistakes have cost all that they cost and are costing, even if one wants to leave aside all other considerations and to take into account only the expenditure and the chances of success, I believe that it is less safe and more expensive to endeavor to bring under culture three million hectares in Italy, than to insure the prosperity of a large agricultural colony in Eritrea. . . .

It is easy to make jokes about Abyssinian huts. But, once one has made jokes and laughed, one has good reason to cry when comparing those huts—where our colonial officers yet are living without discomfort—with the sandstone caves where the plowmen and the reapers of the Roman Campagna are sleeping; or with the crumbling slums of Basilicata, where men, women and children are heaped together, and where, according to medical

descriptions, it is possible to breathe only because air filters through the cracks of the rotten walls.

Source: Martini, Ferdinando. *Concerning Africa*. Milan: Treves, 1897.

King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy Assumes the Imperial Title (May 9, 1936)

Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini took power in Italy in 1922. Bent on recreating the Roman Empire, he sent his troops into Africa to conquer Ethiopia in the 1930s. After several setbacks, Italy was triumphant, vanquishing the last independent kingdom on the African continent. As part of Italy's glorification, Mussolini decreed that King Victor Emmanuel III—the titular head of Italy—be crowned Emperor of Ethiopia in an elaborate ceremony in Rome in 1936.

Victor Emmanuel III, by the Grace of God and by the Will of The Nation, King of Italy

In consideration of Article 5 of the Fundamental Statute of the Kingdom; in consideration of Article 3, No. 2, of the law of January 31, 1926, in the fourth year of Fascism, No. 100; in consideration of the law of December 9, 1928, in the seventh year of Fascism, No. 2693; having recognized the urgency and absolute necessity of passing this provision; the Grand Council of Fascism having considered it; the Council of Ministers having heard it; on proposal of the Head of the Government, the Prime Minister Secretary of State;

We have decreed and we now decree:

Article I. The territory and peoples which belong to the Empire of Ethiopia are hereby placed

under the full and complete sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy.

The title of Emperor of Ethiopia is assumed for himself and for his successors by the King of Italy.

Article II. Ethiopia is ruled and represented by a Governor-General who has the title of Viceroy and on whom are dependent also the Governors of Eritrea and Somaliland.

All the civil and military authorities of the territory placed under his jurisdiction are dependent upon the Governor-General, Viceroy of Ethiopia.

The Governor-General, Viceroy of Ethiopia, is nominated by Royal Decree on proposal of the Head of the Government, the Prime Minister Secretary of State, and the Minister Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Article III. Regulations for Ethiopia will be provided by Royal Decree, to be issued on the proposal of the Head of the Government, the Prime Minister Secretary of State, and the Minister Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Article IV. The present Decree, which becomes elective on the day of its date, will be presented to Parliament for conversion into law. The Head of the Government, Prime Minister Secretary of State, on his proposal, is authorized to present the draft law.

We order the present Decree stamped with the seal of the State and inserted in the official collection of laws and decrees of the Kingdom of Italy, making its observation and enforcement obligatory.

Done at Rome, 9th May 1936—Year XIV

Victor Emmanuel

Benito Mussolini

Source: *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* (Ministry of Grace and Justice, Rome), no. 108 (May 9, 1936).

JAPANESE EMPIRE

The Emperor's Charter Oath (1868)

From the sixteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century, Japan was able to keep westerners at bay. But the arrival of U.S. naval commander Matthew Perry in 1853 ended that isolation. Indeed, following Perry's arrival, Japan was forced—like China—to sign unequal treaties by western powers. In response, the Japanese reorganized their government from a feudal regime dominated by daimyo, or lords, and their warrior retainers, known as samurai, to a centralized regime around the figure of the emperor. This reorganization, first promulgated in the Emperor's Charter Oath of 1868, helped Japan avoid being subjected to western domination in the way that nearby China was.

... II. All power and authority in the empire shall be vested in a Council of State, and thus the grievances of divided government shall be done away with. The power and authority of the Council of State shall be threefold, legislative, executive and judicial. Thus the imbalance of authority among the different branches of the government shall be avoided.

III. The legislative organ shall not be permitted to perform executive functions, nor shall the executive organ be permitted to perform legislative functions. However, on extraordinary occasions the legislative organ may still perform such functions as tours of inspection of cities and the conduct of foreign affairs.

IV. Attainment to offices of the first rank shall be limited to princes of the blood, court nobles

and territorial lords, and shall be by virtue of [the sovereign's] intimate trust in the great ministers of state. . . .

V. Each great city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall furnish qualified men to be members of the Assembly. A deliberative body shall be instituted so that the views of the people may be discussed openly.

VI. A system of official ranks shall be instituted so that each official may know the importance of his office and dare not hold it in contempt.

VII. Princes of the blood, court nobles, and territorial lords shall be accompanied by six two-sworded and three commoners, and persons of lower rank by two two-sworded men and one commoner, so that the appearance of pomp and grandeur may be done away with and the evils of class barriers may be avoided.

VIII. Officers shall not discuss the affairs of the government in their own houses with unofficial persons. If any persons desire interviews with them for the purpose of giving expression to their own opinions, they shall be sent to the office of the appropriate department and the matter shall be discussed openly.

IX. All officials shall be changed after four years' service. They shall be selected by means of public balloting. However, at the first expiration of terms hereafter, half of the officials shall retain office for two additional years, after which their terms shall expire, so that the government may be caused to continue without interruption. Those whose relief is undesirable because they enjoy the approval of the people may be retained for an additional period of years.

X. A system shall be established for levying taxes on territorial lords, farmers, artisans, and merchants, so that the government revenue may be supplemented, military installations strengthened, and public security maintained. For this purpose, even persons of rank or office shall have taxes levied upon them . . .

XI. Each large city, clan, and imperial prefecture shall promulgate regulations, and these shall comply with the Charter Oath. The laws peculiar to one locality shall not be generalized to apply to other localities. There shall be no private conferral of titles or rank, no private coinage, no private employment of foreigners, and no conclusion of alliances with neighboring clans or with foreign countries, lest inferior authorities be confounded with superior and government be thrown into confusion.

Source: <http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob65.html>.

Tanaka Memorial: Japan's Blueprint for Colonization of the Far East (1927)

The Tanaka Memorial, a summary of a conference held in 1927 on Japan's role in Far Eastern affairs and headed by Prime Minister Baron Gi-ichi Tanaka, has been denounced by some historians as a Chinese forgery. While its crude explicitness lends credence to the forgery theory, the document nonetheless anticipates many of Tokyo's moves in the Far East over the following decade.

Since the European War, Japan's political as well as economic interests have been in an unsettled condition. This is due to the fact that we have failed to take advantage of our special privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia and fully to realize our acquired rights. But upon my appointment as premier, I was instructed to guard our interests in this region and watch for opportunities for further expansion. Such injunctions one cannot take lightly. Ever since I advocated a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia as a common citizen, I have longed for its realization. So in order that we may lay plans for the colonization of the Far East and the development of our new continental empire, a special conference was held from June 27th to July 7th lasting in all eleven days. It was attended by all the civil and military officers con-

nected with Manchuria and Mongolia, whose discussions resulted in the following resolutions. These we respectfully submit to Your Majesty for consideration.

General Considerations

The term Manchuria and Mongolia includes the provinces Fengtien, Kirin, Heilung-kiang and Outer and Inner Mongolia. It extends an area of 74,000 square miles, having a population of 28,000,000 people. The territory is more than three times as large as our own empire not counting Korea and Formosa, but it is inhabited by only one-third as many people. The attractiveness of the land does not arise from the scarcity of population alone; its wealth of forestry, minerals and agricultural products is also unrivalled elsewhere in the world. In order to exploit these resources for the perpetuation of our national glory, we created especially the South Manchuria Railway Company. The total investment involved in our undertakings in railway, shipping, mining, forestry, steel, manufacture, agriculture, and in cattle raising, as schemes pretending to be mutually beneficial to China and Japan, amount to no less than Yen 440,000,000. It is veritably the largest single investment and the strongest organization of our country. Although nominally the enterprise is under the joint ownership of the government and the people, in reality the government has complete power and authority. In so far as the South Manchuria Railway is empowered to undertake diplomatic, police, and ordinary administrative functions so that it may carry out our imperialistic policies, the Company forms a peculiar organization which has exactly the same powers as the Governor-General of Korea. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate the immense interests we have in Manchuria and Mongolia. Consequently the policies towards this country of successive administrations since Meiji are all based on his injunctions, elaborating and continuously completing the development of the new continental empire in order to further the advance of our national glory and prosperity for countless generations to come.

Unfortunately, since the European War there have been constant changes in diplomatic as well as domestic affairs. The authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces [Manchuria] are also awakened and gradually work toward reconstruction and in-

dustrial development following our example. Their progress is astonishing. It has affected the spread of our influence in a most serious way, and has put us to so many disadvantages that the dealings with Manchuria and Mongolia of successive governments have resulted in failure. Furthermore, the restrictions of the Nine-Power Treaty signed at the Washington Conference have reduced our special rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia to such an extent that there is no freedom left for us. The very existence of our country is endangered. Unless these obstacles are removed, our national existence will be insecure and our national strength will not develop. Moreover, the resources of wealth are congregated in North Manchuria. If we do not have the right of way here, it is obvious that we shall not be able to tap the riches of this country. Even the resources of South Manchuria which we won by the Russo-Japanese War will also be greatly restricted by the Nine-Power Treaty. The result is that while our people cannot migrate into Manchuria as they please, the Chinese are flowing in as a flood. Hordes of them move into the Three Eastern Provinces every year, numbering in the neighborhood of several millions. They have jeopardized our acquired rights in Manchuria and Mongolia to such an extent that our annual surplus population of eight hundred thousand has no place to seek refuge. In view of this we have to admit our failure in trying to effect a balance between our population and food supply. If we do not devise plans to check the influx of Chinese immigrants immediately, in five years' time the number of Chinese will exceed 6,000,000. Then we shall be confronted with greater difficulties in Manchuria and Mongolia.

It will be recalled that when the Nine-Power Treaty was signed which restricted our movements in Manchuria and Mongolia, public opinion was greatly aroused. The late Emperor Taisho called a conference of Yamagata and other high officers of the army and navy to find a way to counteract this new engagement. I was sent to Europe and America to ascertain secretly the attitude of the important statesmen towards it. They were all agreed that the Nine-Power Treaty was initiated by the United States. The other Powers which signed it were willing to see our influence increase in Manchuria and Mongolia in order that

we may protect the interests of international trade and investments. This attitude I found out personally from the political leaders of England, France and Italy. The sincerity of these expressions could be depended upon. Unfortunately, just as we were ready to carry out our policy and declare void the Nine-Power Treaty with the approval of those whom I met on my trip, the Seiyukai cabinet suddenly fell and our policy failed of fruition. It was indeed a great pity. After I had secretly exchanged views with the Powers regarding the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, I returned by way of Shanghai. At the wharf there a Chinese attempted to take my life. An American woman was hurt, but I escaped by the divine protection of my emperors of the past. It seems that it was by divine will that I should assist Your Majesty to open a new era in the Far East and to develop the new continental empire.

The Three Eastern Provinces are politically the imperfect spot in the Far East. For the sake of self-protection as well as the protection of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts the policy of "Blood and Iron." But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us by China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence.

The Nine-Power Treaty is entirely an expression of the spirit of commercial rivalry. It was the intention of England and America to crush our influence in China with their power of wealth. The proposed reduction of armaments is nothing but a means to limit our military strength, making it impossible for us to conquer the vast territory of China. On the other hand, China's sources of wealth will be entirely at their disposal. It is merely a scheme by which England and America

may defeat our plans. And yet the Minseito made the Nine-Power Treaty the important thing and emphasized our TRADE rather than our RIGHTS in China. This is a mistaken policy—a policy of national suicide. England can afford to talk about trade relations only because she has India and Australia to supply her with foodstuffs and other materials. So can America because South America and Canada are there to supply her needs. Their spare energy could be entirely devoted to developing trade in China to enrich themselves.

But in Japan her food supply and raw materials decrease in proportion to her population. If we merely hope to develop trade, we shall eventually be defeated by England and America, who possess unsurpassable capitalistic power. In the end, we shall get nothing. A more dangerous factor is the fact that the people of China might some day wake up. Even during these years of internal strife, they can still toil patiently, and try to imitate and displace our goods so as to impair the development of our trade. When we remember that the Chinese are our sole customers, we must beware lest one day China becomes unified and her industries become prosperous. Americans and Europeans will compete with us; our trade in China will be wrecked. Minseito's proposal to uphold the Nine-Power Treaty and to adopt the policy of trade towards Manchuria is nothing less than a suicide policy.

After studying the present conditions and possibilities of our country, our best policy lies in the direction of taking positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia. These will enable us to develop our trade. This will not only forestall China's own industrial development, but also prevent the penetration of European Powers. This is the best policy possible!

The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretence of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish itself on Continental Asia. Final success belongs to the country having raw materials;

the full growth of national strength belongs to the country having extensive territory. If we pursue a positive policy to enlarge our rights in Manchuria and China, all these prerequisites of a powerful nation will constitute no problem. Furthermore our surplus population of 700,000 each year will also be taken care of.

If we want to inaugurate a new policy and secure the permanent prosperity of our empire, a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia is the only way.

Source: Crow, Carl, ed. *The Tanaka Memorial*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1943.

Mao Zedong: On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism (December 27, 1935)

Beginning with its invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese Empire moved to acquire vast tracts of Chinese territory for the purposes of exploiting resources and labor and providing lands for the settlement of Japanese colonists. In 1937, Japan invaded the rest of China but was met with fierce resistance by Chinese nationalists, one contingent of whom were the Communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong. In this report to the Conference of Party Activists, Mao emphasizes the need for politicizing and mobilizing the masses in order to drive the Japanese out of China.

The Characteristics of the Present Political Situation

Comrades! A great change has now taken place in the political situation. Our Party has defined its tasks in the light of this changed situation.

What is the present situation?

Its main characteristic is that Japanese imperialism wants to turn China into a colony.

As we all know, for nearly a hundred years China has been a semi-colonial country jointly dominated by several imperialist powers. Owing to the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism and to conflicts among the imperialist powers, China has been able to retain a semi-independent status. For a time World War I gave Japanese imperialism the opportunity of dominating China exclusively. But the treaty surrendering China to

Japan, the Twenty-one Demands signed by Yuan Shih-kai, the arch-traitor of that time, was inevitably rendered null and void as a result of the Chinese people's fight against Japanese imperialism and of the intervention by other imperialist powers. In 1922 at the Washington Nine-Power Conference called by the United States, a treaty was signed which once again placed China under the joint domination of several imperialist powers. But before long the situation changed again. The Incident of September 18, 1931, began the present stage of Japan's colonization of China. As Japanese aggression was temporarily limited to the four northeastern provinces, some people felt that the Japanese imperialists would probably advance no farther. Today things are different. The Japanese imperialists have already shown their intention of penetrating south of the Great Wall and occupying all China. Now they want to convert the whole of China from a semi-colony shared by several imperialist powers into a colony monopolized by Japan. The recent Eastern Hopei Incident and diplomatic talks are clear indications of this trend of events which threatens the survival of the whole Chinese people. This faces all classes and political groups in China with the question of what to do. Resist? Surrender? Or vacillate between the two?

Now let us see how the different classes in China answer this question.

The workers and the peasants are all demanding resistance. The revolution of 1924–27, the agrarian revolution from 1927 to the present day, and the anti-Japanese tide since the Incident of September 18, 1931, have all proved that the working class and peasantry are the most resolute forces in the Chinese revolution.

The petty bourgeoisie is also demanding resistance. Have not the student youth and the urban petty bourgeoisie already started a broad anti-Japanese movement? This section of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie took part in the revolution of 1924–27. Like the peasants, they are small producers in their economic status, and their interests are irreconcilable with those of imperialism. Imperialism and the Chinese counter-revolutionary forces have done them great harm, driving many into unemployment, bankruptcy or semi-bankruptcy. Now, faced with the immediate danger of becoming slaves to a foreign nation, they have no alternative but to resist.

But how do the national bourgeoisie, the comprador and landlord classes, and the Kuomintang face up to this question?

The big local tyrants and evil gentry, the big warlords and the big bureaucrats and compradors have long made up their minds. They maintain, as they have done all along, that revolution of whatever kind is worse than imperialism. They have formed a camp of traitors, for whom the question of whether to become slaves of a foreign nation simply does not exist because they have already lost all sense of nationality and their interests are inseparably linked with imperialism. Their chieftain is Chiang Kai-shek. This camp of traitors are deadly enemies of the Chinese people. Japanese imperialism could not have become so blatant in its aggression were it not for this pack of traitors. They are the running dogs of imperialism.

The national bourgeoisie presents a complicated problem. This class took part in the revolution of 1924–27, but terrified by the flames of revolution, it later deserted to the enemy of the people, the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The question is whether there is any possibility that this class will undergo a change in the present circumstances. We think there is. For the national bourgeoisie is not the same as either the landlord or the comprador class; there is a difference between them. The national bourgeoisie is less feudal than the landlord class and not so comprador as the comprador class. The section having more ties with foreign capital and the Chinese landed interests form the right-wing of the national bourgeoisie; and we shall not, for the moment, consider whether it can change or not. The problem lies with those sections which have few or no such ties. We believe that in the new situation in which China is threatened with being reduced to a colony these sections may change their attitude. The change will be marked by vacillation. On the one hand they dislike imperialism, and on the other they fear thorough revolution, and they vacillate between the two. This explains why they took part in the revolution of 1924–27 and why, in the end, they went over to Chiang Kai-shek's side. In what respect does the present period differ from 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution? China was then still a semi-colony, but now she is on the way to becoming a colony. Over the past nine years the national bourgeoisie has deserted

its ally, the working class, and made friends with the landlord and comprador classes, but has it gained anything? Nothing, except the bankruptcy or semi-bankruptcy of its industrial and commercial enterprises. Hence we believe that in the present situation the attitude of the national bourgeoisie can change. What will be the extent of the change? The general characteristic of the national bourgeoisie is to vacillate. But at a certain stage of the struggle, one section (the left-wing) may join in, while another section may vacillate towards neutrality.

Whose class interests does the 19th Route Army led by Tsai Ting-kai and others represent? Those of the national bourgeoisie, the upper petty bourgeoisie, and the rich peasants and small landlords in the countryside. Did not Tsai Ting-kai and his associates once fight bitterly against the Red Army? Yes, but they subsequently concluded an anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang alliance with the Red Army. In Kiangsi they had attacked the Red Army, but later in Shanghai they fought the Japanese imperialists; later still, in Fukien they came to terms with the Red Army and turned their guns against Chiang Kai-shek. Whatever course Tsai Ting-kai and his associates may take in the future, and despite their Fukien People's Government's adherence to old practice in failing to arouse the people to struggle, it must be considered beneficial to the revolution that they turned their guns, originally trained on the Red Army, against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. It marked a split within the Kuomintang camp. If the circumstances following the September 18th Incident could cause this group to split away, why cannot the present circumstances give rise to other splits in the Kuomintang? Those Party members who hold that the whole landlord and bourgeois camp is united and permanent and will not change under any circumstances are wrong. They not only fail to appreciate the present grave situation, they have even forgotten history.

Let me speak a little more about the past. In 1926 and 1927, during the time when the revolutionary army advanced on Wuhan, captured it and marched into Honan, Tang Sheng-chih and Feng Yu-hsiang took part in the revolution. In 1933, Feng Yu-hsiang co-operated for a time with the Communist Party in forming the Anti-Japanese Allied Army in Chahar Province.

Take another striking example. Did not the 26th Route Army, which, together with the 19th Route Army, had attacked the Red Army in Kiangsi, stage the Ningtu Uprising in December 1931 and become part of the Red Army? The leaders of the Ningtu Uprising, Chao Po-sheng, Tung Chen-tang and others, have become steadfast comrades in the revolution.

The anti-Japanese operations of Ma Chan-shan in the three northeastern provinces represented another split in the ruling class camp.

All these instances indicate that splits will occur in the enemy camp when all China comes within the range of Japanese bombs, and when the struggle changes its normal pace and suddenly surges forward.

Now, comrades, let us turn to another aspect of the question.

Is it correct to object to our view on the ground that China's national bourgeoisie is politically and economically flabby, and to argue that it cannot possibly change its attitude in spite of the new circumstances? I think not. If weakness is the reason for its inability to change its attitude, why did the national bourgeoisie behave differently in 1924-27 when it did not merely vacillate towards the revolution but actually joined it? Can one say that the weakness of the national bourgeoisie is a new disease, and not one that accompanies it from the very womb? Can one say that the national bourgeoisie is weak today, but was not weak in 1924-27? One of the chief political and economic characteristics of a semi-colonial country is the weakness of its national bourgeoisie. That is exactly why the imperialists dare to bully them, and it follows that one of their characteristics is dislike of imperialism. Of course, so far from denying it, we fully recognize that it is the very weakness of the national bourgeoisie that may make it easy for the imperialists, landlords and compradors to entice them with the bait of some temporary advantage; hence their lack of revolutionary thoroughness. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that in the present circumstances there is no difference between the national bourgeoisie and the landlord and comprador classes.

Therefore, we emphatically assert that when the national crisis reaches a crucial point, splits will occur in the Kuomintang camp. Such splits have revealed themselves in the vacillation of the national

bourgeoisie and the emergence of such anti-Japanese figures as Feng Yu-hsiang, Tsai Ting-kai and Ma Chan-shan, who have become popular for a time. Basically, these splits are unfavourable to the counterrevolution and favourable to the revolution. Their possibility is increased by China's uneven political and economic development, and the consequent uneven development of the revolution.

Comrades, so much for the positive side of the question. Now let me take up the negative side, namely, the fact that certain elements among the national bourgeoisie are often past masters at deceiving the people. Why? Because apart from the genuine supporters of the people's revolutionary cause, this class includes many who temporarily appear as revolutionaries or semi-revolutionaries, and who thus acquire a deceptive status which makes it difficult for the people to see through their lack of revolutionary thoroughness and their false trappings. This increases the responsibility devolving on the Communist Party to criticize its allies, unmask the fake revolutionaries, and gain the leadership. To deny the possibility that the national bourgeoisie may vacillate and join the revolution during great upheavals amounts to abandoning, or at any rate to minimizing, our Party's task of contending for leadership. For if the national bourgeoisie were exactly the same as the landlords and compradors and had the same vile and traitorous visage, there would be little or no problem of contending with it for leadership.

In making a general analysis of the attitude of the Chinese landlord class and the bourgeoisie in times of great upheaval, we should also point to another aspect, namely, that even the landlord and comprador camp is not completely united. The reason is that China is a semicolonial country for which many imperialist powers are contending. When the struggle is directed against Japanese imperialism, then the running dogs of the United States or Britain, obeying the varying tones of their masters' commands, may engage in veiled or even open strife with the Japanese imperialists and their running dogs. There have been many instances of such dog-fights and we shall not dwell on them. We will only mention the fact that Hu Han-min, a Kuomintang politician once detained by Chiang Kai-shek, has recently added his signature to the Six-Point Programme for Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation which we have ad-

vanced. The warlords of the Kwangtung and Kwangsi cliques who back Hu Han-min are also opposing Chiang Kai-shek, under the deceitful slogans of "Recover our lost territory," and "Resist Japan and at the same time suppress the bandits" (as against Chiang Kai-shek's slogan of "First suppress the bandits, then resist Japan"). Is this not rather strange? No, it is not strange at all, but merely a particularly interesting example of a fight between large and small dogs, between well-fed and ill-fed dogs. It is not a big rift, but neither is it small; it is at once an irritating and painful contradiction. But such fights, such rifts, such contradictions are of use to the revolutionary people. We must turn to good account all such fights, rifts and contradictions in the enemy camp and turn them against our present main enemy.

Summing up the question of class relations, we may say that the basic change in the situation, namely, the Japanese invasion of China south of the Great Wall, has changed the relationship among the various classes in China, strengthening the camp of national revolution and weakening that of counter-revolution.

Now let us discuss the situation in the camp of China's national revolution.

First, the Red Army. As you know, comrades, for almost a year and a half the three main contingents of the Chinese Red Army have carried out great shifts of position. The Sixth Army Group led by Jen Pi-shih and other comrades began to shift to Comrade Ho Lung's area in August last year, and in October we ourselves started to shift position. In March this year the Red Army in the Szechuan-Shensi border area began its shift. All three Red Army contingents have abandoned their old positions and moved to new regions. These great shifts have turned the old areas into guerrilla zones. The Red Army has been considerably weakened in the process. From this aspect of the over-all situation, we can see that the enemy has won a temporary and partial victory, while we have suffered a temporary and partial defeat. Is this statement correct? I think it is. For it is a statement of fact. However, some people (Chang Kuo-tao for instance) say that the Central Red Army has failed. Is that correct? No. For it is not a statement of fact. In approaching a problem a Marxist should see the whole as well as the parts. A frog in a well says, "The sky is no bigger than the mouth of the well."

That is untrue, for the sky is not just the size of the mouth of the well. If it said, "A part of the sky is the size of the mouth of a well," that would be true, for it tallies with the facts. What we say is that in one respect the Red Army has failed (i.e., failed to maintain its original positions), but in another respect it has won a victory (i.e., in executing the plan of the Long March). In one respect the enemy won a victory (i.e., in occupying our original positions), but in another respect he has failed (i.e., failed to execute his plan of "encirclement and suppression" and of "pursuit and suppression"). That is the only appropriate formulation, for we have completed the Long March.

Speaking of the Long March, one may ask, "What is its significance?" We answer that the Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, that it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding-machine. Since Pan Ku divided the heavens from the earth and the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors reigned, has history ever witnessed a long march such as ours? For twelve months we were under daily reconnaissance and bombing from the skies by scores of planes, while on land we were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men, and we encountered untold difficulties and dangers on the way; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than twenty thousand *li* through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. Let us ask, has history ever known a long march to equal ours? No, never. The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom, and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended with victory for us and defeat for the enemy. Who brought the

Long March to victory? The Communist Party. Without the Communist Party, a long march of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Chinese Communist Party, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships. Whoever questions our ability to lead the revolutionary war will fall into the morass of opportunism. A new situation arose as soon as the Long March was over. In the battle of Chihlochen the Central Red Army and the Northwestern Red Army, fighting in fraternal solidarity, shattered the traitor Chiang Kai-shek's campaign of "encirclement and suppression" against the Shensi-Kansu border area and thus laid the cornerstone for the task undertaken by the Central Committee of the Party, the task of setting up the national headquarters of the revolution in northwestern China.

This being the situation with regard to the main body of the Red Army, what about the guerrilla warfare in the southern provinces? Our guerrilla forces there have suffered some setbacks but have not been wiped out. In many places, they are reasserting themselves, growing and expanding.

In the Kuomintang areas, the workers' struggle is now moving beyond the factory walls, and from being an economic struggle is becoming a political struggle. A heroic working-class struggle against the Japanese and the traitors is now in intense ferment and, judging by the situation, it will erupt before long.

The peasants' struggle has never ceased. Harassed by aggression from abroad, by difficulties at home and by natural disasters, the peasants have unleashed widespread struggles in the form of guerrilla warfare, mass uprisings and famine riots. The anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare now going on in the northeastern provinces and eastern Hopei is their reply to the attacks of Japanese imperialism.

The student movement has already grown considerably and will certainly go on doing so. But this movement can sustain itself and break through the martial law imposed by the traitors and the policy of disruption and massacre practised by the police, the secret service agents, the scoundrels in the educational world and the fascists only if it is co-ordinated with the struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

We have already dealt with the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie, the rich peasants and small

landlords and the possibility that they may actually participate in the anti-Japanese struggle.

The minority nationalities, and especially the people of Inner Mongolia who are directly menaced by Japanese imperialism, are now rising up in struggle. As time goes on, their struggle will merge with that of the people in northern China and with the operations of the Red Army in the Northwest.

All this indicates that the revolutionary situation is now changing from a localized into a nation-wide one and that it is gradually changing from a state of unevenness to a certain degree of evenness. We are on the eve of a great change. The task of the Party is to form a revolutionary national united front by combining the activities of the Red Army with all the activities of the workers, the peasants, the students, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie throughout the country.

The National United Front

Having surveyed the situation with regard to both the counterrevolution and the revolution, we shall find it easy to define the Party's tactical tasks.

What is the basic tactical task of the Party? It is none other than to form a broad revolutionary national united front.

When the revolutionary situation changes, revolutionary tactics and methods of leadership must change accordingly. The task of the Japanese imperialists, the collaborators and the traitors is to turn China into a colony, while our task is to turn China into a free and independent country with full territorial integrity.

To win independence and freedom for China is a great task. It demands that we fight against foreign imperialism and the domestic counter-revolutionary forces. Japanese imperialism is determined to bludgeon its way deep into China. As yet the domestic counter-revolutionary forces of the big landlord and comprador classes are stronger than the people's revolutionary forces. The overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the counter-revolutionary forces in China cannot be accomplished in a day, and we must be prepared to devote a long time to it; it cannot be accomplished by small forces, and we must therefore accumulate great forces. In China, as in the world as a whole, the counter-revolutionary forces are weaker than before and the revolutionary forces stronger. This

estimate is correct, representing one aspect of the matter. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the counter-revolutionary forces in China and in the world as a whole are stronger than the revolutionary forces for the time being. This estimate is also correct, representing another aspect of the matter. The uneven political and economic development of China gives rise to the uneven development of her revolution. As a rule, revolution starts, grows and triumphs first in those places in which the counterrevolutionary forces are comparatively weak, while it has yet to start or grows very slowly in those places in which they are strong. Such has long been the situation for the Chinese revolution. It can be predicted that the general revolutionary situation will grow further at certain stages in the future but that the unevenness will remain. The transformation of this unevenness into a general evenness will require a very long time, very great efforts, and the Party's application of a correct line. Seeing that the revolutionary war led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took three years to conclude, we must be prepared to devote to the already protracted revolutionary war led by the Chinese Communist Party the longer time necessary to dispose of the domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary forces finally and thoroughly. The kind of impatience that was formerly displayed will never do. Moreover, sound revolutionary tactics must be worked out; we will never achieve great things if we keep on milling around within narrow confines. This does not mean that in China things have to be done slowly; no, they must be done boldly, because the danger of national subjugation does not allow us to slacken for a moment. From now on the revolution will certainly develop much faster than before, for both China and the world are approaching a new period of war and revolution. For all that, China's revolutionary war will remain a protracted one; this follows from the strength of imperialism and the uneven development of the revolution. We say that the present situation is one in which a new high tide in the national revolution is imminent and in which China is on the eve of a great new nationwide revolution; this is one characteristic of the present revolutionary situation. This is a fact, and it represents one aspect of the matter. But we must also say that imperialism is still a force to be earnestly reckoned with, that the unevenness in

the development of the revolutionary forces is a serious weakness, and that to defeat our enemies we must be prepared to fight a protracted war; this is another characteristic of the present revolutionary situation. This, too, is a fact, and represents another aspect of the matter. Both characteristics, both facts, teach and urge us to revise our tactics and change our ways of disposing our forces and carrying on the struggle to suit the situation. The present situation demands that we boldly discard all closed-doorism, form a broad united front and guard against adventurism. We must not plunge into decisive battles until the time is ripe and unless we have the necessary strength.

Here I shall not discuss the relation of adventurism to closed-doorism, or the possible dangers of adventurism as events unfold on a larger scale; that can be left for later. For the moment I shall confine myself to explaining that united front tactics and closed-door tactics are diametrically opposed.

The former requires the recruiting of large forces for the purpose of surrounding and annihilating the enemy.

The latter means fighting single-handed in desperate combat against a formidable enemy.

The advocates of united front tactics say, if we are to make a proper estimate of the possibility of forming a broad revolutionary national united front, a proper estimate must be made of the changes that may occur in the alignment of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in China resulting from the attempt of Japanese imperialism to turn China into a colony. Without a proper estimate of the strong and weak points of the Japanese and Chinese counter-revolutionary forces and of the Chinese revolutionary forces, we shall be unable fully to understand the necessity of organizing a broad revolutionary national united front, or to take firm measures to break down closed-doorism, or to use the united front as a means of organizing and rallying millions of people and all the armies that are potentially friendly to the revolution for the purpose of advancing to strike at our main target, namely, Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the Chinese traitors, or to use this tactical weapon of ours to strike at the main target before us, but instead we shall aim at a variety of targets so that our bullets will hit not the principal enemy but our lesser enemies or even

our allies. This would mean failure to single out the principal enemy and waste of ammunition. It would mean inability to close in and isolate him. It would mean inability to draw to our side all those in the enemy camp and on the enemy front who have joined them under compulsion, and those who were our enemies yesterday but may become our friends today. It would in fact mean helping the enemy, holding back, isolating and constricting the revolution, and bringing it to a low ebb and even to defeat.

The advocates of closed-door tactics say the above arguments are all wrong. The forces of the revolution must be pure, absolutely pure, and the road of the revolution must be straight, absolutely straight. Nothing is correct except what is literally recorded in Holy Writ. The national bourgeoisie is entirely and eternally counter-revolutionary. Not an inch must be conceded to the rich peasants. The yellow trade unions must be fought tooth and nail. If we shake hands with Tsai Ting-kai, we must call him a counter-revolutionary at the same moment. Was there ever a cat that did not love fish or a warlord who was not a counter-revolutionary? Intellectuals are three-day revolutionaries whom it is dangerous to recruit. It follows therefore that closed-doorism is the sole wonder-working magic, while the united front is an opportunist tactic.

Comrades, which is right, the united front or closed-doorism? Which indeed is approved by Marxism-Leninism? I answer without the slightest hesitation the united front and not closed-doorism. Three-year-olds have many ideas which are right, but they cannot be entrusted with serious national or world affairs because they do not understand them yet. Marxism-Leninism is opposed to the "infantile disorder" found in the revolutionary ranks. This infantile disorder is just what the confirmed exponents of closed-doorism advocate. Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one. The alignment of forces in the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary camps can change, just as everything else in the world changes. The Party's new tactics of a broad united front start from the two fundamental facts that Japanese imperialism is bent on reducing all China to a colony and that China's revolutionary forces still have serious weaknesses. In order to at-

tack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action. The plain truth is that only a force of such magnitude can crush the Japanese imperialists and the traitors and collaborators. Therefore, united front tactics are the only Marxist-Leninist tactics. The tactics of closed-doorism are, on the contrary, the tactics of the regal isolationist. Closed-doorism just "drives the fish into deep waters and the sparrows into the thickets," and it will drive the millions upon millions of the masses, this mighty army, over to the enemy's side, which will certainly win his acclaim. In practice, closed-doorism is the faithful servant of the Japanese imperialists and the traitors and collaborators. Its adherents' talk of the "pure" and the "straight" will be condemned by Marxist-Leninists and commended by the Japanese imperialists. We definitely want no closed-doorism; what we want is the revolutionary national united front, which will spell death to the Japanese imperialists and the traitors and collaborators.

The People's Republic

If our government has hitherto been based on the alliance of the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, from now on it must be so transformed as to include also the members of all other classes who are willing to take part in the national revolution.

At the present time, the basic task of such a government should be to oppose the annexation of China by Japanese imperialism. It will have a broader representation so that it may include those who are interested only in the national revolution and not in the agrarian revolution, and even, if they so desire, those who may oppose Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, though they are not opposed to the European and U.S. imperialists because of their close ties with the latter. Therefore, as a matter of principle, the program of such a government should be in keeping with the basic task of fighting Japanese imperialism and its lackeys, and we should modify our past policies accordingly.

The special feature on the revolutionary side at present is the existence of a well-steeled Communist Party and Red Army. This is of crucial importance. Great difficulties would arise if they did not

exist. Why? Because the traitors and collaborators in China are numerous and powerful and are sure to devise every possible means to wreck the united front; they will sow dissension by means of intimidation and bribery and by maneuvering among various groupings, and will employ their armies to oppress and crush, one by one, all those weaker than themselves who want to part company with them and join us in fighting Japan. All this would hardly be avoidable if the anti-Japanese government and army were to lack this vital factor, *i.e.*, the Communist Party and the Red Army. The revolution failed in 1927 chiefly because, with the opportunist line then prevailing in the Communist Party, no effort was made to expand our own ranks (the workers' and peasants' movement and the armed forces led by the Communist Party), and exclusive reliance was placed on a temporary ally, the Kuomintang. The result was that when imperialism ordered its lackeys, the landlord and comprador classes, to spread their numerous tentacles and draw over first Chiang Kai-shek and then Wang Ching-wei, the revolution suffered defeat. In those days the revolutionary united front had no mainstay, no strong revolutionary armed forces, and so when the defections came thick and fast, the Communist Party was forced to fight single-handed and was powerless to foil the tactics of crushing their opponents one by one which were adopted by the imperialists and the Chinese counter-revolutionaries. True, we had the troops under Ho Lung and Yeh Ting, but they were not yet politically consolidated, and the Party was not very skilled in leading them, so that they were finally defeated. The lesson we paid for with our blood was that the lack of a hard core of revolutionary forces brings the revolution to defeat. Today things are quite different. Now we have a strong Communist Party and a strong Red Army, and we also have the base areas of the Red Army. Not only are the Communist Party and the Red Army serving as the initiator of a national united front against Japan today, but in the future too they will inevitably become the powerful mainstay of China's anti-Japanese government and army, capable of preventing the Japanese imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek from carrying through their policy of disrupting this united front. However, we must be very vigilant because the Japanese imperialists and Chiang

Kai-shek will undoubtedly resort to every possible form of intimidation and bribery and of manoeuvring among the various groupings.

Naturally we cannot expect every section of the broad national united front against Japan to be as firm as the Communist Party and the Red Army. In the course of their activities some bad elements may withdraw from the united front under the influence of the enemy. However, we need not fear the loss of such people. While bad elements may drop out under the enemy's influence, good people will come in under ours. The national united front will live and grow as long as the Communist Party and the Red Army live and grow. Such is the leading role of the Communist Party and the Red Army in the national united front. The Communists are no longer political infants and are able to take care of themselves and to handle relations with their allies. If the Japanese imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek can manoeuvre in relation to the revolutionary forces, the Communist Party can do the same in relation to the counter-revolutionary forces. If they can draw bad elements in our ranks over to their side, we can equally well draw their "bad elements" (good ones from our point of view) over to our side. If we can draw a larger number over to our side, this will deplete the enemy's ranks and strengthen ours. In short, two basic forces are now locked in struggle, and in the nature of things all the forces in between will have to line up on one side or the other. The Japanese imperialists' policy of subjugating China and Chiang Kai-shek's policy of betraying China will inevitably drive many people over to our side—either directly into joining the ranks of the Communist Party and the Red Army or into forming a united front with us. This will come about unless we pursue closed door tactics.

Why change the "workers' and peasants' republic" into a "people's republic"?

Our government represents not only the workers and peasants but the whole nation. This has been implicit in our slogan of a workers' and peasants' democratic republic, because the workers and peasants constitute 80 to 90 per cent of the population. The Ten-Point Program adopted by the Sixth National Congress of our Party embodies the interests of the whole nation and not of the workers and peasants alone. But the present situation requires us to change our slogan, to change it

into one of a people's republic. The reason is that Japanese invasion has altered class relations in China, and it is now possible not only for the petty bourgeoisie but even for the national bourgeoisie to join the anti-Japanese struggle.

The people's republic will definitely not represent the interests of the enemy classes. On the contrary, it will stand in direct opposition to the landlord and comprador classes, the lackeys of imperialism, and will not count them among the people. In the same way, Chiang Kai-shek's "National Government of the Republic of China" represents only the wealthiest, but not the common people whom it does not count as part of the nation. As 80 to 90 per cent of China's population is made up of workers and peasants, the people's republic ought to represent their interests first and foremost. However, by throwing off imperialist oppression to make China free and independent and by throwing off landlord oppression to free China from semi-feudalism, the people's republic will benefit not only the workers and peasants but other sections of the people too. The sum total of the interests of the workers, peasants and the rest of the people constitutes the interests of the whole Chinese nation. The comprador and the landlord classes also live on Chinese soil, but as they have no regard for the national interests, their interests clash with those of the majority. This small minority are the only ones that we break with and are clashing with, and we therefore have the right to call ourselves the representatives of the whole nation.

There is, of course, a clash of interests between the working class and the national bourgeoisie. We shall not be able to extend the national revolution successfully unless the working class, the vanguard of the national revolution, is accorded political and economic rights and is enabled to direct its strength against imperialism and its running dogs, the traitors. However if the national bourgeoisie joins the anti-imperialist united front, the working class and the national bourgeoisie will have interests in common. In the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the people's republic will not expropriate private property other than imperialist and feudal private property, and so far from confiscating the national bourgeoisie's industrial and commercial enterprises, it will encourage their development. We shall protect every

national capitalist who does not support the imperialists or the Chinese traitors. In the stage of democratic revolution there are limits to the struggle between labour and capital. The labour laws of the people's republic will protect the interests of the workers, but will not prevent the national bourgeoisie from making profits or developing their industrial and commercial enterprises, because such development is bad for imperialism and good for the Chinese people. Thus it is clear that the people's republic will represent the interests of all strata opposed to imperialism and the feudal forces. The government of the people's republic will be based primarily on the workers and peasants, but will also include representatives of the other classes which are opposed to imperialism and the feudal forces.

But is it not dangerous to let the representatives of such classes join the government of the people's republic? No. The workers and peasants are the basic masses of the republic. In giving the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and other sections of the population who support the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme the right to have a voice in the government of the people's republic and to work in it, the right to vote and stand for election, we must not allow the interests of the workers and peasants, the basic masses, to be violated. The essential part of our programme must be the protection of their interests. With their representatives comprising the majority in this government and with the Communist Party exercising leadership and working within it, there is a guarantee that the participation of other classes will present no danger. It is perfectly obvious that the Chinese revolution at the present stage is still a bourgeois-democratic and not a proletarian socialist revolution in nature. Only the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites talk such nonsense as that China has already completed her bourgeois-democratic revolution and that any further revolution can only be socialist. The revolution of 1924–27 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, which was not carried to completion but failed. The agrarian revolution which we have led since 1927 is also a bourgeois-democratic revolution, because it is directed not against capitalism, but against imperialism and feudalism. This will remain true of our revolution for quite a long time to come.

Basically, the workers, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie are still the motive forces of the revolution, but now there may be the national bourgeoisie as well.

The change in the revolution will come later. In the future the democratic revolution will inevitably be transformed into a socialist revolution. As to when the transition will take place, that will depend on the presence of the necessary conditions, and it may take quite a long time. We should not hold forth about transition until all the necessary political and economic conditions are present and until it is advantageous and not detrimental to the overwhelming majority of the people throughout China. It is wrong to have any doubts on this matter and expect the transition to take place soon, as some of our comrades did when they maintained that the transition in the revolution would begin the moment the democratic revolution began to triumph in key provinces. They did so because they failed to understand what kind of country China is politically and economically and to realize that, compared with Russia, China will find it more difficult, and require much more time and effort, to complete her democratic revolution politically and economically.

International Support

Finally, a word is necessary about the relation between the Chinese and the world revolution.

Ever since the monster of imperialism came into being, the affairs of the world have become so closely interwoven that it is impossible to separate them. We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations. But this does not mean that we can dispense with international support; no, today international support is necessary for the revolutionary struggle of any nation or country. There is the old adage, "In the Spring and Autumn Era there were no righteous wars." This is even truer of imperialism today, for it is only the oppressed nations and the oppressed classes that can wage just wars. All wars anywhere in the world in which the people rise up to fight their oppressors are just struggles. The February and October Revolutions in Russia were just wars. The revolutions of the people in various European countries after World War I were just struggles. In China, the

Anti-Opium War, the War of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the Yi Ho Tuan War, the Revolutionary War of 1911, the Northern Expedition of 1926–27, the Agrarian Revolutionary War from 1927 to the present, and the present resistance to Japan and punitive actions against traitors—these are all just wars. Now, in the mounting tide of nation-wide struggle against Japan and of world-wide struggle against fascism, just wars will spread all over China and the globe. All just wars support each other, while all unjust wars should be turned into just wars—this is the Leninist line. Our war against Japan needs the support of the people of the whole world and, above all, the support of the people of the Soviet Union, which they will certainly give us because they and we are bound together in a common cause. In the past, the Chinese revolutionary forces were temporarily cut off from the world revolutionary forces by Chiang Kai-shek, and in this sense we were isolated. Now the situation has changed, and changed to our advantage. Henceforth it will continue to change to our advantage. We can no longer be isolated. This provides a necessary condition for China's victory in the war against Japan and for victory in the Chinese revolution.

Source: Marxists.org. Internet Archive website:
www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1935/12_27.htm.

Hachiro Arita: “The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” (1940)

The only Asian country to effectively resist European imperialists in the nineteenth century and the only one to create an empire of its own, Japan became increasingly aggressive under military rule in the 1930s. While its rule in the Asian lands it conquered was harsh, the Japanese couched their imperialistic mission in the language of anticolonialism, that is, freeing Asians from European overlords. Japan's so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, despite its name and in imitation of the European imperialism it was meant to replace, was aimed at empowering and enriching Japan at the expense of its Asian neighbors; excerpts from the foreign minister's speech on the subject follow.

It seems to be a most natural step that peoples who are closely related with each other geographi-

cally, racially, culturally, and economically should first form a sphere of their own for co-existence and co-prosperity and establish peace and order within that sphere, and at the same time secure a relationship of common existence and prosperity with other spheres. The cause of strife which mankind has hitherto experienced lies generally in the failure to give due consideration to the necessity of some such natural and constructive world order and to remedy old irrationalities and injustices. . . .

It is in this spirit that Japan is now engaged in the task of establishing a new order in East Asia. It is extremely regrettable, therefore, that there should be those who not only fail to understand Japan's great undertaking based upon this fundamental principle, but on the contrary, obstruct establishment of peace in East Asia by supporting the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. We have urged them to reconsider such an attitude in the past, and now we intend further to urge their serious reflection. We are determined to leave no stone unturned in order to eradicate all activities for assisting Chiang Kai-shek. Sometimes there are those who would disapprove a change in the status quo by force of arms regardless of the reasons therefor. It is for the purpose of bringing about a just and permanent peace that Japan has been fighting in China for the past 3 years. Her employment of armed force is an act looking beyond the immediate present. The sword she has drawn is intended to be nothing other than a life-giving sword that destroys evil and makes justice manifest. Countries of East Asia and regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially, and economically very closely related to each other. They are destined to help each other and minister to one another's needs for their common well-being and prosperity, and to promote peace and progress in their regions. Uniting of all these regions under a single sphere on the basis of common existence and insuring thereby the stability of that sphere is, I think, a natural conclusion. The idea to establish first a righteous peace in each of the various regions and then establish collectively a just peace for the whole world has long existed also in Europe and America.

This system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force in each region, with which as a center the peoples within that region are to secure their

co-existence and co-prosperity and as well the stability of their sphere. It also presupposes that these groups will respect [one] another's individual characteristics, political, cultural, and economic, and they will cooperate and fulfill one another's needs for their common good. . . .

Japan, while carrying on vigorously her task of constructing a new order in East Asia, is paying serious attention to developments in the European

war and to its repercussions in the various quarters of East Asia, including the South Seas region. I desire to declare that the destiny of these regions in any development therein, and any disposal thereof, is a matter for grave concern to Japan in view of her mission and responsibility as the stabilizing force in East Asia.

Source: Foreign Relations: Japan: 1931-1941. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Firman of Appointment of Muhammad Ali as Pasha of Egypt Issued by Ottoman Sultan (1840)

Born in Albania, Muhammad Ali rose through the ranks of the Ottoman imperial army in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Appointed pasha, or governor, of Egypt in this firman (edict), he modernized the political and economic structures of this province of the empire and became virtually independent of the sultan. To entice him to fight against Greek separatists, Sultan Mahmud II promised him the governorship of Syria. When the sultan reneged on the promise, Ali revolted, challenging the sultan's rule. Unable to win European allies, however, Ali was forced to accept an offer by the sultan making the position of pasha of Egypt a hereditary post of Ali's lineage. Despite this ultimate triumph of the sultan, Ali's rebellion understated the growing forces of disintegration within the weakening Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century.

The act of submission which thou hast just made, the assurances of fidelity and devotion which thou hast given, and the upright and sincere intentions which thou hast manifested, as well with regard to myself as in the interests of my Sublime Porte, have come to my sovereign knowledge, and have been very agreeable to me.

In consequence, and as the zeal and sagacity by which thou art characterized, as likewise the experience and knowledge which thou hast acquired in the affairs of Egypt during the long space of time that thou hast held the post of Governor of Egypt, give reason to believe that thou hast acquired a

title to the favor and to the confidence which I may grant to thee, that is to say, that thou wilt be sensible of their full extent, and all the gratitude which thou shouldst have for them, that thou wilt apply thyself to cause these feelings to descend to thy sons and thy nephews, I grant unto thee the Government of Egypt within its ancient boundaries, such as they are to be found in the map which is sent unto thee by my Grand Vizier now in office, with a seal affixed to it, together with the additional privilege of hereditary succession, and with the following conditions:-

Henceforth, when the post shall be vacant, the Government of Egypt shall descend in a direct line, from the elder to the elder, in the male race among the sons and grandsons. As regards their nomination, that shall be made by my Sublime Porte.

If at any time fate should decide that the male line should become extinct, as in that case it will devolve upon my Sublime Porte to confer the Government of Egypt on another person, the male children, issue of the daughters of the Governors of Egypt, shall possess no right to, no legal capacity for, the succession of the Government.

Although the Pashas of Egypt have obtained the privilege of hereditary succession, they still must be considered, as far as precedency is concerned, to be on a footing of equality with the other Viziers, they shall be treated like the other Viziers of my Sublime Porte, and they shall receive the same titles as are given to the other Viziers when they are written to.

The principles founded on the laws of security of life, of the security of property, and the preservation of honor, principles recorded in the salutary

ordinances of my Hatti Sherif of Gulhane; all the Treaties concluded and to be concluded between my Sublime Porte and the friendly Powers, shall be completely executed in the Province of Egypt likewise.

In Egypt, all the taxes, all the revenues, shall be levied and collected in my sovereign name; and all the regulations made and to be made by my Sublime Porte shall also be put in practice in Egypt, reconciling them in the best way possible with the local circumstances and with the principles of justice and of equity, Nevertheless, as the Egyptians are likewise the subjects of my Sublime Porte, and in order that they may not one day be oppressed, the tithe, the duties, and the other taxes which are levied there, shall be so, in conformity with the equitable system adopted by my Sublime Porte; and care shall be taken to pay, when the period for payment shall arrive, out of the customs duties, the capitation tax, the tithe, the revenues, and other produce of the Province of Egypt, the annual tribute of which the amount is inserted and defined in another Imperial firman.

It being customary to send every year from Egypt provisions in kind to the two Holy Cities, the provisions and other articles, whatever they may be, which have up to this time been sent thither, shall continue to be sent to each place separately.

As my Sublime Porte has taken the resolution of improving the coin, which is the soul of the operations of society, and of effecting this in such manner that henceforth there can be no variation either in the alloy, or in the value, I grant permission for money to be coined in Egypt; but the gold and silver monies which I permit thee to coin shall bear my name, and shall resemble in all respects, as regards their determination, value, and form, the monies which are coined here.

In time of peace, 18,000 men will suffice for the internal service of the province of Egypt; it shall not be allowed to increase their numbers. But as the land and sea forces of Egypt are raised for the service of my Sublime Porte, it shall be allowable, in time of war, to increase them to the number which shall be deemed suitable by my Sublime Porte.

The principle has been adopted that the soldiers employed in the other parts of my dominions shall serve for five years, at the end of which term they shall be exchanged for recruits.

That being the case, it would be requisite that the same system should also be observed in Egypt in that respect. But with regard to the duration of the service, the dispositions of the people shall be attended to, observing what is required by equity with regard to them.

Four hundred men shall be sent every year to Constantinople to replace others.

There shall be no difference between the distinguishing marks and the flags of the other troops which shall be employed there, and the distinguishing marks and the flags of the other troops of my Sublime Porte. The officers of the Egyptian vessels shall have the same flags as the officers and vessels of this place.

The Governor of Egypt shall appoint the officers of the land and sea forces up to the rank of Colonel. With regard to the appointments to ranks higher than that of Colonel, that is to say, of Pashas Mirliva (Brigadier-Generals), and of Pashas Ferik (Generals of Division), it will be absolutely necessary to apply for permission for them, and to take my orders thereupon.

Henceforth the Pashas of Egypt shall not be at liberty to build vessels of war without having first applied for the permission of my Sublime Porte, and having obtained from it a clear and positive authority.

As each of the conditions settles as above is annexed to the privilege of hereditary succession, if a single one of them is not executed, that privilege of hereditary succession shall forthwith be abolished and annulled.

Such being my supreme pleasure on all the points above specified, thou, thy children, and thy descendants, grateful for this exalted sovereign favour, ye shall always be diligent in scrupulously executing the conditions laid down, ye shall take need not to infringe them, ye shall be careful to ensure the repose and the tranquility of the Egyptians by protecting them from all injury and from all oppressions, ye shall report to this place, and ye shall apply for orders on all matters of importance which concern those countries, it being for these purposes that the present Imperial FIRMAN, which is decorated with my sovereign signature, has been written, and is sent to you.

Imperial Ottoman Government: Circular on the End of Capitulations (September 9, 1914)

In the vocabulary of the imperial Ottoman government, "capitulations" refers to the immunity granted under various treaties to citizens of powerful western states. Negotiated out of weakness, capitulation treaties often allowed these westerners to engage in smuggling and various forms of corruption without fear of prosecution. With the beginning of World War I, the Ottoman government sought to end such capitulations.

The Imperial Ottoman Government, in its sentiments of hospitality and sympathy towards the subjects of the friendly Powers, had in former times determined in a special manner the rules to which foreigners coming to the Orient to trade there should be subject, and had communicated those rules to the Powers. Subsequently those rules, which the Sublime Porte had decreed entirely of its own accord, were interpreted as privileges, corroborated and extended by certain practices, and were maintained down to our days under the name of ancient treaties (or Capitulations). Meanwhile these privileges, which on the one hand were found to be in complete opposition to the juridical rules of the century and to the principle of national sovereignty, constituted on the other hand an impediment to the progress and the development of the Ottoman Empire, just as they gave birth to certain misunderstandings in its relations with the foreign Powers; and thus they form an obstacle to the attainment of the desired degree of cordiality and sincerity in those relations.

The Ottoman Empire, surmounting all resistance, continues to march in the path of renaissance and reform which it entered upon in 1855 by the Hatti-Humayoun of Gul Hané, and, in order to assure for itself the place which was due it in the family of the civilized peoples of Europe, it accepted the most modern juridical principles and did not deviate from the program of supporting the edifice of the State on these foundations. The establishment of the constitutional regime demonstrates with what happy success the efforts of the Ottoman Government in the way of progress were crowned.

However, as consequences deduced from the Capitulations, the intervention of foreigners in the exercise of judiciary power, which constitutes the most important basis of the sovereignty of the State; the limitation of the legislative power, by the claim put forth that many laws could not be applied to foreigners; the fact that a criminal who has committed an offense against public security is screened from the application of the laws on the sole ground of his being of foreign nationality; or again the fact that public action is compromised by the necessity of respecting in regard to the foreign delinquent all sorts of restrictions and conditions; the fact finally that, according to the nationality of the contracting parties, a difference arising from a single contract admits of a different forum and mode of procedure—all these facts and other similar restrictive privileges constitute an insurmountable barrier to all organization of tribunals begun with a view to assuring in the country the perfect working of justice.

Likewise, that consequence of the Capitulations which renders foreigners exempt and free from taxes in the Ottoman Empire renders the Sublime Porte powerless not only to procure the necessary means for providing for the carrying out of reforms, but even for satisfying current administrative needs, without having recourse to a loan. In the same order of ideas, the obstacles raised to the increase of indirect taxes result in raising the quota of direct taxes and in overburdening the Ottoman taxpayers. The fact that foreigners trading in the Ottoman Empire and enjoying there all sorts of immunities and privileges are less heavily taxed than Ottomans constitutes at the same time a manifest injustice and an infringement of the independence and dignity of the State. The Imperial Government, in spite of all these obstacles, was zealously pursuing its efforts at reform when the unforeseen outbreak of the general war brought the financial difficulties in the country to the last degree of acuteness, endangering the accomplishment of all the work which had been begun or the undertaking of which had been decided upon. Now the Sublime Porte is convinced that the only means of salvation for Turkey is to bring into being this work of reform and of development as soon as possible, and it is likewise convinced that all the steps that it takes in this direction will meet with the encouragement of all the friendly Powers.

It is on the basis of this conviction that the decision has been taken to abrogate, reckoning from October 1, 1914, the Capitulations, which up to the present have constituted a hindrance to all progress in the Empire, as well as all privileges and toleration accessory to these Capitulations or resulting from them, and to adopt as the basis of relations with all States the general principles of international law.

While having the honor of communicating the present decision, which as it is to open an era of happiness for the Ottoman Empire will for this reason, I have no doubt, be received with satisfaction by the American Government, I consider it my duty to add that the Sublime Porte, inspired exclusively in its decision by the higher interests of the Ottoman land, does not nourish, in abrogating the Capitulations, any unfriendly thought in regard to any Power and that it is quite disposed to enter upon negotiations with a view to concluding with the American Government treaties of commerce on the basis of the general principles of public international law.

Source: Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1922.

Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920)

The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres between the Allied and Associated Powers and Turkey dismantled the five-hundred-year-old Ottoman Empire after the latter's defeat in World War I. Vast Ottoman territories in the Middle East were handed over to British and French control under the treaty, and significant territories within the Anatolian peninsula were to be administered by the Greeks, who were widely distrusted by Turks. Indeed, the treaty practically eliminated the Turkish state altogether. The vindictive terms of the treaty would spark a revival of Turkish nationalism under military commander Mustafa Kemal, later Atatürk or "Father of the Turks," whose victories over the Greeks in the early 1920s would force the Allies to negotiate a new treaty, giving Turkey unconditional control over the entire Anatolian peninsula, although former Ottoman territories in the Middle East were never returned.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY AND JAPAN,

These Powers being described in the present Treaty as the Principal Allied Powers;

ARMENIA, BELGIUM, GREECE, THE HEDJAZ, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROUMANIA, THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,

These Powers constituting, with the Principal Powers mentioned above, the Allied Powers, of the one part;

AND TURKEY, on the other part;

Whereas on the request of the Imperial Ottoman Government an Armistice was granted to Turkey on October 30, 1918, by the Principal Allied Powers in order that a Treaty of Peace might be concluded, and

Whereas the Allied Powers are equally desirous that the war in which certain among them were successively involved, directly or indirectly, against Turkey, and which originated in the declaration of war against Serbia on July 28, 1914, by the former Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, and in the hostilities opened by Turkey against the Allied Powers on October 29, 1914, and conducted by Germany in alliance with Turkey, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable Peace,

For this purpose the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA: Sir George Dixon GRAHAME, K. C. V. O., Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Paris; for the DOMINION OF CANADA: The Honourable Sir George Halsey PERLEY, K. C. M. High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; for the COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA: The Right Honourable Andrew FISHER, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom; for the DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND: Sir George Dixon GRAHAME, K. C. V. O., Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Paris; for the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: Mr. Reginald Andrew BLANKENBERG, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom; for INDIA: Sir Arthur HIRTZEL, K. C. B., Assistant Under Secretary of State for India;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC: Mr. Alexandre MILLERAND, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Frederic FRANÇOIS-MARSAL, Minister of Finance Mr. Au-

guste Paul-Louis ISAAC, Minister of Commerce and Industry; Mr. Jules CAMBON, Ambassador of France Mr. Georges Maurice PALÉOLOGUE, Ambassador of France, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

His MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY: Count LELIO BONIN LONGARE, Senator of the Kingdom;

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of Italy at Paris General Giovanni MARIETTI, Italian Military Representative on the Supreme War Council;

His MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN: Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at London; Mr. K. MATSUI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H.M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

ARMENIA: Mr. Avetis AHARONIAN, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS: Mr. Jules VAN DEN HEUVEL, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister of State; Mr. ROLIN JAEQUEMYS, Member of the Institute of Private International Law, Secretary-General of the Belgian Delegation;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES: Mr. Eleftherios K. VENIZELOS, President of the Council of Ministers; Mr. Athos ROMANOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of the Hellenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC: Count Maurice ZAMOYSKI, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Polish Republic at Paris; Mr. Erasme PILTZ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC: Dr. Affonso da COSTA, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

His MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA: Mr. Nicolae TITULESCU, Minister of Finance;

Prince DIMITRIE GHIKA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H.M. the King of Roumania at Paris;

His MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS AND THE SLOVENES:

Mr. Nicolas P. PACHITCH, formerly President of the Council of Ministers; Mr. Ante TRUMBIC, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC: Mr. Edward BENES, Minister for Foreign

Affairs; Mr. Stephen OSUSKY, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Czecho-Slovak Republic at London;

TURKEY: General HAADI Pasha, Senator; RIZA TEVFIK Bey, Senator; RECHAD HALISS Bey, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Turkey at Berne; WHO, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the state of war will terminate.

From that moment and subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, official relations will exist between the Allied Powers and Turkey . . .

PART II. FRONTIERS OF TURKEY.

ARTICLE 27.

I. In Europe, the frontiers of Turkey will be laid down as follows: 1. The Black Sea: from the entrance of the Bosphorus to the point described below.

2. With Greece: From a point to be chosen on the Black Sea near the mouth of the Biyuk Dere, situated about 7 kilometres north-west of Podima, south-westwards to the most north-westerly point of the limit of the basin of the Istranja Dere (about 8 kilometres northwest of Istranja), a line to be fixed on the ground passing through Kapilja Dagh and Uchbunar Tepe; thence south-south-eastwards to a point to be chosen on the railway from Chorlu to Chatalja about 1 kilometre west of the railway station of Sinekli, a line following as far as possible the western limit of the basin of the Istranja Dere; thence south-eastwards to a point to be chosen between Fener and Kurfali on the watershed between the basins of those rivers which flow into Biyuk Chekmeje Geul, on the north-east, and the basin of those rivers which flow direct into the Sea of Marmora on the south-west, a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Sinekli; thence south-eastwards to a point to be chosen on the Sea of Marmora about 1 kilometre south-west of Kalikratia, a line following as far as possible this watershed.

3. The Sea of Marmora: from the point defined above to the entrance of the Bosphorus.

II. In Asia, the frontiers of Turkey will be laid down as follows: 1. On the West and South: From the entrance of the Bosphorus into the Sea of Marmora to a point described below, situated in

the eastern Mediterranean Sea in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Alexandretta near Karatash Burun the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea; the islands of the Sea of Marmora, and those which are situated within a distance of 3 miles from the coast, remaining Turkish, subject to the provisions of Section IV and Articles 84 and 122, Part III (Political Clauses).

2. With Syria: From a point to be chosen on the eastern bank of the outlet of the Hassan Dede, about 3 kilometres north-west of Karatash Burun, north-eastwards to a point to be chosen on the Djaihun Irmak about 1 kilometre north of Babeli, a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Karatash; thence to Kesik Kale, the course of the Djaihun Irmak upstream; thence north-eastwards to a point to be chosen on the Djaihun Irmak about 15 kilometres east-southeast of Karsbazar, a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Kara Tepe; thence to the bend in the Djaihun Irmak situated west of Duldul Dagh, the course of the Djaihun Irmak upstream; thence in a general south-easterly direction to a point to be chosen on Emir Musi Dagh about 15 kilometres south-south-west of Giaour Geul a line to be fixed on the ground at a distance of about 18 kilometres from the railway, and leaving Duldul Dagh to Syria; thence eastwards to a point to be chosen about 5 kilometres north of Urfa a generally straight line from west to east to be fixed on the ground passing north of the roads connecting the towns of Baghche, Aintab, Biridjik, and Urfa and leaving the last three named towns to Syria; thence eastwards to the south-western extremity of the bend in the Tigris about 6 kilometres north of Azekh (27 kilometres west of Djezire-ibn-Omar), a generally straight line from west to east to be fixed on the ground leaving the town of Mardin to Syria; thence to a point to be chosen on the Tigris between the point of confluence of the Khabur Su with the Tigris and the bend in the Tigris situated about 10 kilometres north of this point, the course of the Tigris downstream, leaving the island on which is situated the town of Djezire-ibn-Omar to Syria.

3. With Mesopotamia: Thence in a general easterly direction to a point to be chosen on the northern boundary of the vilayet of Mosul, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence eastwards to the point

where it meets the frontier between Turkey and Persia, the northern boundary of the vilayet of Mosul, modified, however, so as to pass south of Amadia.

4. On the East and the North East: From the point above defined to the Black Sea, the existing frontier between Turkey and Persia, then the former frontier between Turkey and Russia, subject to the provisions of Article 89.

5. The Black Sea.

ARTICLE 28.

The frontiers described by the present Treaty are traced on the one in a million maps attached to the present Treaty. In case of differences between the text and the map, the text will prevail. [See Introduction.]

ARTICLE 29.

Boundary Commissions, whose composition is or will be fixed in the present Treaty or in Treaties supplementary thereto, will have to trace these frontiers on the ground.

They shall have the power, not only of fixing those portions which are defined as "a line to be fixed on the ground," but also, if the Commission considers it necessary, of revising in matters of detail portions defined by administrative boundaries or otherwise. They shall endeavour in all cases to follow as nearly as possible the descriptions given in the Treaties, taking into account, as far as possible, administrative boundaries and local economic interests.

The decisions of the Commissions will be taken by a majority, and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

The expenses of the Boundary Commissions will be borne in equal shares by the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 30.

In so far as frontiers defined by a waterway are concerned, the phrases "course" or "channel" used in the descriptions of the present Treaty signify, as regards non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal branch, and, as regards navigable rivers, the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will rest with the Boundary Commissions provided for by the present Treaty to specify whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which may take place, or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present Treaty comes into force.

In the absence of provisions to the contrary in the present Treaty, islands and islets lying within three miles of the coast are included within the frontier of the coastal State.

ARTICLE 31.

The various States concerned undertake to furnish to the Commissions all documents necessary for their tasks, especially authentic copies of agreements fixing existing or old frontiers, all large scale maps in existence, geodetic data, surveys completed but unpublished, and information concerning the changes of frontier watercourses. The maps, geodetic data, and surveys, even if unpublished, which are in the possession of the Turkish authorities must be delivered at Constantinople, within thirty days from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to such representative of the Commissions concerned as may be appointed by the principal Allied Powers.

The States concerned also undertake to instruct the local authorities to communicate to the Commissions all documents, especially plans, cadastral and land books, and to furnish on demand all details regarding property, existing economic conditions, and other necessary information.

ARTICLE 32.

The various States interested undertake to give every assistance to the Boundary Commissions, whether directly or through local authorities, in everything that concerns transport, accommodation, labour, materials (sign-posts, boundary pillars) necessary for the accomplishment of their mission.

In particular the Turkish Government undertakes to furnish to the Principal Allied Powers such technical personnel as they may consider necessary to assist the Boundary Commissions in the accomplishment of their mission.

ARTICLE 33.

The various States interested undertake to safeguard the trigonometrical points, signals, posts or frontier marks erected by the Commissions.

ARTICLE 34.

The pillars will be placed so as to be intervisible; they will be numbered, and their position and their number will be noted on a cartographic document.

ARTICLE 35.

The protocols defining the boundary and the maps and documents attached thereto will be

made out in triplicate, of which two copies will be forwarded to the Governments of the limitrophe States, and the third to the Government of the French Republic, which will deliver authentic copies to the Powers who sign the present Treaty.

PART III.

POLITICAL CLAUSES. SECTION I. CONSTANTINOPLE.

ARTICLE 36.

Subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that the rights and title of the Turkish Government over Constantinople shall not be affected, and that the said Government and His Majesty the Sultan shall be entitled to reside there and to maintain there the capital of the Turkish State.

Nevertheless, in the event of Turkey failing to observe faithfully the provisions of the present Treaty, or of any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto, particularly as regards the protection of the rights of racial, religious or linguistic minorities, the Allied Powers expressly reserve the right to modify the above provisions, and Turkey hereby agrees to accept any dispositions which may be taken in this connection.

SECTION II.

STRAITS.

ARTICLE 37.

The navigation of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, shall in future be open, both in peace and war, to every vessel of commerce or of war and to military and commercial aircraft, without distinction of flag.

These waters shall not be subject to blockade, nor shall any belligerent right be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within them, unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 38.

The Turkish Government recognises that it is necessary to take further measures to ensure the freedom of navigation provided for in Article 37, and accordingly delegates, so far as it is concerned, to a Commission to be called the "Commission of the Straits," and hereinafter referred to as 'the Commission,' the control of the waters specified in Article 39.

The Greek Government, so far as it is concerned, delegates to the Commission the same

powers and undertakes to give it in all respects the same facilities.

Such control shall be exercised in the name of the Turkish and Greek Governments respectively, and in the manner provided in this Section.

ARTICLE 39.

The authority of the Commission will extend to all the waters between the Mediterranean mouth of the Dardanelles and the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus, and to the waters within three miles of each of these mouths.

This authority may be exercised on shore to such extent as may be necessary for the execution of the provisions of this Section.

ARTICLE 40.

The Commission shall be composed of representatives appointed respectively by the United States of America (if and when that Government is willing to participate), the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Russia (if and when Russia becomes a member of the League of Nations), Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria and Turkey (if and when the two latter States become members of the League of Nations). Each Power shall appoint one representative. The representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Russia shall each have two votes. The representatives of Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria and Turkey shall each have one vote. Each Commissioner shall be removable only by the Government which appointed him.

ARTICLE 41.

The Commissioners shall enjoy, within the limits specified in Article 39, diplomatic privileges and immunities.

ARTICLE 42.

The Commission will exercise the powers conferred on it by the present Treaty in complete independence of the local authority. It will have its own flag, its own budget and its separate organisation.

ARTICLE 43.

Within the limits of its jurisdiction as laid down in Article 39 the Commission will be charged with the following duties:

(a) the execution of any works considered necessary for the improvement of the channels or the approaches to harbours; (b) the lighting and buoing of the channels; (c) the control of pilotage and towage; (d) the control of anchorages; (e) the control necessary to assure the application

in the ports of Constantinople and Haidar Pasha of the regime prescribed in Articles 335 to 344, Part XI (Ports, Waterways and Railways) of the present Treaty; (f) the control of all matters relating to wrecks and salvage; (g) the control of lighterage;

ARTICLE 44.

In the event of the Commission finding that the liberty of passage is being interfered with, it will inform the representatives at Constantinople of the Allied Powers providing the occupying forces provided for in Article 178. These representatives will thereupon concert with the naval and military commanders of the said forces such measures as may be deemed necessary to preserve the freedom of the Straits. Similar action shall be taken by the said representatives in the event of any external action threatening the liberty of passage of the Straits.

ARTICLE 45.

For the purpose of the acquisition of any property or the execution of any permanent works which may be required, the Commission shall be entitled to raise such loans as it may consider necessary. These loans will be secured, so far as possible, on the dues to be levied on the shipping using the Straits, as provided in Article 53.

ARTICLE 46.

The functions previously exercised by the Constantinople Superior Council of Health and the Turkish Sanitary Administration which was directed by the said Council, and the functions exercised by the National Life-boat Service of the Bosphorus will within the limits specified in Article 39 be discharged under the control of the Commission and in such manner as it may direct.

The Commission will co-operate in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease.

ARTICLE 47.

Subject to the general powers of control conferred upon the Commission, the rights of any persons or companies now holding concessions relating to lighthouses, docks, quays or similar matters shall be maintained; but the Commission shall be entitled if it thinks it necessary in the general interest to buy out or modify such rights upon the conditions laid down in Article 311 Part IX (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty, or itself to take up a new concession.

ARTICLE 48.

In order to facilitate the execution of the duties with which it is entrusted by this Section, the Commission shall have power to organise such a force of special police as may be necessary. This force shall be drawn so far as possible from the native population of the zone of the Straits and islands referred to in Article 178, Part V (Military, Naval and Air Clauses), excluding the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos and Mytilene. The said force shall be commanded by foreign police officers appointed by the Commission.

ARTICLE 49.

In the portion of the zone of the Straits, including the islands of the Sea of Marmora, which remains Turkish, and pending the coming into force of the reform of the Turkish judicial system provided for in Article 136, all infringements of the regulations and by-laws made by the Commission, committed by nationals of capitulatory Powers, shall be dealt with by the Consular Courts of the said Powers. The Allied Powers agree to make such infringements justiciable before their Consular Courts or authorities. Infringements committed by Turkish nationals or nationals of non-capitulatory Powers shall be dealt with by the competent Turkish judicial authorities.

In the portion of the said zone placed under Greek sovereignty such infringements will be dealt with by the competent Greek judicial authorities.

ARTICLE 50.

The officers or members of the crew of any merchant vessel within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Commission who may be arrested on shore for any offence committed either ashore or afloat within the limits of the said jurisdiction shall be brought before the competent judicial authority by the Commission's police. If the accused was arrested otherwise than by the Commission's police he shall immediately be handed over to them.

ARTICLE 51.

The Commission shall appoint such subordinate officers or officials as may be found indispensable to assist it in carrying out the duties with which it is charged.

ARTICLE 52.

In all matters relating to the navigation of the waters within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Commission all the ships referred to in Article

37 shall be treated upon a footing of absolute equality.

ARTICLE 53.

Subject to the provisions of Article 47 the existing rights under which dues and charges can be levied for various purposes, whether direct by the Turkish Government or by international bodies or private companies, on ships or cargoes within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Commission shall be transferred to the Commission. The Commission shall fix these dues and charges at such amounts only as may be reasonably necessary to cover the cost of the works executed and the services rendered to shipping, including the general costs and expenses of the administration of the Commission, and the salaries and pay provided for in paragraph 3 of the Annex to this Section.

For these purposes only and with the prior consent of the Council of the League of Nations the Commission may also establish dues and charges other than those now existing and fix their amounts.

ARTICLE 54.

All dues and charges imposed by the Commission shall be levied without any discrimination and on a footing of absolute equality between all vessels, whatever their port of origin, destination or departure, their flag or ownership, or the nationality or ownership of their cargoes.

This disposition does not affect the right of the Commission to fix in accordance with tonnage the dues provided for by this Section.

ARTICLE 55.

The Turkish and Greek Governments respectively undertake to facilitate the acquisition by the Commission of such land and buildings as the Commission shall consider it necessary to acquire in order to carry out effectively the duties with which it is entrusted.

ARTICLE 56.

Ships of war in transit through the waters specified in Article 39 shall conform in all respects to the regulations issued by the Commission for the observance of the ordinary rules of navigation and of sanitary requirements.

ARTICLE 57.

(1) Belligerent warships shall not re-victual nor take in stores except so far as may be strictly necessary to enable them to complete the passage of the Straits and to reach the nearest port where

they can call, nor shall they replenish or increase their supplies of war material or their armament or complete their crews, within the waters under the control of the Commission. Only such repairs as are absolutely necessary to render them seaworthy shall be carried out, and they shall not add in any manner whatever to their fighting force. The Commission shall decide what repairs are necessary, and these must be carried out with the least possible delay.

(2) The passage of belligerent warships through the waters under the control of the Commission shall be effected with the least possible delay, and without any other interruption than that resulting from the necessities of the service.

(3) The stay of such warships at ports within the jurisdiction of the Commission shall not exceed twenty-four hours except in case of distress. In such case they shall be bound to leave as soon as possible. An interval of at least twenty-four hours shall always elapse between the sailing of a belligerent ship from the waters under the control of the Commission and the departure of a ship belonging to an opposing belligerent.

(4) Any further regulations affecting in time of war the waters under the control of the Commission, and relating in particular to the passage of war material and contraband destined for the enemies of Turkey, or re-victualling, taking in stores or carrying out repairs in the said waters, will be laid down by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 58.

Prizes shall in all respects be subjected to the same conditions as belligerent vessels of war.

ARTICLE 59.

No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war or warlike materials in the waters under the control of the Commission, except in case of accidental hindrance of the passage, and in such cases the passage shall be resumed with all possible dispatch.

ARTICLE 60.

Nothing in Articles 57, 58 or 59 shall be deemed to limit the powers of a belligerent or belligerents acting in pursuance of a decision by the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 61.

Any differences which may arise between the Powers as to the interpretation or execution of the provisions of this Section, and as regards Constan-

tinople and Haidar Pasha of the provisions of Articles 335 to 344, Part XI (Ports, Waterways, and Railways) shall be referred to the Commission. In the event of the decision of the Commission not being accepted by any Power, the question shall, on the demand of any Power concerned, be settled as provided by the League of Nations, pending whose decision the ruling of the Commission will be carried out.

ANNEX

1. The Chairmanship of the Commission of the Straits shall be rotatory for the period of two years among the members of the Commission entitled to two votes.

The Commission shall take decisions by a majority vote and the Chairman shall have a casting vote. Abstention shall be regarded as a vote against the proposal under discussion.

Each of the Commissioners will have the right to designate a deputy Commissioner to replace him in his absence.

2. The salary of each member of the Commission will be paid by the Government which appointed him; these salaries will be fixed at reasonable amounts agreed upon from time to time between the Governments represented on the Commission.

3. The salaries of the police officers referred to in Article 48, of such other officials and officers as may be appointed under Article 51, and the pay of the local police referred to in Article 48, shall be paid out of the receipts from the dues and charges levied on shipping.

The Commission shall frame regulations as to the terms and conditions of employment of all officers and officials appointed

4. The Commission shall have at its disposal such vessels as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions as laid down in this Section and Annex.

5. In order to carry out all the duties with which it is charged by the provisions of this Section and Annex and within the limits therein laid down the Commission will have the power to prepare, issue and enforce the necessary regulations; this power will include the right of amending so far as may be necessary or repealing the existing regulations.

6. The Commission shall frame regulations as to the manner in which the accounts of all rev-

venues and expenditure of the funds under its control shall be kept, the auditing of such accounts and the publication every year of a full and accurate report thereof.

SECTION III. KURDISTAN. ARTICLE 62.

A Commission sitting at Constantinople and composed of three members appointed by the British, French and Italian Governments respectively shall draft within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty a scheme of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas lying east of the Euphrates, south of the southern boundary of Armenia as it may be hereafter determined, and north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia, as defined in Article 27, II (2) and (3). If unanimity cannot be secured on any question, it will be referred by the members of the Commission to their respective Governments. The scheme shall contain full safeguards for the protection of the Assyro-Chaldeans and other racial or religious minorities within these areas, and with this object a Commission composed of British, French, Italian, Persian and Kurdish representatives shall visit the spot to examine and decide what rectifications, if any, should be made in the Turkish frontier where, under the provisions of the present Treaty, that frontier coincides with that of Persia.

ARTICLE 63.

The Turkish Government hereby agrees to accept and execute the decisions of both the Commissions mentioned in Article 62 within three months from their communication to the said Government.

ARTICLE 64.

If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas.

The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the Principal Allied Powers and Turkey.

If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul vilayet.

SECTION IV. SMYRNA. ARTICLE 65.

The provisions of this Section will apply to the city of Smyrna and the adjacent territory defined in Article 66, until the determination of their final status in accordance with Article 83.

ARTICLE 66.

The geographical limits of the territory adjacent to the city of Smyrna will be laid down as follows:

From the mouth of the river which flows into the Aegean Sea about 5 kilometres north of Skalanova, eastwards, the course of this river upstream; then south-eastwards, the course of the southern branch of this river; then south-eastwards, to the western point of the crest of the Gumush Dag; a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Chinar K, and east of Akche Ova; thence north-eastwards, this crest line; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the railway from Ayasuluk to Deirmendik about 1 kilometre west of Balachik station, a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the road and railway from Sokia to Balachik station entirely in Turkish territory; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence to a point to be chosen in the neighbourhood of Bos Dag situated about 15 kilometres north-east of Odemish, the southern and eastern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the railway from Manisa to Alashehr about 6 kilometres west of Salihli, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence northwards to Geurenez Dag, a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Mermer Geul west of Kemer, crossing the Kum Chai approximately south of Akshalan, and then following the watershed west of Kavakalan; thence north-westwards to a point to be chosen on the boundary between the Cazas of Kirkagach and Ak Hissar about 18 kilometres east of Kirkagach and 20 kilometres north of Ak Hissar, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence westwards to its junction with the boundary of the Caza of Soma, the southern boundary of the Caza of Kirkagach, thence

westwards to its junction with the boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna, the southern boundary of the Caza of Soma; thence northwards to its junction with the boundary of the vilayet of Smyrna, the north-eastern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna; thence westwards to a point to be chosen in the neighbourhood of Charpajik (Tepe). the northern boundary of the vilayet of Smyrna; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the ground about 4 kilometres southwest of Keuiluje, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence westwards to a point to be selected on the ground between Cape Dahlina and Kemer Iskele, a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kemer and Kemer Iskele together with the road joining these places.

ARTICLE 67.

A Commission shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the boundaries of the territories described in Article 66. This Commission shall be composed of three members nominated by the British, French and Italian Governments respectively, one member nominated by the Greek Government, and one nominated by the Turkish Government.

ARTICLE 68.

Subject to the provisions of this Section, the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66 will be assimilated, in the application of the present Treaty, to territory detached from Turkey.

ARTICLE 69.

The city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66 remain under Turkish sovereignty. Turkey, however, transfers to the Greek Government the exercise of her rights of sovereignty over the city of Smyrna and the said territory. In witness of such sovereignty the Turkish flag shall remain permanently hoisted over an outer fort in the town of Smyrna. The fort will be designated by the Principal Allied Powers.

ARTICLE 70.

The Greek Government will be responsible for the administration of the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66, and will effect this administration by means of a body of officials which it will appoint specially for the purpose.

ARTICLE 71.

The Greek Government shall be entitled to maintain in the city of Smyrna and the territory

defined in Article 66 the military forces required for the maintenance of order and public security.

ARTICLE 72.

A local parliament shall be set up with an electoral system calculated to ensure proportional representation of all sections of the population, including racial, linguistic and religious minorities. Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Greek Government shall submit to the Council of the League of Nations a scheme for an electoral system complying with the above requirements; this scheme shall not come into force until approved by a majority of the Council.

The Greek Government shall be entitled to postpone the elections for so long as may be required for the return of the inhabitants who have been banished or deported by the Turkish authorities, but such postponement shall not exceed a period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 73.

The relations between the Greek administration and the local parliament shall be determined by the said administration in accordance with the principles of the Greek Constitution.

ARTICLE 74.

Compulsory military service shall not be enforced in the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66 pending the final determination of their status in accordance with Article 83.

ARTICLE 75.

The provisions of the separate Treaty referred to in Article 86 relating to the protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities, and to freedom of commerce and transit, shall be applicable to the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66.

ARTICLE 76.

The Greek Government may establish a Customs boundary along the frontier line defined in Article 66, and may incorporate the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in the said Article in the Greek customs system.

ARTICLE 77.

The Greek Government engages to take no measures which would have the effect of depreciating the existing Turkish currency, which shall retain its character as legal tender pending the determination, in accordance with the provisions of Article 83, of the final status of the territory.

ARTICLE 78.

The provisions of Part XI (Ports, Waterways and Railways) relating to the regime of ports of international interest, free ports and transit shall be applicable to the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66.

ARTICLE 79.

As regards nationality, such inhabitants of the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66 as are of Turkish nationality and cannot claim any other nationality under the terms of the present Treaty shall be treated on exactly the same footing as Greek nationals. Greece shall provide for their diplomatic and consular protection abroad.

ARTICLE 80.

The provisions of Article 24I, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) will apply in the case of the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66.

The provisions of Article 293, Part IX (Economic Clauses) will not be applicable in the case of the said city and territory.

ARTICLE 81.

Until the determination, in accordance with the provisions of Article 83, of the final status of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66, the rights to exploit the salt marshes of Phoea belonging to the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt, including all plant and machinery and materials for transport by land or sea, shall not be altered or interfered with. No tax or charge shall be imposed during this period on the manufacture, exportation or transport of salt produced from these marshes. The Greek administration will have the right to regulate and tax the consumption of salt at Smyrna and within the territory defined in Article 66.

If after the expiration of the period referred to in the preceding paragraph Greece considers it opportune to effect changes in the provisions above set forth, the salt marshes of Phoea will be treated as a concession and the guarantees provided by Article 312, Part IX (Economic Clauses) will apply, subject, however, to the provisions of Article 246, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 82.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise from the execution of the provisions of this Section.

ARTICLE 83.

When a period of five years shall have elapsed after the coming into force of the present Treaty the local parliament referred to in Article 72 may, by a majority of votes, ask the Council of the League of Nations for the definitive incorporation in the Kingdom of Greece of the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66. The Council may require, as a preliminary, a plebiscite under conditions which it will lay down.

In the event of such incorporation as a result of the application of the foregoing paragraph, the Turkish sovereignty referred to in Article 69 shall cease. Turkey hereby renounces in that event in favour of Greece all rights and title over the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66.

SECTION V. GREECE. ARTICLE 84.

Without prejudice to the frontiers of Bulgaria laid down by the Treaty of Peace signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919, Turkey renounces in favour of Greece all rights and title over the territories of the former Turkish Empire in Europe situated outside the frontiers of Turkey as laid down by the present Treaty.

The islands of the Sea of Marmora are not included in the transfer of sovereignty effected by the above paragraph.

Turkey further renounces in favour of Greece all her rights and title over the islands of Imbros and Tenedos. The decision taken by the Conference of Ambassadors at London in execution of Articles 5 of the Treaty of London of May 17–30, 1913, and 15 of the Treaty of Athens of November 1–14, 1913, and notified to the Greek Government on February 13, 1914, relating to the sovereignty of Greece over the other islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria, is confirmed, without prejudice to the provisions of the present Treaty relating to the islands placed under the sovereignty of Italy and referred to in Article 122, and to the islands lying less than three miles from the coast of Asia.

Nevertheless, in the portion of the zone of the Straits and the islands, referred to in Article 178, which under the present Treaty are placed under Greek sovereignty, Greece accepts and undertakes to observe, failing any contrary stipulation in the present Treaty, all the obligations which, in order to assure the freedom of the Straits, are imposed by the

present Treaty on Turkey in that portion of the said zone, including the islands of the Sea of Marmora, which remains under Turkish sovereignty.

ARTICLE 85.

A Commission shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Article 27, 1 (2). This Commission shall be composed of four members nominated by the Principal Allied Powers, one member nominated by Greece, and one member nominated by Turkey.

ARTICLE 86.

Greece accepts and agrees to embody in a separate Treaty such provisions as may be deemed necessary, particularly as regards Adrianople, to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Greece further accepts and agrees to embody in a separate Treaty such provisions as may be deemed necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

ARTICLE 87.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Greece will have to assume on account of the territory placed under her sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territories.

SECTION VI. ARMENIA. ARTICLE 88.

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

ARTICLE 89.

Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

ARTICLE 90.

In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

ARTICLE 91.

In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

ARTICLE 92.

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

ARTICLE 93.

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to

protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

SECTION VII. SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, PALESTINE.
ARTICLE 94.

The High Contracting Parties agree that Syria and Mesopotamia shall, in accordance with the fourth paragraph of Article 22, Part I (Covenant of the League of Nations), be provisionally recognised as independent States subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

A Commission shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Article 27, II (2) and (3). This Commission will be composed of three members nominated by France, Great Britain and Italy respectively, and one member nominated by Turkey; it will be assisted by a representative of Syria for the Syrian frontier, and by a representative of Mesopotamia for the Mesopotamian frontier.

The determination of the other frontiers of the said States, and the selection of the Mandatories, will be made by the Principal Allied Powers.

ARTICLE 95.

The High Contracting Parties agree to entrust, by application of the provisions of Article 22, the administration of Palestine, within such boundaries as may be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, to a Mandatory to be selected by the said Powers. The Mandatory will be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The Mandatory undertakes to appoint as soon as possible a special Commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities. In the composition of this Commission the religious interests concerned will be taken into account. The Chairman of the Commission will be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 96.

The terms of the mandates in respect of the above territories will be formulated by the Principal Allied Powers and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval.

ARTICLE 97.

Turkey hereby undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of Article 132, to accept any decisions which may be taken in relation to the questions dealt with in this Section.

SECTION VIII. HEDJAZ. ARTICLE 98.

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises the Hedjaz as a free and independent State, and renounces in favour of the Hedjaz all rights and titles over the territories of the former Turkish Empire situated outside the frontiers of Turkey as laid down by the present Treaty, and comprised within the boundaries which may ultimately be fixed.

ARTICLE 99.

In view of the sacred character attributed by Moslems of all countries to the cities and the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz undertakes to assure free and easy access thereto to Moslems of every country who desire to go there on pilgrimage or for any other religious object, and to respect and ensure respect for the pious foundations which are or may be established there by Moslems of any countries in accordance with the precepts of the law of the Koran.

ARTICLE 100.

His Majesty the King of the Hedjaz undertakes that in commercial matters the most complete equality of treatment shall be assured in the territory of the Hedjaz to the persons, ships and goods of nationals of any of the Allied Powers, or of any of the new States set up in the territories of the former Turkish Empire, as well as to the persons, ships and goods of nationals of States, Members of the League of Nations.

SECTION IX. EGYPT, SOUDAN, CYPRUS.

1. EGYPT. ARTICLE 101.

Turkey renounces all rights and title in or over Egypt. This renunciation shall take effect as from November 5, 1914. Turkey declares that in conformity with the action taken by the Allied Powers she recognises the Protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on December 18, 1914.

ARTICLE 102.

Turkish subjects habitually resident in Egypt on December 18, 1914, will acquire Egyptian nationality ipso facto and will lose their Turkish nationality, except that if at that date such persons were temporarily absent from, and have not since returned to, Egypt they will not acquire Egyptian nationality without a special authorisation from the Egyptian Government.

ARTICLE 103.

Turkish subjects who became resident in Egypt after December 18, 1914, and are habitually resident there at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty may, subject to the conditions prescribed in Article 105 for the right of option, claim Egyptian nationality, but such claim may in individual cases be refused by the competent Egyptian authority.

ARTICLE 104.

For all purposes connected with the present Treaty, Egypt and Egyptian nationals, their goods and vessels, shall be treated on the same footing, as from August 1, 1914, as the Allied Powers, their nationals, goods and vessels, and provisions in respect of territory under Turkish sovereignty, or of territory detached from Turkey in accordance with the present Treaty, shall not apply to EGYPT.

ARTICLE 105.

Within a period of one year after the coming into force of the present Treaty persons over eighteen years of age acquiring Egyptian nationality under the provisions of Article 102 will be entitled to opt for Turkish nationality. In case such persons, or those who under Article 103 are entitled to claim Egyptian nationality, differ in race from the majority of the population of Egypt, they will within the same period be entitled to opt for the nationality of any State in favour of which territory is detached from Turkey, if the majority of the population of that State is of the same race as the person exercising the right to opt.

Option by a husband covers a wife and option by parents covers their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where authorised to continue to reside in Egypt, transfer within the ensuing twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Egypt, and may

carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties or charges may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 106.

The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of Turkish subjects in Egypt and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in the territory.

ARTICLE 107.

Egyptian nationals shall be entitled, when abroad, to British diplomatic and consular protection.

ARTICLE 108.

Egyptian goods entering Turkey shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

ARTICLE 109.

Turkey renounces in favour of Great Britain the powers conferred upon His Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

ARTICLE 110.

All property and possessions in Egypt belonging to the Turkish Government pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

ARTICLE 111.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to Turkish nationals (who do not acquire Egyptian nationality) shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part IX (Economy Clauses) of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 112.

Turkey renounces all claim to the tribute formerly paid by Egypt.

Great Britain undertakes to relieve Turkey of all liability in respect of the Turkish loans secured on the Egyptian tribute.

These loans are:

The guaranteed loan of 1855; The loan of 1894 representing the converted loans of 1854 and 1871; The loan of 1891 representing the converted loan of 1877.

The sums which the Khedives of Egypt have from time to time undertaken to pay over to the houses by which these loans were issued will be applied as heretofore to the interest and the sinking funds of the loans of 1894 and 1891 until the final extinction of those loans. The Government of Egypt will also continue to apply the sum hitherto

paid towards the interest on the guaranteed loan of 1855.

Upon the extinction of these loans of 1894, 1891 and 1855, all liability on the part of the Egyptian Government arising out of the tribute formerly paid by Egypt to Turkey will cease.

2. SOUDAN.

ARTICLE 113.

The High Contracting Parties declare and place on record that they have taken note of the Convention between the British Government and the Egyptian Government defining the status and regulating the administration of the Soudan, signed on January 19, 1899, as amended by the supplementary Convention relating to the town of Suakin signed on July 10, 1899.

ARTICLE 114.

Soudanese shall be entitled when in foreign countries to British diplomatic and consular protection.

3. CYPRUS

ARTICLE 115.

The High Contracting Parties recognise the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on November 5, 1914.

ARTICLE 116.

Turkey renounces all rights and title over or relating to Cyprus, including the right to the tribute formerly paid by that island to the Sultan.

ARTICLE 117.

Turkish nationals born or habitually resident in Cyprus will acquire British nationality and lose their Turkish nationality, subject to the conditions laid down in the local law.

SECTION X. MOROCCO, TUNIS. ARTICLE 118.

Turkey recognises the French Protectorate in Morocco, and accepts all the consequences thereof. This recognition shall take effect as from March 30, 1912.

ARTICLE 119.

Moroccan goods entering Turkey shall be subject to the same treatment as French goods.

ARTICLE 120.

Turkey recognises the French Protectorate over Tunis and accepts all the consequences thereof. This recognition shall take effect as from May 12, 1881.

Tunisian goods entering Turkey shall be subject to the same treatment as French goods.

SECTION XI. LIBYA, AEGEAN ISLANDS. ARTICLE 121.

Turkey definitely renounces all rights and privileges which under the Treaty of Lausanne of October 18, 1912, were left to the Sultan in Libya.

ARTICLE 122.

Turkey renounces in favour of Italy all rights and title over the following islands of the Aegean Sea: Stampalia (Astropalia), Rhodes (Rhodos), Calki (Kharki), Scarpanto, Casos (Casso), Pscopis (Tilos), Misiros (Nisyros), Calymnos (Kalymnos), Leros, Patmos, Lipsos (Lipso), Sini (Symi), and Cos (Kos), which are now occupied by Italy, and the islets dependent thereon, and also over the island of Castellorizzo.

SECTION XII. NATIONALITY. ARTICLE 123.

Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory which in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty is detached from Turkey will become ipso facto, in the conditions laid down by the local law, nationals of the State to which such territory is transferred.

ARTICLE 124.

Persons over eighteen years of age losing their Turkish nationality and obtaining ipso facto a new nationality under Article 123 shall be entitled within a period of one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty to opt for Turkish nationality.

ARTICLE 125.

Persons over eighteen years of age habitually resident in territory detached from Turkey in accordance with the present Treaty and differing in race from the majority of the population of such territory shall within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty be entitled to opt for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Greece, the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Syria, Bulgaria or Turkey, if the majority of the population of the State selected is of the same race as the person exercising the right to opt.

ARTICLE 126.

Persons who have exercised the right to opt in accordance with the provisions of Articles 124 or 125 must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising their right to opt.

They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties

may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 127.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have under the present Treaty, or under the Treaties of Peace concluded with Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Hungary or under any treaty concluded by the Allied Powers, or any of them, with Russia, or between any of the Allied Powers themselves, to choose any other nationality which may be open to them.

In particular, Turkey undertakes to facilitate by every means in her power the voluntary emigration of persons desiring to avail themselves of the right to opt provided by Article 125, and to carry out any measures which may be prescribed with this object by the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 128.

Turkey undertakes to recognise any new nationality which has been or may be acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied Powers or new States and in accordance with the decisions of the competent authorities of these Powers pursuant to naturalisation laws or under Treaty stipulations, and to regard such persons as having, in consequence of the acquisition of such new nationality, in all respects severed their allegiance to their country of origin.

In particular, persons who before the coming into force of the present Treaty have acquired the nationality of one of the Allied Powers in accordance with the law of such Power shall be recognised by the Turkish Government as nationals of such Power and as having lost their Turkish nationality, notwithstanding any provisions of Turkish law to the contrary. No confiscation of property or other penalty provided by Turkish law shall be incurred on account of the acquisition of any such nationality.

ARTICLE 129.

Jews of other than Turkish nationality who are habitually resident, on the coming into force of the present Treaty, within the boundaries of Palestine, as determined in accordance with Article 95 will ipso facto become citizens of Palestine to the exclusion of any other nationality.

ARTICLE 130.

For the purposes of the provisions of this Section, the status of a married woman will be gov-

erned by that of her husband and the status of children under eighteen years of age by that of their parents.

ARTICLE 131.

The provisions of this Section will apply to the city of Smyrna and the territory defined in Article 66 as from the establishment of the final status of the territory in accordance with Article 83.

SECTION XIII. GENERAL PROVISIONS. ARTICLE 132.

Outside her frontiers as fixed by the present Treaty Turkey hereby renounces in favour of the Principal Allied Powers all rights and title which she could claim on any ground over or concerning any territories outside Europe which are not otherwise disposed of by the present Treaty.

Turkey undertakes to recognise and conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the Principal Allied Powers, in agreement where necessary with third Powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

ARTICLE 133.

Turkey undertakes to recognise the full force of the Treaties of Peace and Additional Conventions concluded by the Allied Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Turkey, and to recognise whatever dispositions have been or may be made concerning the territories of the former German Empire, of Austria, of Hungary and of Bulgaria, and to recognise the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

ARTICLE 134.

Turkey hereby recognises and accepts the frontiers of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and the Czecho-Slovak State as these frontiers may be determined by the Treaties referred to in Article 133 or by any supplementary conventions.

ARTICLE 135.

Turkey undertakes to recognise the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on August 1, 1914, and to recognise the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

Turkey acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of the said States.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 259, Part VIII (Financial Clauses), and Article 277, Part IX (Economic Clauses), of the present Treaty, Turkey accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all treaties conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

ARTICLE 136.

A Commission composed of four members, appointed by the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan respectively, shall be set up within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to prepare, with the assistance of technical experts representing the other capitulatory Powers, Allied or neutral, who with this object will each be invited to appoint an expert, a scheme of judicial reform to replace the present capitulatory system in judicial matters in Turkey. This Commission may recommend, after consultation with the Turkish Government, the adoption of either a mixed or an unified judicial system.

The scheme prepared by the Commission will be submitted to the Governments of the Allied and neutral Powers concerned. As soon as the Principal Allied Powers have approved the scheme they will inform the Turkish Government, which hereby agrees to accept the new system.

The Principal Allied Powers reserve the right to agree among themselves, and if necessary with the other Allied or neutral Powers concerned, as to the date on which the new system is to come into force.

ARTICLE 137.

Without prejudice to the provisions of Part VII (Penalties), no inhabitant of Turkey shall be disturbed or molested, under any pretext whatever, on account of any political or military action taken by him, or any assistance of any kind given by him to the Allied Powers, or their nationals, between August 1, 1914, and the coming into force of the present Treaty; all sentences pronounced against any inhabitant of Turkey for the above reasons shall be completely annulled, and any proceedings already instituted shall be arrested.

ARTICLE 138.

No inhabitant of territory detached from Turkey in accordance with the present Treaty shall be disturbed or molested on account of his political attitude after August 1, 1914, or of the determi-

nation of his nationality effected in accordance with the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 139.

Turkey renounces formally all rights of suzerainty or jurisdiction of any kind over Moslems who are subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of any other State.

No power shall be exercised directly or indirectly by any Turkish authority whatever in any territory detached from Turkey or of which the existing status under the present Treaty is recognised by Turkey.

PART IV.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

ARTICLE 140.

Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 141, 145 and 147 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no civil or military law or regulation, no Imperial Iradeh nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, Imperial Iradeh nor official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 141.

Turkey undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief.

The penalties for any interference with the free exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be the same whatever may be the creed concerned.

ARTICLE 142.

Whereas, in view of the terrorist regime which has existed in Turkey since November 1, 1914, conversions to Islam could not take place under normal conditions, no conversions since that date are recognised and all persons who were non-Moslems before November 1, 1914, will be considered as still remaining such, unless, after regaining their liberty, they voluntarily perform the necessary formalities for embracing the Islamic faith.

In order to repair so far as possible the wrongs inflicted on individuals in the course of the massacres perpetrated in Turkey during the war, the Turkish Government undertakes to afford all the assistance in its power or in that of the Turkish authorities in the search for and deliverance of all

persons, of whatever race or religion, who have disappeared, been carried off, interned or placed in captivity since November 1, 1914.

The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate the operations of mixed commissions appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to receive the complaints of the victims themselves, their families or their relations, to make the necessary enquiries, and to order the liberation of the persons in question.

The Turkish Government undertakes to ensure the execution of the decisions of these commissions, and to assure the security and the liberty of the persons thus restored to the full enjoyment of their rights.

ARTICLE 143.

Turkey undertakes to recognise such provisions as the Allied Powers may consider opportune with respect to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of persons belonging to racial minorities.

Turkey renounces any right to avail herself of the provisions of Article 16 of the Convention between Greece and Bulgaria relating to reciprocal emigration, signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919. Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Greece and Turkey will enter into a special arrangement relating to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of the populations of Turkish and Greek race in the territories transferred to Greece and remaining Turkish respectively.

In case agreement cannot be reached as to such arrangement, Greece and Turkey will be entitled to apply to the Council of the League of Nations, which will fix the terms of such arrangement.

ARTICLE 144.

The Turkish Government recognises the injustice of the law of 1915 relating to Abandoned Properties (*Emval-i-Metroukeh*), and of the supplementary provisions thereof, and declares them to be null and void, in the past as in the future.

The Turkish Government solemnly undertakes to facilitate to the greatest possible extent the return to their homes and re-establishment in their businesses of the Turkish subjects of non-Turkish race who have been forcibly driven from their homes by fear of massacre or any other form of pressure since January 1, 1914. It recognises that any immovable or movable property of the said Turkish subjects or of the communities to which they belong, which

can be recovered, must be restored to them as soon as possible, in whatever hands it may be found. Such property shall be restored free of all charges or servitudes with which it may have been burdened and without compensation of any kind to the present owners or occupiers, subject to any action which they may be able to bring against the persons from whom they derived title.

The Turkish Government agrees that arbitral commissions shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations wherever found necessary. These commissions shall each be composed of one representative of the Turkish Government, one representative of the community which claims that it or one of its members has been injured, and a chairman appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. These arbitral commissions shall hear all claims covered by this Article and decide them by summary procedure.

The arbitral commissions will have power to order:

(1) The provision by the Turkish Government of labour for any work of reconstruction or restoration deemed necessary. This labour shall be recruited from the races inhabiting the territory where the arbitral commission considers the execution of the said works to be necessary;

(2) The removal of any person who, after enquiry, shall be recognised as having taken an active part in massacres or deportations or as having provoked them; the measures to be taken with regard to such person's possessions will be indicated by the commission;

(3) The disposal of property belonging to members of a community who have died or disappeared since January 1, 1914, without leaving heirs; such property may be handed over to the community instead of to the State;

(4) The cancellation of all acts of sale or any acts creating rights over immovable property concluded after January 1, 1914. The indemnification of the holders will be a charge upon the Turkish Government, but must not serve as a pretext for delaying the restitution. The arbitral commission will, however have the power to impose equitable arrangements between the interested parties, if any sum has been paid by the present holder of such property.

The Turkish Government undertakes to facilitate in the fullest possible measure the work of the

commissions and to ensure the execution of their decisions, which will be final. No decision of the Turkish judicial or administrative authorities shall prevail over such decisions.

ARTICLE 145.

All Turkish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Turkish Government will submit to the Allied Powers a scheme for the organisation of an electoral system based on the principle of proportional representation of racial minorities.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 146.

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognize the validity of diplomas granted by recognised foreign universities and schools, and to admit the holders thereof to the free exercise of the professions and industries for which such diplomas qualify.

This provision will apply equally to nationals of Allied powers who are resident in Turkey.

ARTICLE 147.

Turkish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, and independently of and without interference by the Turkish authorities, any charitable, religious and social institutions, schools for primary, secondary and higher instruction and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 148.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the communities concerned.

ARTICLE 149.

The Turkish Government undertakes to recognise and respect the ecclesiastical and scholastic autonomy of all racial minorities in Turkey. For this purpose, and subject to any provisions to the contrary in the present Treaty, the Turkish Government confirms and will uphold in their entirety the prerogatives and immunities of an ecclesiastical, scholastic or judicial nature granted by the Sultans to non-Moslem races in virtue of special orders or imperial decrees (firmans, hattis, berats, etc.) as well as by ministerial orders or orders of the Grand Vizier.

All laws, decrees, regulations and circulars issued by the Turkish Government and containing abrogations, restrictions or amendments of such prerogatives and immunities shall be considered to such extent null and void.

Any modification of the Turkish judicial system which may be introduced in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty shall be held to override this Article, in so far as such modification may affect individuals belonging to racial minorities.

ARTICLE 150.

In towns and districts where there is resident a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals of the Christian or Jewish religions the Turkish Government undertakes that such Turkish nationals shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest. This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals (Christians or Jews) from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

ARTICLE 151.

The Principal Allied Powers, in consultation with the Council of the League of Nations, will decide what measures are necessary to guarantee the execution of the provisions of this Part. The Turkish Government hereby accepts all decisions which may be taken on this subject.

PART V.

MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR CLAUSES.

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Turkey undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

SECTION I.

MILITARY CLAUSES.

CHAPTER I. GENERAL CLAUSES. ARTICLE 152.

The armed force at the disposal of Turkey shall only consist of:

(1) The Sultan's bodyguard; (2) Troops of gendarmerie, intended to maintain order and security in the interior and to ensure the protection of minorities; (3) Special elements intended for the reinforcement of the troops of gendarmerie in case of serious trouble, and eventually to ensure the control of the frontiers.

ARTICLE 153.

Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the military forces other than that provided for in Article 152 shall be demobilised and disbanded.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECTIVES, ORGANISATION AND CADRES OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCE.

ARTICLE 154.

The Sultan's bodyguard shall consist of a staff and infantry and cavalry units, the strength of which shall not exceed 700 officers and men. This strength is not included in the total force provided for in Article 155.

The composition of this guard is given in Table I annexed to this Section.

ARTICLE 155.

The total strength of the forces enumerated in paragraphs (2) and (3) of Article 152 shall not exceed 50,000 men, including staffs, officers, training personnel and depot troops.

ARTICLE 156.

The troops of gendarmerie shall be distributed over the territory of Turkey, which for this purpose

will be divided into territorial areas to be delimited as provided in Article 200.

A legion of gendarmerie, composed of mounted and unmounted troops, provided with machine guns and with administrative and medical services will be organised in each territorial region, it will supply in the vilayets, sandjaks, cazas, etc., the detachments necessary for the organisation of a fixed protective service, mobile reserves being at its disposal at one or more points within the region.

On account of their special duties, the legions shall not include either artillery or technical services.

The total strength of the legions shall not exceed 35,000 men, to be included in the total strength of the armed force provided for in Article 155.

The maximum strength of any one legion shall not exceed one quarter of the total strength of the legions.

The elements of any one legion shall not be employed outside the territory of their region, except by special authorisation from the Inter-Allied Commission provided for in Article 200.

ARTICLE 157.

The special elements for reinforcements may include details of infantry, cavalry, mountain artillery, pioneers and the corresponding technical and general services; their total strength shall not exceed 15,000 men, to be included in the total strength provided for in Article 155.

The number of such reinforcements for any one legion shall not exceed one third of the whole strength of these elements without the special authority of the Inter-Allied Commission provided for in Article 200.

The proportion of the various arms and services entering into the composition of these special elements is laid down in Table II annexed to this Section.

Their quartering will be fixed as provided in Article 200.

ARTICLE 158.

In the formations referred to in Articles 156 and 157, the proportion of officers, including the personnel of staffs and special services, shall not exceed one twentieth of the total effectives with the colours, and that of non-commissioned officers shall not exceed one twelfth of the total effectives with the colours.

ARTICLE 159.

Officers supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers shall collaborate, under the direction

of the Turkish Government, in the command, the organisation and the training of the gendarmerie officers authorised by Article 158, but their number shall not exceed fifteen per cent. of that strength. Special agreements to be drawn up by the Inter-Allied Commission mentioned in Article 200 shall fix the proportion of these officers according to nationality, and shall determine the conditions of their participation in the various missions assigned to them by this Article.

ARTICLE 160.

In any one territorial region all officers placed at the disposal of the Turkish Government under the conditions laid down in Article 159 shall in principle be of the same nationality.

ARTICLE 161.

In the zone of the Straits and islands referred to in Article 178, excluding the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace Tenedos and Mitylene, the forces (of Turkey), will be under the Inter-Allied Command of the forces in occupation of that zone.

ARTICLE 162.

All measures of mobilisation, or appertaining to mobilisation or tending to an increase of the strength or of the means of transport of any of the forces provided for in this Chapter are forbidden.

The various formations, staffs and administrative services shall not, in any case, include supplementary cadres.

ARTICLE 163.

Within the period fixed by Article 153, all existing forces of gendarmerie shall be amalgamated with the legions provided for in Article 156.

ARTICLE 164.

The formation of any body of troops not provided for in this Section is forbidden.

The suppression of existing formations which are in excess of the authorised strength of 50,000 men (not including the Sultan's bodyguard) shall be effected progressively from the date of the signature of the present Treaty, in such manner as to be completed within six months at the latest after the coming into force of the Treaty, in accordance with the provisions of Article 158.

The number of officers, or persons in the position of officers, in the War Ministry and the Turkish General Staff, as well as in the administrations attached to them, shall, within the same period, be reduced to the establishment considered by the Commission referred to in Article 200 as strictly

necessary for the good working of the general services of the armed Turkish force, this establishment being included in the maximum figure laid down in Article 158.

CHAPTER III.

RECRUITING.

ARTICLE 165.

The Turkish armed force shall in future be constituted and recruited by voluntary enlistment only.

Enlistment shall be open to all subjects of the Turkish State equally, without distinction of race or religion.

As regards the legions referred to in Article 156, their system of recruiting shall be in principle regional, and so regulated that the Moslem and non-Moslem elements of the population of each region may be, so far as possible, represented on the strength of the corresponding legion.

The provisions of the preceding paragraphs apply to officers as well as to men.

ARTICLE 166.

The length of engagement of non-commissioned officers and men shall be twelve consecutive years.

The annual replacement of men released from service for any reason whatever before the expiration of their term of engagement shall not exceed five per cent. of the total effectives fixed by Article 155.

ARTICLE 167.

All officers must be regulars (officers de carrière).

Officers at present serving in the army or the gendarmerie who are retained in the new armed force must undertake to serve at least up to the age of forty-five.

Officers at present serving in the army or the gendarmerie who are not admitted to the new armed force shall be definitely released from all military obligations, and must not take part in any military exercises, theoretical or practical.

Officers newly-appointed must undertake to serve on the active list for at least twenty-five consecutive years.

The annual replacement of officers leaving the service for any cause before the expiration of their term of engagement shall not exceed five per cent. of the total effectives of officers provided by Article 158.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOOLS, EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS,
MILITARY CLASS AND SOCIETIES

ARTICLE 168.

On the expiration of three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty there must only exist in Turkey the number of military schools which is absolutely indispensable for the recruitment of officers and non-commissioned officers of the units allowed, i. e. : school for officers;

1 school per territorial region for non-commissioned officers.

The number of students admitted to instruction in these schools shall be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the cadres of officers and non-commissioned officers.

ARTICLE 169.

Educational establishments, other than those referred to in Article 168, as well as all sporting or other societies, must not occupy themselves with any military matters.

CHAPTER V.

CUSTOMS OFFICIALS, LOCAL URBAN AND RURAL
POLICE, FOREST GUARDS.

ARTICLE 170.

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 48, Part III (Political Clauses), the number of customs officials, local urban or rural police, forest guards or other like officials shall not exceed the number of men employed in a similar capacity in 1913 within the territorial limits of Turkey as fixed by the present Treaty.

The number of these officials may only be increased in the future in proportion to the increase of population in the localities or municipalities which employ them.

These employees and officials, as well as those employed in the railway service, must not be assembled for the purpose of taking part in any military exercises.

In each administrative district the local urban and rural police and forest guards shall be recruited and officered according to the principles laid down in the case of the gendarmerie by Article 165.

In the Turkish police, which, as forming part of the civil administration of Turkey, will remain distinct from the Turkish armed force, officers or officials supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers shall collaborate, under the direction of the

Turkish Government, in the organisation, the command and the training of the said police. The number of these officers or officials shall not exceed fifteen per cent. of the strength of similar Turkish officers or officials.

CHAPTER VI.

ARMAMENT, MUNITIONS AND MATERIAL

ARTICLE 171.

On the expiration of six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the armament which may be in use or held in reserve for replacement in the various formations of the Turkish armed force shall not exceed the figures fixed per thousand men in Table III annexed to this Section.

ARTICLE 172.

The stock of munitions at the disposal of Turkey shall not exceed the amounts fixed in Table III annexed to this Section.

ARTICLE 173.

Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all existing arms, munitions of the various categories and war material in excess of the quantities authorised shall be handed over to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control provided for in Article 200 in such places as shall be appointed by this Commission.

The Principal Allied Powers will decide what is to be done with this material.

ARTICLE 174.

The manufacture of arms, munitions and war material, including aircraft and parts of aircraft of every description, shall take place only in the factories or establishments authorised by the Inter-Allied Commission referred to in Article 200.

Within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage or design of arms, munitions or any war material shall be abolished or converted to purely commercial uses.

The same will apply to all arsenals other than those utilised as depots for the authorised stocks of munitions.

The plant of establishments or arsenals in excess of that required for the authorised manufacture shall be rendered useless or converted to purely commercial uses, in accordance with the decisions of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control referred to in Article 200.

ARTICLE 175.

The importation into Turkey of arms, munitions and war materials, including aircraft and parts of aircraft of every description, is strictly forbidden, except with the special authority of the Inter-Allied Commission referred to in Article 200.

The manufacture for foreign countries and the exportation of arms, munitions and war material of any description is also forbidden.

ARTICLE 176.

The use of flame-throwers, asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all similar liquids, materials or processes being forbidden, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Turkey.

Material specially intended for the manufacture, storage or use of the said products or processes is equally forbidden.

The manufacture and importation into Turkey of armoured cars, tanks or any other similar machines suitable for use in war are equally forbidden.

CHAPTER VII.

FORTIFICATIONS

ARTICLE 177.

In the zone of the Straits and islands referred to in Article 178 the fortifications will be disarmed and demolished as provided in that Article.

Outside this zone, and subject to the provisions of Article 89, the existing fortified works may be preserved in their present condition, but will be disarmed within the same period of three months.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAINTENANCE OF THE FREEDOM OF THE STRAITS

ARTICLE 178.

For the purpose of guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits, the High Contracting Parties agree to the following provisions:

(1) Within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, all works, fortifications and batteries within the zone defined in Article 179 and comprising the coast and islands of the Sea of Marmora and the coast of the Straits, also those in the Islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos and Mitylene, shall be disarmed and demolished.

The reconstruction of these works and the construction of similar works are forbidden in

the above zone and islands. France, Great Britain and Italy shall have the right to prepare for demolition any existing roads and railways in the said zone and in the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Tenedos which allow of the rapid transport of mobile batteries, the construction there of such roads and railways remaining forbidden.

In the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace and Tenedos the construction of new roads or railways must not be undertaken except with the authority of the three Powers mentioned above.

(2) The measures prescribed in the first paragraph of (1) shall be executed by and at the expense of Greece and Turkey as regards their respective territories, and under control as provided in Article 203.

(3) The territories of the zone and the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos, and Mitylene shall not be used for military purposes, except by the three Allied Powers referred to above, acting in concert. This provision does not exclude the employment in the said zone and islands of forces of Greek and Turkish gendarmerie, who will be under the Inter-Allied command of the forces of occupation, in accordance with the provisions of Article 161, nor the maintenance of a garrison of Greek troops in the island of Mitylene, nor the presence of the Sultan's bodyguard referred to in Article 152.

(4) The said Powers, acting in concert, shall have the right to maintain in the said territories and islands such military and air forces as they may consider necessary to prevent any action being taken or prepared which might directly or indirectly prejudice the freedom of the Straits.

This supervision will be carried out in naval matters by a guard-ship belonging to each of the said Allied Powers.

The forces of occupation referred to above may, in case of necessity, exercise on land the right of requisition, subject to the same conditions as those laid down in the Regulations annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention, 1907, or any other Convention replacing it to which all the said Powers are parties. Requisitions shall, however, only be made against payment on the spot.

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. *The Treaties of Peace 1919–1923*, vol. 2. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1924.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to the National Convention of the People's Party of the Republic (1927)

During World War I, the decaying Ottoman Empire sided with the losing Central Powers of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With that loss came the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the very Turkish homeland on the Anatolian peninsula was threatened with dismemberment into its component nationalities. Kemal Mustafa, a Turkish commander, was able to save the integrity of the Turkish homeland, earning him the name Atatürk, "Father of the Turks." In this speech, Atatürk discusses how he saved the integrity of the Turkish nation during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I.

The General State of Affairs When I Disembarked at Samsun

Gentlemen,

I landed at Samsun on the nineteenth day of May of year 1919. This was the general state of affairs:

The group of Powers which included the Ottoman Government had been defeated in the Great War. The Ottoman Army had been crushed on every front. An armistice had been signed under severe conditions. The prolongation of the Great War had left the people exhausted and impoverished. Those who had driven the people and the country into the World War had fled and now cared for nothing but their own safety. Vahdettin, the degenerate occupant of the throne and the Caliphate, was seeking for some despicable way to save his person and his throne, the only objects of his anxiety. The Cabinet, of which Damat Ferit Pasha was the head, was weak and lacked dignity and courage. It was subservient to the will of the Sultan alone and agreed to every proposal that could protect its members and their sovereign.

The Army had been deprived of their arms and ammunition, and this state of affairs continued.

The Entente Powers did not consider it necessary to respect the terms of the armistice. On various pretexts, their men-of-war and troops remained at Istanbul. The Vilayet of Adana was occupied by the French; Urfa, Maras, Antep by the

English. In Antalya and Konya were the Italians, whilst at Merzifon and Samsun were English troops. Foreign officers and officials and their special agents were very active everywhere. At last, on the 15th May, that is to say, four days before the following account of events begins, the Greek Army, with the consent of the Entente Powers, had landed at Izmir.

Christian elements were also at work all over the country, either openly or in secret, trying to realize their own particular ambitions and thereby hasten the breakdown of the State.

Certain information and authentic documents that fell into our hands later on prove that the Greek organisation "Mavri Mira," established by the patriarchate in Istanbul, was forming bands, organizing meetings and making propaganda in the vilayets. The Greek Red Cross and the Official Emigrants Commission supported the work of the "Mavri Mira." The formation of Boy Scouts in the Greek schools directed by the "Mavri Mira" were reinforced by the admission even of young men over twenty years of age.

The Armenian Patriarch, Zaven Efendi, also worked in connection with the "Mavri Mira." The preparations made by the Armenians progressed side by side with those made by the Greeks.

A society called the "Pontus" at Trabzon, Samsun and other places along the entire Black Sea coast, having their headquarters in Istanbul, worked openly and successfully.

Considered Means for Salvation

On account of the appalling seriousness of the situation which was apparent everywhere, particularly in all the vilayets, certain prominent personalities had begun to develop countermeasures to improve the situation. This resulted in new organisations being started. Thus, for instance, there were unions or societies at Edirne and surrounding districts called "Trakya-Pasaeli." In the east, at Erzurum and Elazig, the "Union of Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces" had been formed, also with their headquarters in Istanbul. Again, in Trabzon there was a society called the "Defence of Rights" and in Istanbul a "League for the Separation of Trabzon and its District." Through the exertions of the members of this league, sub-committees had been established at Of and in the district of Lazistan.

Some of the young patriots at Izmir, who since the 13th May had noticed distinct indications of the approaching occupation of the town, had held meetings about the distressing condition of affairs during the night of the 14th, and in principle had agreed to oppose the occupation by the Greeks, which at that time was considered to be practically an accomplished fact, designed to end in annexation, and resisted it on the principle of "No Annexation." During the same night, those of the inhabitants who were able to meet at the Jewish cemetery at Izmir drew up a protest and spread it broadcast. But as the Greek troops actually landed on the following morning this attempt failed to achieve the desired result.

National Organisations and their Political Aims

I would like to give you a short account of the object and political aims of these organisations.

I had already had a conversation in Istanbul with some of the leaders of the "Trakya-Pasaeli" Society. They considered that the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire was extremely probable. In face of the threatened danger of the dismemberment of their country, their first thought was to save Eastern Trakya and later on if possible, to form a Turco-Islamic community that would include Western Trakya. The only way by which they thought they could realize this aim was to put their trust in England or, if this was not possible, in France. With this object they tried to get in touch with certain political personalities belonging to foreign countries. It was believed that their intention was to establish a Trakya Republic.

The object of the "Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces Union," on the other hand (Article 2 of their regulations), was to use all lawful means to ensure the free exercise and development of their religious and political rights for all elements inhabiting these provinces; to defend, if it should become necessary, the historical and national rights of the Muslim population of these provinces; to institute an impartial inquiry for the purpose of discovering the motives, the instigators and agitators implicated in the extortions and cruelties committed in the Eastern Provinces, so that the guilty ones might be punished without delay; to do their utmost to remove the misunderstandings that existed between

the different elements in the country, and to restore the good relations that had formerly existed between them; and, finally, to appeal to the Government to alleviate as far as it lay in their power the misery resulting from the war.

Acting on these principles that emanated from the Central Committee in Istanbul, the Erzurum Branch decided to undertake, in defence of the rights of the Turks, to inform the civilised world by means of convincing documents that since the deportation the people had been taking no part whatever in the excesses. Further, that the property of the Armenians had been protected up to the time when the country was invaded by the Russians. On the other hand that the Muslims had been compelled to suffer from the cruelest acts of violence and that some Armenians who had been saved from deportation had, in disobedience of orders, attacked their own protectors. The Branch were doing their very best to resist any attempt to annex the Eastern Provinces. (Proclamation by the Erzurum Branch.)

The members of the Erzurum Branch of the "Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces" resolved, as stated in their printed report, after having studied the propaganda circulated in these provinces as well the Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian questions, from the scientific and historical point of view, to concentrate their further efforts on the following points:

1. On no account to emigrate;
2. Forthwith to form scientific, economic and religious organisations;
3. To unite in the defence of even the smallest part of the Eastern Provinces that might be attacked.

It can be seen that the headquarters of the "Defence of the National Rights of the Eastern Provinces" were far too optimistic in their expectation to succeed through civil and scientific means. They continued to exert themselves indefatigably in this direction. For the purpose of defending the rights of Muslims dwelling in the Eastern Provinces they published a French journal, which they called "Le Pays." They acquired the right to publish a magazine called "Hadisat." They also presented memorials to the representatives of the Entente Powers in Istanbul and tried to send a delegation to Europe.

From the foregoing statements, it appears to me to be clearly evident that the possible cession

of the Eastern Provinces to Armenia was the most important reason for this Society having been formed. They anticipated that this possibility might become a reality if those who tried to prove that the Armenians were in the majority in these provinces, claiming the oldest historical rights, were to succeed in misleading the public opinion of the world by alleged scientific and historic documents and by perpetuating the calumny that the muslim population was composed of savages whose chief occupation was to massacre the Armenians. Consequently, the Society aimed at the defence of the national and historic rights by corresponding methods and arguments.

The fear also existed that a Greek Pontic State might be founded on the shores of the Black Sea. At Trabzon several persons had formed another society with the object of protecting the rights of the muslim population, to safeguard their existence and prevent them from falling under the yoke of the Greeks.

Their political aim and programme is already sufficiently obvious from its name: "The Society for the Cession of the Territory of Trabzon," whose head office was in Istanbul. In any case, they set out with the idea of separating this district from the Central Government.

Organisations, in the Country and in Istanbul, Hostile to the National Existence

Besides these organisations, which were being formed in the manner I have described, other societies and enterprises began to make their appearance. In the provinces of Diyarbakir, Bitlis and Elazig, among others, there was a "League for the Resuscitation of the Kurds" with its head offices also in Istanbul. Their aim was to erect a Kurdish State under foreign protection.

Work was going on at Konya and the surrounding district for the formation of a league having for its object the revival of Islam—also with its offices in Istanbul. There were organisations named "Unity and Freedom" and "Peace and Salvation" throughout almost the whole country.

Society of the Friends of England

In Istanbul, there were numerous public and secret organizations calling themselves parties or societies and pursuing various aims.

One of the most important of these, the "Society of the Friends of England" is worthy of special mention. It does not follow from its name that its members were necessarily friends of England. In my opinion, the founders of this society were people who thought, before anything else, of their own safety and their own particular interests, and who tried to secure both by inducing Lloyd George's Government to afford them English protection. I wonder whether these misguided persons really imagined for a moment that the English Government had any idea at all of maintaining and preserving the Ottoman State in its integrity?

At the head of this Society were Vahdettin, who bore the title of Ottoman Sultan and Caliph, Damat Ferit Pasha, Ali Kemal, Minister of the Interior, Adil Bey, Mehmet Ali Bey, and Sait Molla. Certain English adventurers, for instance a clergyman named Frew, also belonged to this Society. Their correspondence and operation make it clear that clergyman Frew was their chairman.

The Society had a double face and a twofold character. On the one hand, it openly sought the protection of England by methods inspired by civilization. On the other, it worked in secret and showed that its real aim was to incite the people to revolt by forming organisations in the interior, to paralyse the national conscience and encourage foreign countries to interfere. These were the treacherous designs underlying the work of the secret section of the Society. We shall see later how Sait Molla played just as active a part, or even a still more important one, in this secret work as in the public enterprises of the Society. What I have just said about this Society will become much clearer to you when I enter into further particulars later on and lay before you certain documents which will astonish you.

Sympathizers for American Mandate

Certain prominent personalities—amongst them some women—in Istanbul were convinced that the real salvation of the country lay in securing an American protectorate over it. They stubbornly persisted in this idea and tried to prove that acceptance of their point of view was the only thing possible. About this I shall also have a great deal more to say at the proper time.

Condition of the Military Units

So that you may clearly appreciate the general situation, I would like to point out exactly where and in what condition the military units were at the time of which I am speaking. Two Army Inspections had been established on principle in Anatolia. Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice the regular soldiers at the front were disbanded. Deprived of their arms and ammunition, the Army consisted of units having no fighting value.

The distribution of the troops under the second Army Inspection, with its headquarters at Konya, was as follows: The XIIth Army Corps, with its Staff at Konya, consisted of one division—the 41st—at Konya and another—the 23rd—at Afyonkarahisar. To this Army Corps was attached the 57th Division, stationed at Denizli, belonging to the XVIIth Army Corps, which had been captured at Izmir.

The XXth Corps and its Staff was stationed at Ankara—one of its divisions, the 24th, in Ankara itself and the other, the 11th, at Nigde.

The 1st Division stationed at Izmit was attached to the XXVth Army Corps, which also included the Caucasian Division.

The 61st and 56th Divisions were quartered in the district of Balikesir and Bursa and formed the XIVth Army Corps, with headquarters at Bandirma and directly under the command of Istanbul. The late Yusuf Izzet Pasha commanded this Army Corps until the National Assembly was opened.

I was myself at the head of the third Inspection when I landed with my Staff at Samsun. I was to have had two Army Corps under my personal command: One of them, the IIIrd, had its base at Sivas and was commanded by Colonel Refet Bey, who came with me to Samsun. One division of this Corps, the 5th Caucasian, was at Amasya; the other, the 15th, was at Samsun. The second Army Corps under my command was the XVth, stationed at Erzurum and commanded by Kazim Karabekir Pasha. One of his divisions, commanded by Rustu Bey, was in garrison at Erzurum; the other, the 3rd, under the command of Lt. Colonel Halit Bey, was at Trabzon. After Halit Bey had been called to Istanbul, he abandoned his command and hid himself at Bayburt. Another man took command temporarily of the division.

One of the two remaining divisions of the Army Corps, the 12th, was near Hasankale, on the eastern frontier, and the 11th was at Bayazit.

The XIIIth Army Corps consisted of two divisions stationed in the district of Diyarbakir and was independent, as it was directly under Istanbul. One of its divisions, the 2nd, was at Siirt, while the other, the 5th, was at Mardin.

Broad Powers of My Inspection Duty

These two Army Corps were directly under my command and I was also authorized to give orders to other troops lying within the district of my Inspection, in all the Vilayets comprised within it and in the neighbouring provinces.

In virtue of the authority vested in me, I had the right to enter into communication and correspondence with the XXth Army Corps at Ankara, with its superior Army Inspection, as well as with the Army Corps at Diyarbakir and the heads of the Civil Administration in nearly the whole of Anadolu.

You might, perhaps, be inclined to ask why those who sent me to Anadolu with the idea of banishing me from Istanbul entrusted me with such wide powers. The answer is, that they did not know themselves what they were doing. They invented the pretext that it was necessary for me to go to Samsun to report on the spot on the unsettled condition of the district and to take the necessary measures to deal with it. I had pointed out that in order to do this I should be given special authority and special powers. There did not seem to be any objection to this. I discussed the question with men who were on the General Staff at that time and who to a certain extent guessed my intentions. These were the persons who conceived the idea of my taking up the position, and I dictated the order giving me full powers. Apparently Sakir Pasha, the Minister of War, after reading them, hesitated to sign them and his seal that was attached to the document was scarcely recognizable.

Closer Examination of the State of Affairs

Let us return to a closer examination of the facts, so that we may rapidly review them as a whole.

Morally and materially, the enemy Powers were openly attacking the Ottoman Empire and the country itself. They were determined to disintegrate and annihilate both. The Padiisah-Caliph had

one sole anxiety—namely, to save his own life and comfort. The members of the government had the same feeling. Without being aware of it, the nation had no longer anyone to lead it, but lived in darkness and uncertainty, waiting to see what would happen. Those who began to understand clearly the terrors and the extent of the catastrophe were seeking some means whereby to save the country, each guided by the circumstances that surrounded him and the sentiments that inspired him. The Army existed merely in name. The commanders and other officers were still suffering from the exhaustion resulting from the war. Their hearts were bleeding on account of the threatened dismemberment of their country. Standing on the brink of the dark abyss which yawned before their eyes, they racked their brains to discover a way out of the danger . . .

Here I must add and explain a very important point. The Nation and the Army had no suspicion at all of the Padisah-Caliph's treachery. On the contrary, on account of religious and traditional ties handed down for centuries, they remained loyal to the throne and its occupant. Seeking for means of salvation under the influence of this tradition, the security of the Caliphate and the Sultanate concerned them far more than their own safety. That the country could possibly be saved without a Caliph and without a Padisah was an idea too impossible for them to comprehend. And woe to those who ventured to think otherwise! They would immediately have been looked down upon as men without faith and without patriotism and as such would have been scorned.

I must mention another point here. In seeking ways to save the situation, it was considered to be specially important to avoid irritating the Great Powers—England, France and Italy. The idea that it was impossible to fight even one of these Powers had taken root in the mind of nearly everybody. Consequently, to think of doing so and thus bring on another war after the Ottoman Empire, all-powerful Germany and Austria-Hungary together had been defeated and crushed would have been looked upon as sheer madness.

Not only the mass of the people thought in this strain, but those also who must be regarded as their chosen leaders shared the same opinion.

Therefore, in seeking a way out of the difficulty, two questions had to be eliminated from discus-

sion. First of all, no hostility was to be shown towards the Entente Powers; secondly, the most important thing of all was to remain, heart and soul, loyal to the Padisah-Caliph.

Considered Means for Salvation

Now, Gentlemen, I will ask you what decision could have been arrived at under such circumstances for salvation?

As I have already explained, there were three propositions that had been put forward:

1. To demand protection from England;
2. To accept the United States of America as a mandatory Power.

The originators of these two proposals had as their aim the preservation of the Ottoman Empire in its complete integrity and preferred to place it as a whole under the protection of a single Power, rather than allow it to be divided among several States.

3. The third proposal was to deliver the country by allowing each district to act in its own way and according to its own capability. Thus, for instance, certain districts, in opposition to the theory of separation, endeavoured to remain an integral part of the Empire. Others holding a different opinion already appeared to regard the dismemberment of the Empire as an accomplished fact and sought only their own safety.

My above explanations are inclusive of the leading motives of these three kinds of propositions.

My Decision

I did not think any of these three proposals could be accepted as sagacious, because the arguments and considerations on which they were based were groundless. In reality, the foundations of the Ottoman Empire were themselves shattered at that time. Its existence was threatened with extermination. All the Ottoman districts were practically dismembered. Only the fatherland, affording protection to a mere handful of Turks, still remained, and it was now suggested also to divide this. Such expressions as: the Ottoman Empire, Independence, Padisah-Caliph, Government—all of them were mere meaningless words.

Whose existence was it essential to save? And with whose help? And how?

Therefore, what could be a serious and correct resolution?

In these circumstances, one resolution alone was possible, namely, to create a New Turkish State, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognized.

This was the resolution we adopted before we left Istanbul and which we began to put into execution immediately after we set foot on Anadolu soil at Samsun.

Independence or Death

These were the most logical and most powerful arguments in support of this resolution:

The foundational principle is that the Turkish nation should live in honour and dignity. Such a condition can only be attained by complete independence. No matter how wealthy and prosperous a nation is, if it is deprived of its independence it no longer deserves to be regarded otherwise than as a slave in the eyes of civilised world.

To accept the protectorate of a foreign Power is to admit lack of all human qualities, weakness and incapacity. It is not at all thinkable that those who have never been in such a humiliating state, will appoint a foreign master out of their own desire.

But the Turk is both dignified and proud; he is also capable and talented. Such a nation will prefer to perish rather than subject itself to the life of a slave.

Therefore, Independence or Death!

This was the rallying cry of all those who honestly desired to save their country.

Let us suppose for a moment that in trying to accomplish this we had failed. What would have been the result?—Why slavery!

In that case, would not the consequence have been the same if we had submitted to the other proposals?

Undoubtedly, it would; but with this difference, that a nation that defies death in its struggle for independence drives comfort from the thought that it had resolved to make every sacrifice compatible with human dignity. There is no doubt whatever that in the eyes of both friend and foe throughout the world its position is more respected than would be that of a craven and degraded nation capable of surrendering itself to the yoke of slavery.

Moreover, to labour for the maintenance of the Ottoman dynasty and its sovereign would have

been to inflict the greatest harm upon the Turkish nation; for, if its independence could have been secured at the price of every possible sacrifice, it could not have been regarded as secure so long as the Sultanate existed. How could it be deemed permissible that a crowd of madmen, united by neither a moral nor a spiritual bond to the country or the nation as a whole, could still be trusted to protect the independence and the dignity of the nation and the State?

As for the Caliphate, it would only have been the laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilised world, enjoying the blessings of science and technology.

As you see, in order to carry out our resolution, questions had to be dealt with about which the nation had hitherto known practically nothing. It was imperative that questions which were considered dangerous to discuss publicly be discussed openly.

We were compelled to rebel against the Ottoman Government, against the Padişah, against the Caliph of all Muslims, and we had to bring the whole nation and the army into a state of rebellion.

Dividing the Implementation into Stages and Reaching the Aim by Degrees

It was essential that the entire nation take up arms against whoever would venture to attack the fatherland of Turks and Turkish independence. It would undoubtedly have been of little advantage if we had made clear to the public at the very beginning all the implications of a resolution of such far-reaching importance. On the contrary, it was necessary to proceed by stages, utilizing all opportunities to prepare the feeling and the spirit of the nation and to try to reach our aim by degrees. This is actually what happened. If our attitude and our actions during nine years are examined in their logical sequence, however, it becomes evident that our general behaviour has never deviated from the lines laid down in our original resolution, nor from the purpose we had set out to achieve.

In order to dispel any doubts which might be entertained, one fact is urged upon us for mutual examination.

As the national struggle, carried on for the sole purpose of delivering the country from foreign invasion, developed and was crowned with success, it was natural and inevitable that it would gradually, step by step to the present day, have established all

the principles and forms essential in government founded on national sovereignty. The sovereign of the dynasty who, thanks to his traditional instincts, foresaw this fatal course of historical events, declared himself from the very beginning the most embittered enemy of the national struggle. I, also from the first moment on, anticipated this historical progress. But I did not disclose all of my views although I have maintained them all the time. If I had spoken too much about future prospects our realistic endeavours would have been looked upon as dreams; and consequently from the outset it would have caused the alienation of those who—discouraged by the closeness of dangers that threatened from without—were fearful of possible changes which would be contrary to their tradition, their way of thinking and their psychology. The only practical and safe road to success lay in dealing with each problem at the right time. This was the way to ensure the development and restoration of the nation. This was how I acted. This practical and safe way to success, however, caused certain differences of opinion between me and some individuals reputed to be my most intimate co-workers sometimes in regard to principles, at other times as to the method and the execution of our programme and it even caused friction between us that led to discouragement, and dissension. Some of my companions who had entered into the national fight with me went over to the opposition, according as the limitation of their own mental appreciation led them and their moral courage succumbed in the effort to develop national life, to proclaim the Republic and enact its laws. So that you may be informed, so that the public opinion be enlightened, I shall refer to these cases individually as I proceed with my statement.

National Secret

To summarize what I have been saying, I may add that it was incumbent upon me to develop our entire social organisation, step by step, until it corresponded to the great capability of progress which I perceived in the soul and future of the nation and which I kept to myself in my own consciousness as a national secret.

Contact with the Army

My first object now, Gentlemen, was to get into touch with the whole Army.

In a telegram in cipher, on the 21st May, 1919, I told the commander of the XVth Army Corps at Erzurum that I was greatly distressed at the seriousness of our general situation; that I had accepted my present position in the certainty that it would be possible to fulfil our highest duty towards the nation and the country if we worked together with all our strength; that although I had wanted to go to Erzurum before this, I was obliged to remain for a few days longer at Samsun, because serious events were threatening the position there, which was very uncertain. I further asked him, if he thought it necessary, to keep me well informed about anything I ought to know.

In fact, the position had been made considerably worse by attacks that had been made by Greek bands against the Muslims at Samsun and its surroundings, as well as many difficulties that had been placed in the way of the local government by foreign interference, the former being incapable of rendering any resistance.

Whilst I was undertaking steps to secure the appointment of a person well known to us and from whom we expected a great deal as Mutasarrif of Samsun, I was provisionally appointed the commander of the XIIIth Army Corps Governor of Canik. Besides this, we took all steps that were possible on the spot itself: that is to say, we enlightened the population as to the real state of affairs and told them that they need not be alarmed about foreign bodies of troops or their officers being among them, and to do nothing to resist them. The formation of national organisations was immediately undertaken in this district.

On the 23rd May, 1919, I informed the commander of the XXth Army Corps at Ankara that I had arrived at Samsun and would keep in close touch with him. I requested him to inform me about everything he could ascertain concerning the district of Izmir.

Before I had left Istanbul I had turned my attention to the position of this Army Corps. It had been suggested that it should be transported by rail from the south to the district of Ankara, but being well aware of the resistance attending this, I asked Cevat Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, during the days preceding my departure from Istanbul to lead the Army Corps to Ankara on foot, in case the transport by rail would involve any delay. For this purpose, I inquired in the telegram

in cipher I have already mentioned, whether all the units belonging to the XXth Army Corps would succeed in reaching Ankara. After having added certain information about the district of Canik, I announced that in a few days I would be going with my Staff from Samsun to Havza for some time and that I hoped, in any case, to receive the required information before my departure.

In his reply, which arrived three days later, on the 26th May, the commander of the XXth Army Corps reported that he had not received any regular communication from Izmir; that the occupation of Manisa had been reported by telegraph office employees, that the detachments belonging to the Army Corps stationed at Eregli had already left on foot as it was impossible to transport them by rail, but that, because of the great distance they had to march, it was uncertain when they would arrive.

In the same telegram the commander of the Corps remarked that the actual strength of the 23rd Division at Afyonkarahisar was low and that for this reason all the men that could be mustered had been ordered to join this division. He added that news had recently been received about local unrest in the districts of Kastamonu and Kayseri, and that he would keep me well informed.

In a dispatch dated the 27th May, 1919, from Havza, I ordered the commander of the XXth Army Corps and the Army Inspection at Konya, under whose command this Corps was, to inform me from what sources the reinforcements destined for the division at Afyonkarahisar were being drawn; whether there was any practical possibility of reinforcing them and what in the present circumstances their duty would be.

On the 28th May the commander of the Corps gave me the information. I had been awaiting: "In case of any attempt at occupation by the enemy, the 23rd Division will not surrender its position, but if it is attacked it will defend it, recruiting reinforcements from among the inhabitants."

On the 30th May the Inspector of the Army replied: "While maintaining order and security at Karahisar at the same time, the 23rd Division will resist any attempt at occupation with all the means at their disposition." He reported that he was making all preparations and that he was trying to collect reinforcements at Konya, but that it had no name or title.

In my telegram to the Army Inspector, I had said: "Rumours are in circulation about the raising of an army at Konya which is called the 'Patriotic Army'. What is its composition and how is it organised?" I asked this question, because I wanted to encourage it and hasten it on. I received the reply I have already mentioned in response to this question.

The commander of the Corps had replied to the same question, saying that he knew nothing about the formation of a "Patriotic Army" at Konya.

On the 1st of June I informed the commanders of the XVth Army Corps at Erzurum, of the IIIrd at Samsun and of the XIIIth at Diyarbakir of the intelligence that had reached me through my communication with the XXth Army Corps and the Inspection at Konya, as far as it concerned them.

I had received no information about the troops in Trakya or their commander and had, therefore, applied to Cevat Pasha, Chief of the General Staff in Istanbul, in a telegram in cipher on the 16th June, 1919, (I had arranged a private cipher personally with Cevat Pasha before I left), asking him to tell me who was in command of the Army Corps at Edirne and where Cafer Tayyar Bey was. On the 17th June, Cevat Pasha replied: "I have been informed that Cafer Tayyar is at Edirne in command of the 1st Army Corps."

The report I sent in cipher on the 18th June, 1919, to Cafer Tayyar Bey, commanding the 1st Army Corps at Edirne, mainly contained the following: "You are aware of the actions the Entente Powers, which strangle our national independence and the way for the disintegration of our country; you have also heard of the servile and apathetic attitude of the Government"

"To confide the fate of the nation to the hands of a Government of this type means to abandon it to ruin."

"It has been decided to set up an energetic assembly at Sivas—which is a safe place—for the purpose of bringing together the national organisation of Trakya and Anadolu, so that they can boldly proclaim the voice of the nation before the whole world."

"The League of Trakya-Pasaeli may have a representative corporation in Istanbul, but they are not provided with full powers."

"When I was in Istanbul I spoke to several members of the Trakya League. Now is the time

for us to begin. After you have spoken in confidence to these people you will immediately begin to form the necessary organisations. Send one or two competent men to me as delegates. Before they arrive send me a telegram in cipher, signed by yourself, giving me authority to uphold the rights of the Vilayet of Edirne.”

“I have sworn by everything I hold sacred that I shall work loyally and devotedly with the nation until we have gained our complete independence. I have firmly resolved not to leave Anadolu.”

In order to raise the spirits of the inhabitants of Trakya, I added the following: “From one end to

the other of Anadolu the population is united. All decisions are taken jointly by all the commanders and our comrades. Nearly all the Valis and Mutasarrifs are on our side. The national organisation in Anadolu comprises every district and community. The propaganda aiming at the erection of an independent Kurdistan under English protectorate has been successfully countered and the followers of this movement have been dispersed. The Kurds have joined the Turks.”

Source: Internet Atatürk Library, Ministry of Education, Ankara, Turkey. <http://ataturk.turkiye.org/soylev/spchtm/spcsh-1.htm>.

RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Lease of Port Arthur (1898)

Manchuria, a vast and resource-rich province in northeastern China, was coveted by both Russia and Japan. As the only year-round, ice-free harbor in the province, Port Arthur (now Lüshun) was of especial interest to both expanding empires. Through bullying a weakened Chinese government and bribing the right officials, Russia was able to win a twenty-five-year lease on the harbor and the rights to build a railroad that would connect it to the trans-Siberian railway. In 1904, the Japanese would launch a surprise naval attack against the port, eventually winning it in the Treaty of Portsmouth that ended the Russo-Japanese war in 1905.

Article I. It being necessary for the due protection of her navy in the waters of North China that Russia should possess a station she can defend, the Emperor of China agrees to lease to Russia Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan, together with the adjacent seas, but on the understanding that such lease shall not prejudice China's sovereignty over this territory. . . .

Article III. The duration of the lease shall be twenty-five years from the day this treaty is signed, but may be extended by mutual agreement between Russia and China.

Article IV. The control of all military forces in the territory leased by Russia, and of all naval forces in the adjacent seas, as well as of the civil officials in it, shall be vested in one high Russian official, who shall, however, be designated by some title other than Governor-General (Tsungtu) or

Governor (Hsün-fu). All Chinese military forces shall, without exception, be withdrawn from the territory, but it shall remain optional with the ordinary Chinese inhabitants either to remain or to go; and no coercion shall be used towards them in this matter. . . .

Article VI. The two nations agree that Port Arthur shall be a naval port for the sole use of Russian and Chinese men-of-war, and be considered as an unopened port so far as the naval and mercantile vessels of other nations are concerned. As regards Ta-lien-wan, one portion of the harbour shall be reserved exclusively for Russian and Chinese men-of-war, just like Port Arthur, but the remainder shall be a commercial port freely open to the merchant vessels of all countries.

Article VII. Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan are the points in the territory leased most important for Russian military purposes. Russia shall, therefore, be at liberty to erect, at her own expense, forts, and build barracks and provide defences at such places as she desires.

Article VIII. China agrees that the procedure sanctioned in 1896 regarding the construction of railroads by the Board of the Eastern China Railway shall, from the date of the signature of this treaty, be extended so as to include the construction of a branch line to Ta-lien-wan, or, if necessary, in view of the interests involved, of a branch line to the most suitable point on the coast between Newchang and the Yalu River. Further, the agreement entered into in September 1896 between the Chinese Government and the Russo-Chinese Bank shall also apply with equal strength to this branch line. The direction of this

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branch and the places it shall touch shall be arranged between Hsu Ta-jen and the Board of the Eastern Railroads. The construction of this line shall never, however, be made a ground for

encroaching on the sovereignty or integrity of China.

Source: "Vladimir." Russia on the Pacific and the Siberian Railway. London, 1899.

SPANISH EMPIRE

Privileges and Prerogatives Granted by Their Catholic Majesties to Christopher Columbus (1492)

To finance his costly expeditions westward across the ocean to East Asia in 1492, Christopher Columbus won the backing of the king and queen of Spain. In this letter, the twin monarchs offer Columbus the post of admiral. More notable, they describe his mission as one of discovery and conquest, a rather remarkable chore given the fact that his destination was China, one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations on Earth at the time.

FERDINAND and ISABELLA, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Minorca, of Sevil, of Sardinia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algezira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lord and Lady of Biscay and Molina, Duke and Duchess of Athens and Neopatria. Count and Countess of Rousillion and Cerdaigne, Marquess and Marchioness of Oristan and Gociano, &c.

For as much as you, *Christopher Columbus*, are going by our command, with some of our vessels and men, to discover and subdue some Islands and Continent in the ocean, and it is hoped that by God's assistance, some of the said Islands and Continent in the ocean will be discovered and conquered by your means and conduct, therefore it is but just and reasonable, that since you expose yourself to such danger to serve us, you should be rewarded for it. And we being willing to honour and favour You for the reasons aforesaid: Our will

is, That you, *Christopher Columbus*, after discovering and conquering the said Islands and Continent in the said ocean, or any of them, shall be our Admiral of the said Islands and Continent you shall so discover and conquer; and that you be our Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour in them, and that for the future, you may call and stile yourself, D. *Christopher Columbus*, and that your sons and successors in the said employment, may call themselves Dons, Admirals, Vice-Roys, and Governours of them; and that you may exercise the office of Admiral, with the charge of Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, which you and your Lieutenants shall conquer, and freely decide all causes, civil and criminal, appertaining to the said employment of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as you shall think fit in justice, and as the Admirals of our kingdoms use to do; and that you have power to punish offenders; and you and your Lieutenants exercise the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, in all things belonging to the said offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquisites and salaries belonging to the said employments, and to each of them, in the same manner as the High Admiral of our kingdoms does. And by this our letter, or a copy of it signed by a *Public Notary*: We command Prince *John*, our most dearly beloved Son, the Infants, Dukes, Prelates, Marquesses, Great Masters and Military Orders, Priors, Commendaries, our Counsellors, Judges, and other Officers of Justice whatsoever, belonging Courts, and Chancery, and Constables of Castles, Strong Houses, and others; and all Corporations, Bayliffs, Governours, Judges, Commanders, Sea Officers; and the Aldermen,

Common Council, Officers, and Good People of all Cities, Lands, and Places in our Kingdoms and Dominions, and in those you shall conquer and subdue, and the captains masters, mates, and other officers and sailors, our natural subjects now being, or that shall be for the time to come, and any of them that when you shall have discovered the said Islands and Continent in the ocean; and you, or any that shall have your commission, shall have taken the usual oath in such cases, that they for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your son and heir, and so from one heir to another forever, as our Admiral on our said Ocean, and as Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, by you, *Christopher Columbus*, discovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your Lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as such in all respects, and give you all the perquisites and other things belonging and appertaining to the said offices; and allow, and cause to be allowed you, all the honours, graces, concessions, prehaminences, prerogatives, immunities, and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by virtue of your commands of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, and to be observed completely, so that nothing be diminished; and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor suffer it to be made; forasmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, bestow on you the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and perpetual Governour forever; and we put you into possession of the said offices, and of every of them, and full power to use and exercise them, and to receive the perquisites and salaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was said above. Concerning all which things, if it be requisite, and you shall desire it, We command our Chancellour, Notaries, and other Officers, to pass, seal, and deliver to you, our Letter of Privilege, in such form and legal manner, as you shall require or stand in need of. And that none of them presume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our displeasure, and forfeiture of 30 ducats for each offence. And we command him, who shall show them this our Letter, that he summon them to appear before us at our Court, where we shall then be, within fifteen days after such summons, under the said penalty. Under which same, we also command any Public Notary whatsoever, that he give to him that shows

it him, a certificate under his seal, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

GIVEN at *Granada*, on the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord, 1492.

I, THE KING, I, THE QUEEN.

By their Majesties Command,

John Coloma

Secretary to the King and Queen.

Entered according to order.

RODERICK. Doctor.

SEBASTIAN DOLONA,

FRANCIS DE MADRID,

Councillors.

Registered

Source: Thorpe, Francis Newton. *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909.

Columbus's Letter to the King and Queen of Spain (1494)

As this letter from Christopher Columbus to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain indicates, the primary concern behind the settlement of the island of Hispaniola (spelled Espanola in the letter) was the discovery and processing of the gold that Columbus believed to be abundant on the island. In fact, Hispaniola had very little gold, and many of the native people were worked to death over the coming decade by the Spanish in the latter's futile quest to find deposits. Eventually, almost the entire native population of Hispaniola would die out, most from European disease and overwork.

Most High and Mighty Sovereigns,

In obedience to your Highnesses' commands, and with submission to superior judgment, I will say whatever occurs to me in reference to the colonization and commerce of the Island of Espanola, and of the other islands, both those already discovered and those that may be discovered hereafter.

In the first place, as regards the Island of Espanola: Inasmuch as the number of colonists who desire to go thither amounts to two thousand, owing to the land being safer and better for farming and trading, and because it will serve as a place

to which they can return and from which they can carry on trade with the neighboring islands:

1. That in the said island there shall be founded three or four towns, situated in the most convenient places, and that the settlers who are there be assigned to the aforesaid places and towns.

2. That for the better and more speedy colonization of the said island, no one shall have liberty to collect gold in it except those who have taken out colonists' papers, and have built houses for their abode, in the town in which they are, that they may live united and in greater safety.

3. That each town shall have its *alcalde* [Mayor] . . . and its notary public, as is the use and custom in Castile.

4. That there shall be a church, and parish priests or friars to administer the sacraments, to perform divine worship, and for the conversion of the Indians.

5. That none of the colonists shall go to seek gold without a license from the governor or *alcalde* of the town where he lives; and that he must first take oath to return to the place whence he sets out, for the purpose of registering faithfully all the gold he may have found, and to return once a month, or once a week, as the time may have been set for him, to render account and show the quantity of said gold; and that this shall be written down by the notary before the *alcalde*, or, if it seems better, that a friar or priest, deputed for the purpose, shall be also present

6. That all the gold thus brought in shall be smelted immediately, and stamped with some mark that shall distinguish each town; and that the portion which belongs to your Highnesses shall be weighed, and given and consigned to each *alcalde* in his own town, and registered by the above-mentioned priest or friar, so that it shall not pass through the hands of only one person, and there shall be no opportunity to conceal the truth.

7. That all gold that may be found without the mark of one of the said towns in the possession of any one who has once registered in accordance with the above order shall be taken as forfeited, and that the accuser shall have one portion of it and your Highnesses the other.

8. That one per centum of all the gold that may be found shall be set aside for building churches and adorning the same, and for the support of the priests or friars belonging to them; and, if it

should be thought proper to pay any thing to the *alcaldes* or notaries for their services, or for ensuring the faithful perforce of their duties, that this amount shall be sent to the governor or treasurer who may be appointed there by your Highnesses.

9. As regards the division of the gold, and the share that ought to be reserved for your Highnesses, this, in my opinion, must be left to the aforesaid governor and treasurer, because it will have to be greater or less according to the quantity of gold that may be found. Or, should it seem preferable, your Highnesses might, for the space of one year, take one half, and the collector the other, and a better arrangement for the division be made afterward.

10. That if the said *alcaldes* or notaries shall commit or be privy to any fraud, punishment shall be provided, and the same for the colonists who shall not have declared all the gold they have.

11. That in the said island there shall be a treasurer, with a clerk to assist him, who shall receive all the gold belonging to your Highnesses, and the *alcaldes* and notaries of the towns shall each keep a record of what they deliver to the said treasurer.

12. As, in the eagerness to get gold, every one will wish, naturally, to engage in its search in preference to any other employment, it seems to me that the privilege of going to look for gold ought to be withheld during some portion of each year, that there may be opportunity to have the other business necessary for the island performed.

13. In regard to the discovery of new countries, I think permission should be granted to all that wish to go, and more liberality used in the matter of the fifth, making the tax easier, in some fair way, in order that many may be disposed to go on voyages.

I will now give my opinion about ships going to the said Island of Espanola, and the order that should be maintained; and that is, that the said ships should only be allowed to discharge in one or two ports designated for the purpose, and should register there whatever cargo they bring or unload; and when the time for their departure comes, that they should sail from these same ports, and register all the cargo they take in, that nothing may be concealed.

- In reference to the transportation of gold from the island to Castile, that all of it

should be taken on board the ship, both that belonging to your Highnesses and the property of every one else; that it should all be placed in one chest with two locks, with their keys, and that the master of the vessel keep one key and some person selected by the governor and treasurer the other; that there should come with the gold, for a testimony, a list of all that has been put into the said chest, properly marked, so that each owner may receive his own; and that, for the faithful performance of this duty, if any gold whatsoever is found outside of the said chest in any way, be it little or much, it shall be forfeited to your Highnesses.

- That all the ships that come from the said island shall be obliged to make their proper discharge in the port of Cadiz, and that no person shall disembark or other person be permitted to go on board until the ship has been visited by the person or persons deputed for that purpose, in the said city, by your Highnesses, to whom the master shall show all that he carries, and exhibit the manifest of all the cargo, it may be seen and examined if the said ship brings any thing hidden and not known at the time of lading.
- That the chest in which the said gold has been carried shall be opened in the presence of the magistrates of the said city of Cadiz, and of the person deputed for that purpose by your Highnesses, and his own property be given to each owner.

I beg your Highnesses to hold me in your protection; and I remain, praying our Lord God for your Highnesses' lives and the increase of much greater States.

Source: Florida A & M University website: www.famu.edu/acad/colleges/cas/histpol/eidahl/Spring/WOH1022/Columbus2.html.

Hernan Cortés: Letter to Charles V (1520)

The Aztec city of Tenochtitlan (Cortés calls it Temixtitlan) was the largest city in the Americas, and among the largest in the world, when first encountered by Hernan Cortés in 1520. While Cortés was

impressed with the technology and architecture of the city, it is also clear that he considered the Aztec religion a form of idolatry. Within several years, Cortés would return to the great Aztec capital as a conqueror. Justifying his conquest as spreading the true faith, he destroyed many of the temples and subjected the native inhabitants of Mexico to Spanish rule for nearly 300 years.

In order, most potent Sire, to convey to your Majesty a just conception of the great extent of this noble city of Temixtitlan, and of the many rare and wonderful objects it contains; of the government and dominions of Moctezuma, the sovereign; of the religious rights and customs that prevail, and the order that exists in this as well as the other cities appertaining to his realm; it would require the labor of many accomplished writers, and much time for the completion of the task. I shall not be able to relate an hundredth part of what could be told respecting these matters; but I will endeavor to describe, in the best manner in my power, what I have myself seen; and imperfectly as I may succeed in the attempt, I am fully aware that the account will appear so wonderful as to be deemed scarcely worthy of credit; since even we who have seen these things with our own eyes, are yet so amazed as to be unable to comprehend their reality. But your Majesty may be assured that if there is any fault in my relation, either in regard to the present subject, or to any other matters of which I shall give your Majesty an account, it will arise from too great brevity rather than extravagance or prolixity in the details; and it seems to me but just to my Prince and Sovereign to declare the truth in the clearest manner, without saying anything that would detract from it, or add to it.

Before I begin to describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well for the better understanding of the subject to say something of the configuration of Mexico, in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Moctezuma's power. This Province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains; its level surface comprises an area of about seventy leagues in circumference, including two lakes, that overspread nearly the whole valley, being navigated by boats more than fifty leagues round. One of these lakes contains fresh and the other, which is the larger of the two,

salt water. On one side of the lakes, in the middle of the valley, a range of highlands divides them from one another, with the exception of a narrow strait which lies between the highlands and the lofty sierras. This strait is a bow-shot wide, and connects the two lakes; and by this means a trade is carried on between the cities and other settlements on the lakes in canoes without the necessity of traveling by land. As the salt lake rises and falls with its tides like the sea, during the time of high water it pours into the other lake with the rapidity of a powerful stream; and on the other hand, when the tide has ebbed, the water runs from the fresh into the salt lake.

This great city of Temixtitlan is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordoba; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges, composed of large pieces of timber, of great strength and well put together; on many of these bridges ten horses can go abreast. Foreseeing that if the inhabitants of the city should prove treacherous, they would possess great advantages from the manner in which the city is constructed, since by removing the bridges at the entrances, and abandoning the place, they could leave us to perish by famine without our being able to reach the main land, as soon as I had entered it, I made great haste to build four brigantines, which were soon finished, and were large enough to take ashore three hundred men and the horses, whenever it should become necessary.

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of

life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. There is a street for game, where every variety of birds in the country are sold, as fowls, partridges, quails, wild ducks, fly-catchers, widgeons, turtledoves, pigeons, reed-birds, parrots, sparrows, eagles, hawks, owls, and kestrels; they sell likewise the skins of some birds of prey, with their feathers, head, beak, and claws. There are also sold rabbits, hares, deer, and little dogs, which are raised for eating. There is also an herb street, where may be obtained all sorts of roots and medicinal herbs that the country affords. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restaurateurs, that furnish food and drink at a certain price. There is also a class of men like those called in Castile porters, for carrying burdens. Wood and coal are seen in abundance, and braziers of earthenware for burning coals; mats of various kinds for beds, others of a lighter sort for seats, and for halls and bedrooms.

There are all kinds of green vegetables, especially onions, leeks, garlic, watercress, nasturtium, borage, sorrel, artichokes, and golden thistle; fruits also of numerous descriptions, amongst which are cherries and plums, similar to those in Spain; honey and wax from bees, and from the stalks of maize, which are as sweet as the sugarcane; honey is also extracted from the plant called maguey, which is superior to sweet or new wine; from the same plant they extract sugar and wine, which they also sell. Different kinds of cotton thread of all colors in skeins are exposed for sale in one quarter of the market, which has the appearance of the silk-market at Granada, although the former is supplied more abundantly. Painters' colors, as numerous as can be found in Spain, and as fine shades; deerskins dressed and undressed, dyed different colors; earthen-ware of a large size and excellent quality; large and small jars, jugs, pots, bricks, and endless variety of vessels, all made of fine clay, and all or most of them glazed and painted; maize or Indian corn, in the grain and in the form of bread, preferred in the grain for

its flavor to that of the other islands and terra-firma; patés of birds and fish; great quantities of fish—fresh, salt, cooked and uncooked; the eggs of hens, geese, and of all the other birds I have mentioned, in great abundance, and cakes made of eggs; finally, everything that can be found throughout the whole country is sold in the markets, comprising articles so numerous that to avoid prolixity, and because their names are not retained in my memory, or are unknown to me, I shall not attempt to enumerate them.

Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true.

This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses, for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use, besides the houses containing the idols, there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others.

Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred

families. Around the interior of the enclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are fully forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal tower of the church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood-work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions.

Three halls are in this grand temple, which contain the principal idols; these are of wonderful extent and height, and admirable workmanship, adorned with figures sculptured in stone and wood; leading from the halls are chapels with very small doors, to which the light is not admitted, nor are any persons except the priests, and not all of them. In these chapels are the images of idols, although, as I have before said, many of them are also found on the outside; the principal ones, in which the people have greatest faith and confidence, I precipitated from their pedestals, and cast them down the steps of the temple, purifying the chapels in which they had stood, as they were all polluted with human blood, shed ill the sacrifices. In the place of these I put images of Our Lady and the Saints, which excited not a little feeling in Moctezuma and the inhabitants, who at first remonstrated, declaring that if my proceedings were known throughout the country, the people would rise against me; for they believed that their idols bestowed on them all temporal good, and if they permitted them to be ill-treated, they would be angry and without their gifts, and by this means the people would be deprived of the fruits of the earth and perish with famine. I answered, through the interpreters, that they were deceived in expecting any favors from idols, the work of their own hands, formed of unclean things; and that they must learn there was but one God, the universal Lord of all, who had created the heavens and earth, and all things else, and had made them and us; that He was without beginning and immortal,

and they were bound to adore and believe Him, and no other creature or thing.

I said everything to them I could to divert them from their idolatries, and draw them to a knowledge of God our Lord. Moctezuma replied, the others assenting to what he said, "That they had already informed me they were not the aborigines of the country, but that their ancestors had emigrated to it many years ago; and they fully believed that after so long an absence from their native land, they might have fallen into some errors; that I having more recently arrived must know better than themselves what they ought to believe; and that if I would instruct them in these matters, and make them understand the true faith, they would follow my directions, as being for the best."

Afterwards, Moctezuma and many of the principal citizens remained with me until I had removed the idols, purified the chapels, and placed the images in them, manifesting apparent pleasure; and I forbade them sacrificing human beings to their idols as they had been accustomed to do; because, besides being abhorrent in the sight of God, your sacred Majesty had prohibited it by law, and commanded to put to death whoever should take the life of another. Thus, from that time, they refrained from the practice, and during the whole period of my abode in that city, they were never seen to kill or sacrifice a human being.

The figures of the idols in which these people believe surpass in stature a person of more than ordinary size; some of them are composed of a mass of seeds and leguminous plants, such as are used for food, ground and mixed together, and kneaded with the blood of human hearts taken from the breasts of living persons, from which a paste is formed in a sufficient quantity to form large statues. When these are completed they make them offerings of the hearts of other victims, which they sacrifice to them, and besmear their faces with the blood. For everything they have an idol, consecrated by the use of the nations that in ancient times honored the same gods. Thus they have an idol that they petition for victory in war; another for success in their labors; and so for everything in which they seek or desire prosperity, they have their idols, which they honor and serve.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses; which may be accounted for from the fact, that all the nobility of the country, who are

the vassals of Moctezuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have others, both upper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of these causeways that lead into the city are laid two pipes, constructed of masonry, each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. An abundant supply of excellent water, forming a volume equal in bulk to the human body, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drink and other purposes. The other pipe, in the meantime, is kept empty until the former requires to be cleansed, when the water is let into it and continues to be used till the cleaning is finished. As the water is necessarily carried over bridges on account of the salt water crossing its route, reservoirs resembling canals are constructed on the bridges, through which the fresh water is conveyed. These reservoirs are of the breadth of the body of an ox, and of the same length as the bridges. The whole city is thus served with water, which they carry in canoes through all the streets for sale, taking it from the aqueduct in the following manner: the canoes pass under the bridges on which the reservoirs are placed, when men stationed above fill them with water, for which service they are paid. At all the entrances of the city, and in those parts where the canoes are discharged, that is, where the greatest quantity of provisions is brought in, huts are erected, and persons stationed as guards, who receive a certain sum of everything that enters. I know not whether the sovereign receives this duty or the city, as I have not yet been informed; but I believe that it appertains to the sovereign, as in the markets of other provinces a tax is collected for the benefit of the cacique.

In all the markets and public places of this city are seen daily many laborers waiting for some one to hire them. The inhabitants of this city pay a greater regard to style in their mode of dress and politeness of manners than those of the other provinces and cities; since, as the Cacique Moctezuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in constant habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor

necessarily prevails. But not to be prolix in describing what relates to the affairs of this great city, although it is with difficulty I refrain from proceeding, I will say no more than that the manners of the people, as shown in their intercourse with one another, are marked by as great an attention to the proprieties of life as in Spain, and good order is equally well observed; and considering that they are barbarous people, without the knowledge of God, having no intercourse with civilized nations, these traits of character are worthy of admiration.

In regard to the domestic appointments of Moctezuma, and the wonderful grandeur and state that he maintains, there is so much to be told, that I assure your Highness I know not where to begin my relation, so as to be able to finish any part of it. For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful than a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers; the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world; the stone work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used; and the feather work superior to the finest productions in wax or embroidery. The extent of Moctezuma's dominions has not been ascertained, since to whatever point he dispatched his messengers, even two hundred leagues from his capital, his commands were obeyed, although some of his provinces were in the midst of countries with which he was at war. But as nearly as I have been able to learn, his territories are equal in extent to Spain itself, for he sent messengers to the inhabitants of a city called Cumatan (requiring them to become subjects of your Majesty), which is sixty leagues beyond that part of Putunchan watered by the river Grijalva, and two hundred and thirty leagues distant from the great city; and I sent some of our people a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues in the same direction.

All the principle chiefs of these provinces, especially those in the vicinity of the capital, reside, as I have already stated, the greater part of the year in that great city, and all or most of them have their oldest sons in the service of Moctezuma. There are fortified places in all the provinces, garrisoned with his own men, where are also stationed his

governors and collectors of the rents and tribute, rendered him by every province; and an account is kept of what each is obliged to pay, as they have characters and figures made on paper that are used for this purpose. Each province renders a tribute of its own peculiar productions, so that the sovereign receives a great variety of articles from different quarters. No prince was ever more feared by his subjects, both in his presence and absence. He possessed out of the city as well as within numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince and lord. Within the city his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent; I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them.

There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. There were likewise belonging to it ten pools of water, in which were kept the different species of water birds found in this country, of which there is a great variety, all of which are domesticated; for the sea birds there were pools of salt water, and for the river birds, of fresh water. The water is let off at certain times to keep it pure, and is replenished by means of pipes. Each species of bird is supplied with the food natural to it, which it feeds upon when wild. Thus fish is given to the birds that usually eat it; worms, maize, and the finer seeds, to such as prefer them. And I assure your Highness, that to the birds accustomed to eat fish there is given the enormous quantity of ten arrobas every day, taken in the salt lake. The emperor has three hundred men whose sole employment is to take care of these birds; and there are others whose only business is to attend to the birds that are in bad health.

Over the polls for the birds there are corridors and galleries, to which Moctezuma resorts, and from which he can look out and amuse himself with the sight of them. There is an apartment in the same palace in which are men, women and children, whose faces, bodies, hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes are white from their birth. The emperor has another very beautiful palace, with a large

court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board. There are also cages, about nine feet in height and six paces square, each of which was half covered with a roof of tiles, and the other half had over it a wooden grate, skillfully made. Every cage contained a bird of prey, of all the species found in Spain, from the kestrel to the eagle, and many unknown there. There was a great number of each kind; and in the covered part of the cages there was a perch, and another on the outside of the grating, the former of which the birds used in the night time, and when it rained; and the other enabled them to enjoy the sun and air. To all these birds fowls were daily given for food, and nothing else. There were in the same palace several large halls on the ground floor, filled with immense cages built of heavy pieces of timber, well put together, in all or most of which were kept lions, tigers, wolves, foxes, and a variety of animals of the cat kind, in great numbers, which were fed also on fowls. The care of these animals and birds was assigned to three hundred men. There was another palace that contained a number of men and women of monstrous size, and also dwarfs, and crooked and ill-formed persons, each of which had their separate apartments. These also had their respective keepers. As to the other remarkable things that the emperor had in his city for his amusement, I can only say that they were numerous and of various kinds.

He was served in the following manner: Every day as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat, or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartment where his person was. The servants and attendants of these nobles remained in the court-yards, of which there were two or three of great extent, and in the adjoining street, which was also very spacious. They all remained in attendance from morning until night; and when his meals were served, the nobles were likewise served with equal profusion, and their servants and secretaries also had their allowance. Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat or drink. The meals were served by three or four hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, fruits, and vegetables that the

country produced. As the climate is cold, they put a chafing-dish with live coals under every plate and dish, to keep them warm. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Moctezuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. During the meals there were present, at a little distance from him, five or six elderly caciques, to whom he presented some of the food. And there was constantly in attendance one of the servants, who arranged and handed the dishes, and who received from others whatever was wanted for the supply of the table.

Both at the beginning and end of every meal, they furnished water for the hands; and the napkins used on these occasions were never used a second time; this was the case also with the plates and dishes, which were not brought again, but new ones in place of them; it was the same also with the chafing-dishes. He is also dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enters his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. I am satisfied that it proceeds from respect, since certain caciques reproved the Spaniards for their boldness in addressing me, saying that it showed a want of becoming deference. Whenever Moctezuma appeared in public, which is seldom the case, all those who accompanied him, or whom he accidentally met in the streets, turned away without looking towards him, and others prostrated themselves until he had passed. One of the nobles always preceded him on these occasions, carrying three slender rods erect, which I suppose was to give notice of the approach of his person. And when they descended from the litters, he took one of them in his hand, and held it until he reached the place where he was going. So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Moctezuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a better memory than I have to recollect them; since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge

now exists; ever had so much ceremonial in his court.

Source: Thatcher, Oliver J., ed., *The Library of Original Sources: Volume V: 9th to 16th Centuries*. Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907, 317–326.

Hernan Cortés: Letter to Charles V (1521)

In these excerpts from a letter to the Emperor Charles V of Spain, the conquistador Hernan Cortés describes his meeting with the Aztec Emperor Moctezuma. As Cortés quotes Moctezuma, the Aztec leader believed that Cortés's coming to Mexico was a fulfillment of Aztec prophecy, whereby an emissary from the god Quetzalcoatl would arrive in the Aztec capital from the east. This mistaken belief in Cortés as a god weakened Aztec resolve and helped lead to the quick downfall of the vast military empire to a handful of Spanish soldiers and their native allies.

I followed the said causeway for about half a league before I came to the city proper of Temixtitlan. I found at the junction of another causeway, which joins this one from the mainland, another strong fortification, with two towers, surrounded by walls, twelve feet high with castellated tops. This commands the two roads, and has only two gates, by one of which they enter, and from the other they come out. About one thousand of the principal citizens came out to meet me, and speak to me, all richly dressed alike according to their fashion; and when they had come, each one in approaching me, and before speaking, would use a ceremony which is very common amongst them, putting his hand on the ground, and afterward kissing it, so that I was kept waiting almost an hour, until each had performed his ceremony. There is a wooden bridge, ten paces broad, in the very outskirts of the city, across an opening in the causeway, where the water may flow in and out as it rises and falls. This bridge is also for defense, for they remove and replace the long broad wooden beams, of which the bridge is made, whenever they wish; and there are many of these bridges in the city, as Your Highness will see in the account which I shall make of its affairs.

Having passed this bridge, we were received by that lord, Moctezuma, with about two hundred

chiefs, all barefooted and dressed in a kind of livery, very rich, according to their custom, and some more so than others. They approached in two processions near the walls of the street, which is very broad, and straight, and beautiful, and very uniform from one end to the other, being about two thirds of a league long, and having, on both sides, very large houses, both dwelling places, and mosques. Moctezuma came in the middle of the street, with two lords, one on the right side, and the other on the left, one of whom was the same great lord, who, as I said, came in that litter to speak with me, and the other was the brother of Moctezuma, lord of that city Iztapalapan, whence I had come that day. All were dressed in the same manner, except that Moctezuma was shod, and the other lords were barefooted. Each supported him below his arms, and as we approached each other, I descended from my horse, and was about to embrace him, but the two lords in attendance prevented me, with their hands, that I might not touch him, and they, and he also, made the ceremony of kissing the ground. This done, he ordered his brother who came with him, to remain with me, and take me by the arm, and the other attendant walked a little ahead of us. After he had spoken to me, all the other lords, who formed the two processions, also saluted me, one after the other, and then returned to the procession. When I approached to speak to Moctezuma, I took off a collar of pearls and glass diamonds, that I wore, and put it on his neck, and, after we had gone through some of the streets, one of his servants came with two collars, wrapped in a cloth, which were made of colored shells. These they esteem very much; and from each of the collars hung eight golden shrimps executed with great perfection and a span long. When he received them, he turned towards me, and put them on my neck, and again went on through the streets, as I have already indicated, until we came to a large and handsome house, which he had prepared for our reception. There he took me by the hand, and led me into a spacious room, in front of the court where we had entered, where he made me sit on a very rich platform, which had been ordered to be made for him, and told me to wait there; and then he went away.

After a little while, when all the people of my company were distributed to their quarter, he returned with many valuables of gold and silver

work, and five or six thousand pieces of rich cotton stuffs, woven, and embroidered in divers ways. After he had given them to me, he sat down on another platform, which they immediately prepared near the one where I was seated, and being seated he spoke in the following manner:

“We have known for a long time, from the chronicles of our forefathers, that neither I, nor those who inhabit this country, are descendants from the aborigines of it, but from strangers who came to it from very distant parts; and we also hold, that our race was brought to these parts by a lord, whose vassals they all were, and who returned to his native country, and had many descendants, and had built towns where they were living; when, therefore, he wished to take them away with him they would not go, nor still less receive him as their ruler, so he departed. And we have always held that those who descended from his would come to subjugate this country and us, as his vassals; and according to the direction from which you say you come, which is where the sun rises, and from what you tell us of your great lord, or king, who has sent you here, we believe, and hold for certain, that he is our rightful sovereign, especially as you tell us that since many days he has had news of us. Hence you may be sure, that we shall obey you, and hold you as the representative of this great lord of whom you speak, and that in this there will be no lack or deception; and throughout the whole country you may command at your will (I speak of what I possess in my dominions), because you will be obeyed, and recognized, and all we possess is at your disposal. Since you are in your rightful place, and in your own homes, rejoice and rest, free from all the trouble of the journey, and wars which you have had, for I am well aware of all that has happened to you, between Puntunchan and here, and I know very well, that the people of Cempoal, and Tascaltecal, have told you many evil things respecting me. Do not believe more than you see with your own eyes, especially from those who are my enemies, and were my vassals, yet rebelled against me on your coming (as they say), in order to help you. I know they have told you also that I have houses, with walls of gold, and that the furniture of my halls, and other things of my service, were also of gold, and that I am, or make myself, a god, and many other things. The houses you have seen are of lime and stone

and earth.” And then he held up his robes, and showing me his body he said to me, “Look at me, and see that I am flesh and bones, the same as you, and everybody, and that I am mortal, and tangible.” And touching his arms and body with his hands, “Look how they have lied to you! It is true indeed that I have some things of gold, which have been left to me by my forefathers. All that I possess, you may have whenever you wish. I shall now go to other houses where I live; but you will be provided here with everything necessary for you and your people, and you shall suffer no annoyance, for you are in your own house and country.”

I answered to all he said, certifying that which seemed to be suitable, especially in confirming his belief that it was Your Majesty whom they were expecting. After this, he took his leave, and, when he had gone, we were well provided with chickens, and bread, and fruits, and other necessities, especially such as were required for the service of our quarters. Thus I passed six days well provided with everything necessary, and visited by many of the lords.

Source: Thatcher, Oliver J., ed., *The Library of Original Sources, Volume V: 9th to 16th Centuries*. Milwaukee: University Research Extension Co., 1907, 317–326.

An Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico (circa 1528)

In 1519 Hernan Cortés sailed from Cuba, landed in Mexico, and made his way to the Aztec capital. Miguel Leon-Portilla, a Mexican anthropologist, gathered accounts by the Aztecs, some of which were written shortly after the conquest.

Speeches of Motecuhzoma and Cortés

When Motecuhzoma [Montezuma] had given necklaces to each one, Cortés asked him: “Are you Motecuhzoma? Are you the king? Is it true that you are the king Motecuhzoma?”

And the king said: “Yes, I am Motecuhzoma.” Then he stood up to welcome Cortés; he came forward, bowed his head low and addressed him in these words: “Our lord, you are weary. The journey has tired you, but now you have arrived on the earth. You have come to your city, Mexico. You have come here to sit on your throne, to sit under its canopy.

“The kings who have gone before, your representatives, guarded it and preserved it for your coming. The kings Itzcoatl, Motecuhzoma the Elder, Axayacatl, Tizoc and Ahuitzol ruled for you in the City of Mexico. The people were protected by their swords and sheltered by their shields.

“Do the kings know the destiny of those they left behind, their posterity? If only they are watching! If only they can see what I see!

“No, it is not a dream. I am not walking in my sleep. I am not seeing you in my dreams. . . . I have seen you at last! I have met you face to face! I was in agony for five days, for ten days, with my eyes fixed on the Region of the Mystery. And now you have come out of the clouds and mists to sit on your throne again.

“This was foretold by the kings who governed your city, and now it has taken place. You have come back to us; you have come down from the sky. Rest now, and take possession of your royal houses. Welcome to your land, my lords!”

When Motecuhzoma had finished, La Malinche translated his address into Spanish so that the Captain could understand it. Cortés replied in his strange and savage tongue, speaking first to La Malinche: “Tell Motecuhzoma that we are his friends. There is nothing to fear. We have wanted to see him for a long time, and now we have seen his face and heard his words. Tell him that we love him well and that our hearts are contented.”

Then he said to Motecuhzoma: “We have come to your house in Mexico as friends. There is nothing to fear.”

La Malinche translated this speech and the Spaniards grasped Motecuhzoma’s hands and patted his back to show their affection for him. . . .

Massacre in the Main Temple

During this time, the people asked Motecuhzoma how they should celebrate their god’s fiesta. He said: “Dress him in all his finery, in all his sacred ornaments.”

During this same time, The Sun commanded that Motecuhzoma and Itzcohuatzin, the military chief of Tlatelolco, be made prisoners. The Spaniards hanged a chief from Acolhuacan named Nezahualquenzin. They also murdered the king of Nauhtla, Cohualpopocatzin, by wounding him with arrows and then burning him alive.

For this reason, our warriors were on guard at the Eagle Gate. The sentries from Tenochtitlan

stood at one side of the gate, and the sentries from Tlatelolco at the other. But messengers came to tell them to dress the figure of Huitzilopochtli. They left their posts and went to dress him in his sacred finery: his ornaments and his paper clothing.

When this had been done, the celebrants began to sing their songs. That is how they celebrated the first day of the fiesta. On the second day they began to sing again, but without warning they were all put to death. The dancers and singers were completely unarmed. They brought only their embroidered cloaks, their turquoises, their lip plugs, their necklaces, their clusters of heron feathers, their trinkets made of deer hooves. Those who played the drums, the old men, had brought their gourds of snuff and their timbrels.

The Spaniards attacked the musicians first, slashing at their hands and faces until they had killed all of them. The singers—and even the spectators—were also killed. This slaughter in the Sacred Patio went on for three hours. Then the Spaniards burst into the rooms of the temple to kill the others: those who were carrying water, or bringing fodder for the horses, or grinding meal, or sweeping, or standing watch over this work.

The king Motecuhzoma, who was accompanied by Itzcohuatzin and by those who had brought food for the Spaniards, protested: “Our lords, that is enough! What are you doing? These people are not carrying shields or macanas. Our lords, they are completely unarmed!”

The Sun had treacherously murdered our people on the twentieth day after the captain left for the coast. We allowed the Captain to return to the city in peace. But on the following day we attacked him with all our might, and that was the beginning of the war.

Source: From Leon-Portilla, Miguel, ed. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1962, pp. 64–66, 129–131.

New Laws of the Indies (1542)

Following years of abuse and exploitation of the indigenous peoples living within the Spanish Empire in the Americas, the Spanish government issued a new law for their treatment. The laws guaranteed royal protection and justice for the Native Americans. Indeed, the new laws, excerpted here, were

considered overly indulgent by the colonial settlers and administrators of Spain's empire in the Americas, leading to protests. The viceroy of Peru was murdered by settlers when he tried to enforce the new laws too rigorously.

Charles by the divine clemency Emperor ever august . . . To the Most Illustrious Prince Don Philip our very dear and very beloved grandson and son, and to the Infantes our grandsons and sons, and to the President, and those of our Council of the Indies, and to our Viceroys, Presidents and Auditors of our Audiencias and royal Chanceries of our said Indies, Islands and Continent of the Ocean Sea; to our Governors, Alcaldes mayores and our other Authorities thereof, and to all the Councils, magistrates, regidores, knights, esquires, officers, and commoners of all the cities, towns, and villages of our said Indies, Islands, and Tierra-firme of the Ocean Sea, discovered and to be discovered; and to any other persons, captains, discoverers, settlers, and inhabitants dwelling in and being natives thereof, of whatever state, quality, condition and pre-eminence . . .

Know ye, That having for many years had will and intention as leisure to occupy ourselves with the affairs of the Indies, on account of their great importance, as well in that touching the service of God our Lord and increase of his holy Catholic faith, as in the preservation of the natives of those parts, and the good government and preservation of their persons; and although we have endeavoured to disengage ourselves to this effect, it has not been possible through the many and continual affairs that have occurred from which we were not able to excuse ourselves, and through the absences from these kingdoms which the King have made for most necessary causes, as is known to all: and although this incessant occupation has not ceased this present year, nevertheless we commanded persons to assemble of all ranks, both prelates and knights and the clergy with some of our Council to discuss and treat of the things of most importance, of which we had information that they ought to be provided for: the which having been maturely debated and consulted upon, and in presence of me the King divers times argued and discussed: and finally having taken the opinion of all, we resolved on commanding to enact and ordain the things contained below: which besides

the other Ordinances and Provisions that at different times we have commanded to be made, as by them shall appear, we command to be from hence-forwards kept inviolably as laws. . . .

Whereas one of the most important things in which the Audiencias are to serve us is in taking very especial care of the good treatment of the Indians and preservation of them, We command that the said Audiencias enquire continually into the excesses or ill treatment which are or shall be done to them by governors or private persons; and how the ordinances and instructions which have been given to them, and are made for the good treatment of the said Indians have been observed. And if there had been any excesses, on the part of the said Governors, or should any be committed hereafter, to take care that such excesses are properly corrected, chastizing the guilty parties with all rigour conformably to justice. The Audiencias must not allow that in the suits between Indians, or with them, there be ordinary proceedings at law, nor dilatory expedients, as is wont to happen through the malice of some advocates and solicitors, but that they be determined summarily, observing their usages and customs, unless they be manifestly unjust; and that the said Audiencias take care that this be so observed by the other, inferior judges.

Item, We ordain and command that from henceforward for no cause of war nor any other whatsoever, though it be under title of rebellion, nor by ransom nor in other manner can an Indian be made a slave, and we will that they be treated as our vassals of the Crown of Castile since such they are.

No person can make use of the Indians by way of Naboria or Tapia or in any other manner against their will.

As We have ordered provision to be made that from henceforward the Indians in no way be made slaves, including those who until now have been enslaved against all reason and right and contrary to the provisions and instructions thereupon, We ordain and command that the Audiencias having first summoned the parties to their presence, without any further judicial form, but in a summary way, so that the truth may be ascertained, speedily set the said Indians at liberty unless the persons who hold them for slaves show title why they should hold and possess them legitimately. And in order that in default of persons to solicit

the aforesaid, the Indians may not remain in slavery unjustly, We command that the Audiencias appoint persons who may pursue this cause for the Indians and be paid out of the Exchequer fines, provided they be men of trust and diligence.

Also, We command that with regard to the lading of the said Indians the Audiencias take especial care that they be not laden, or in case that in some parts this cannot be avoided that it be in such a manner that no risk of life, health and preservation of the said Indians may ensue from an immoderate burthen; and that against their own will and without their being paid, in no case be it permitted that they be laden, punishing very severely him who shall act contrary to this. In this there is to be no remission out of respect to any person.

Because report has been made to us that owing to the pearl fisheries not having been conducted in a proper manner deaths of many Indians and Negroes have ensued, We command that no free Indian be taken to the said fishery under pain of death, and that the bishop and the judge who shall be at Veneçuela direct what shall seem to them most fit for the preservation of the slaves working in the said fishery, both Indians and Negroes, and that the deaths may cease. If, however, it should appear to them that the risk of death cannot be avoided by the said Indians and Negroes, let the fishery of the said pearls cease, since we value much more highly (as is right) the preservation of their lives than the gain which may come to us from the pearls.

Whereas in consequence of the allotments of Indians made to the Viceroy, Governors, and their lieutenants, to our officials, and prelates, monasteries, hospitals, houses of religion and mints, offices of our Hazienda and treasury thereof, and other persons favoured by reason of their offices, disorders have occurred in the treatment of the said Indians, it is our will, and we command that forthwith there be placed under our Royal Crown all the Indians whom they hold and possess by any title and cause whatever, whoever the said parties are, or may be, whether Viceroy, Governor, or their lieutenants, or any of our officers, as well of Justice as of our Hazienda, prelates, houses of religion, or of our Hazienda, hospitals, confraternities, or other similar institutions, although the Indians may not have been allotted to them by reason of the said offices; and although such functionaries or governors may say that they wish to resign the

offices or governments and keep the Indians, let this not avail them nor be an excuse for them not to fulfill what we command.

Moreover, We command that from all those persons who hold Indians without proper title, having entered into possession of them by their own authority, such Indians be taken away and be placed under our Royal Crown.

And because we are informed that other persons, although possessing a sufficient title, have had an excessive number of Indians allotted to them, We order that the Audiencias, each in its jurisdiction diligently inform themselves of this, and with all speed, and reduce the allotments made to the said persons to a fair and moderate quantity, and then place the rest under our Royal Crown notwithstanding any appeal or application which may be interposed by such persons: and send us a report with all speed of what the said Audiencias have thus done, that we may know how our command is fulfilled. And in New Spain let it be especially provided as to the Indians held by Joan Infante, Diego de Ordas, the Maestro Roa, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Francisco Maldonado, Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia, Joan Xaramillo, Martin Vazquez, Gil Gongales de Venavides, and many other persons who are said to hold Indians in very excessive quantity, according to the report made to us. And, whereas we are informed that there are some persons in the said New Spain who are of the original Conquistadores and have no repartimiento of Indians, We ordain that the President and Auditors of the said New Spain do inform themselves if there be any persons of this kind, and if any, to give them out of the tribute which the Indians thus taken away have to pay, what to them may seem fit for the moderate support and honourable maintenance of the said original Conquistadores who had no Indians allotted to them.

So also, The said Audiencias are to inform themselves how the Indians have been treated by the persons who have held them in encomienda, and if it be clear that in justice they ought to be deprived of the said Indians for their excesses and the ill-usage to which they have subjected them, We ordain that they take away and place such Indians under our Royal Crown. And in Peru, besides the aforesaid, let the Viceroy and Audiencia inform themselves of the excesses committed during the occurrences between Governors Pizarro and Almagro in order to

report to us thereon, and from the principal persons whom they find notoriously blameable in those feuds they then take away the Indians they have, and place them under our Royal Crown.

Moreover, We ordain and command that from henceforward no Viceroy, Governor, Audiencia, discoverer, or any other person have power to allot Indians in encomienda by new provision, or by means of resignation, donation, sale, or any other form or manner, neither by vacancy nor inheritance, but that the person dying who held the said Indians, they revert to our Royal Crown. And let the Audiencias take care to inform themselves then particularly of the person who died, of his quality, his merits and services, of how he treated the said Indians whom he held, if he left wife and children or what other heirs, and send us a report thereof with the condition of the Indians and of the land, in order that we may give directions to provide what may be best for our service, and may do such favour as may seem suitable to the wife and children of the defunct. If in the meantime it should appear to the Audiencia that there is a necessity to provide some support for such wife and children, they can do it out of the tribute which the said Indians will have to pay, or allowing them a moderate pension, if the said Indians are under our Crown, as aforesaid.

Item, We ordain and command that our said Presidents and Auditors take great care that the Indians who in any of the ways above mentioned are taken away, and those who may become vacant be very well treated and instructed in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and as our free vassals. This is to be their chief care, that on which we principally desire them to report, and in which they can best serve us. They are also to provide that they be governed with justice in the way and manner that the Indians who are under our Royal Crown are at present governed in New Spain.

Source: Stevens, Henry, ed. *The New Laws of the Indies*. London: Chiswick Press, 1893.

Simón Bolívar: Proclamation to the People of Venezuela (June 15, 1813)

Simón Bolívar, Liberator of Venezuela, Brigadier of the Union, General in Chief of the Northern Army, issued this proclamation to the people of his native

Venezuela, asking their support in the independence struggle against Spain. Still, it would take eight more years, until the decisive battle of Carabobo, for Bolívar to completely rid the country of its Spanish rulers.

An army of our brothers, sent by the Sovereign Congress of New Granada, has come to liberate you. Having expelled the oppressors from the provinces of Mérida and Trujillo, it is now among you.

We are sent to destroy the Spaniards, to protect the Americans, and to reestablish the republican governments that once formed the Confederation of Venezuela. The states defended by our arms are again governed by their former constitutions and tribunals, in full enjoyment of their liberty and independence, for our mission is designed only to break the chains of servitude which still shackle some of our towns, and not to impose laws or exercise acts of dominion to which the rules of war might entitle us.

Moved by your misfortunes, we have been unable to observe with indifference the afflictions you were forced to experience by the barbarous Spaniards, who have ravished you, plundered you, and brought you death and destruction. They have violated the sacred rights of nations. They have broken the most solemn agreements and treaties. In fact, they have committed every manner of crime, reducing the Republic of Venezuela to the most frightful desolation. Justice therefore demands vengeance, and necessity compels us to exact it. Let the monsters who infest Colombian soil, who have drenched it in blood, be cast out forever; may their punishment be equal to the enormity of their perfidy, so that we may eradicate the stain of our ignominy and demonstrate to the nations of the world that the sons of America cannot be offended with impunity.

Despite our just resentment toward the iniquitous Spaniards, our magnanimous heart still commands us to open to them for the last time a path to reconciliation and friendship; they are invited to live peacefully among us, if they will abjure their crimes, honestly change their ways, and cooperate with us in destroying the intruding Spanish government and the reestablishment of the Republic of Venezuela.

Any Spaniard who does not, by every active and effective means, work against tyranny in behalf of this just cause, will be considered an enemy and punished; as a traitor to the nation, he

will inevitably be shot by a firing squad. On the other hand, a general and absolute amnesty is granted to those who come over to our army with or without their arms, as well as to those who render aid to the good citizens who are endeavoring to throw off the yoke of tyranny. Army officers and civil magistrates who proclaim the government of Venezuela and join us shall retain their posts and positions; in a word, those Spaniards who render outstanding service to the State shall be regarded and treated as Americans.

And you Americans who, by error or treachery, have been lured from the paths of justice, are informed that your brothers, deeply regretting the error of your ways, have pardoned you as we are profoundly convinced that you cannot be truly to blame, for only the blindness and ignorance in which you have been kept up to now by those responsible for your crimes could have induced you to commit them. Fear not the sword that comes to avenge you and to sever the ignoble ties with which your executioners have bound you to their own fate. You are hereby assured, with absolute impunity, of your honor, lives, and property. The single title, "Americans," shall be your safeguard and guarantee. Our arms have come to protect you, and they shall never be raised against a single one of you, our brothers.

This amnesty is extended even to the very traitors who most recently have committed felonious acts, and it shall be so religiously applied that no reason, cause, or pretext will be sufficient to oblige us to violate our offer, however extraordinary and extreme the occasion you may give to provoke our wrath.

Spaniards and Canary Islanders, you will die, though you be neutral, unless you actively espouse the cause of America's liberation. Americans, you will live, even if you have trespassed.

General Headquarters, Trujillo, June 15, 1813.

Source: Biblioteca Virtual de Simón Bolívar website: www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/7609/eng/bolivar/venezuela1813.html.

Simón Bolívar: Message to the Congress of Angostura (1819)

Like many other elites of South America in the early nineteenth century, Simón Bolívar, one of the

liberators of the continent from Spanish rule, was heavily influenced by the revolutions in the United States and France and by the long-standing parliamentary institutions of Great Britain. At the same time, he recognized that the new South American republics required political institutions appropriate to their culture and history. At the Congress of Angostura, held to discuss the future of the political system of greater Colombia (today the republics of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela), Bolívar suggested borrowing different elements from European and North American governments and creating a uniquely South American form of republican governance.

Gentlemen!

Let us review the past to discover the base upon which the Republic of Venezuela is founded.

America, in separating from the Spanish monarchy, found herself in a situation similar to that of the Roman Empire when its enormous framework fell to pieces in the midst of the ancient world. Each Roman division then formed an independent nation in keeping with its location or interests; but this situation differed from America's in that those members proceeded to re-establish their former associations. We, on the contrary, do not even retain the vestiges of our original being.

We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders. Thus our position is most extraordinary and complicated. But there is more. As our role has always been strictly passive and political existence nil, we find that our quest for liberty is now even more difficult of accomplishment; for we, having been placed in a state lower than slavery, had been robbed not only of our freedom but also of the right to exercise an active domestic tyranny. Permit me to explain this paradox.

In absolute systems, the central power is unlimited. The will of the despot is the supreme law, arbitrarily enforced by subordinates who take part in the organized oppression in proportion to the authority that they wield. They are charged with

civil, political, military, and religious functions; but, in the final analysis, the satraps of Persia are Persian, the pashas of the Grand Turk are Turks, and the sultans of Tartary are Tartars. China does not seek her mandarins in the homeland of Genghis Khan, her conqueror. America, on the contrary, received everything from Spain, who, in effect, deprived her of the experience that she would have gained from the exercise of an active tyranny by not allowing her to take part in her own domestic affairs and administration. This exclusion made it impossible for us to acquaint ourselves with the management of public affairs; nor did we enjoy that personal consideration, of such great value in major revolutions, that the brilliance of power inspires in the eyes of the multitude. In brief, Gentlemen, we were deliberately kept in ignorance and cut off from the world in all matters relating to the science of government.

Subject to the three-fold yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, the American people have been unable to acquire knowledge, power, or [civic] virtue. The lessons we received and the models we studied, as pupils of such pernicious teachers, were most destructive. We have been ruled more by deceit than by force, and we have been degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness: an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction. Ambition and intrigue abuse the credulity and experience of men lacking all political, economic, and civic knowledge; they adopt pure illusion as reality; they take license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. This situation is similar to that of the robust blind man who, beguiled by his strength, strides forward with all the assurance of one who can see, but, upon hitting every variety of obstacle, finds himself unable to retrace his steps.

If a people, perverted by their training, succeed in achieving their liberty, they will soon lose it, for it would be of no avail to endeavor to explain to them that happiness consists in the practice of virtue; that the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of tyrants, because, as the laws are more inflexible, every one should submit to their beneficent austerity; that proper morals, and not force, are the bases of law; and that to practice justice is to practice liberty. Therefore, Legislators, your work is so much the more arduous, inas-

much as you have to re-educate men who have been corrupted by erroneous illusions and false incentives. Liberty, says Rousseau, is a succulent morsel, but one difficult to digest. Our weak fellow-citizens will have to strengthen their spirit greatly before they can digest the wholesome nutriment of freedom. Their limbs benumbed by chains, their sight dimmed by the darkness of dungeons, and their strength sapped by the pestilence of servitude, are they capable of marching toward the august temple of Liberty without faltering? Can they come near enough to bask in its brilliant rays and to breathe freely the pure air which reigns therein? . . .

The more I admire the excellence of the federal Constitution of Venezuela, the more I am convinced of the impossibility of its application to our state. And to my way of thinking, it is a marvel that its prototype in North America endures so successfully and has not been overthrown at the first sign of adversity or danger. Although the people of North America are a singular model of political virtue and moral rectitude; although that nation was cradled in liberty, reared on freedom, and maintained by liberty alone; and—I must reveal everything—although those people, so lacking in many respects, are unique in the history of mankind, it is a marvel, I repeat, that so weak and complicated a government as the federal system has managed to govern them in the difficult and trying circumstances of their past. But, regardless of the effectiveness of this form of government with respect to North America, I must say that it has never for a moment entered my mind to compare the position and character of two states as dissimilar as the English-American and Spanish-American. Would it not be most difficult to apply to Spain the English system of political, civil, and religious liberty: Hence, it would be even more difficult to adapt to Venezuela the laws of North America . . .

Venezuela had, has, and should have a republican government. Its principles should be the sovereignty of the people, division of powers, civil liberty, proscription of slavery, and the abolition of monarchy and privileges. We need equality to recast, so to speak, into a unified nation, the classes of men, political opinions, and public customs . . .

The creation of a hereditary senate would in no way be a violation of political equality. I do not solicit the establishment of a nobility, for as a celebrated republican has said, that would simultaneously destroy equality and liberty. What I propose is an office for which the candidates must prepare themselves, an office that demands great knowledge and the ability to acquire such knowledge. All should not be left to chance and the outcome of elections. The people are more easily deceived than is Nature perfected by art; and, although these senators, it is true, would not be bred in an environment that is all virtue, it is equally true that they would be raised in an atmosphere of enlightened education. Furthermore, the liberators of Venezuela are entitled to occupy forever a high rank in the Republic that they have brought into existence. I believe that posterity would view with regret the effacement of the illustrious names of its first benefactors. I say, moreover, that it is a matter of public interest and national honor, of gratitude on Venezuela's part, to honor gloriously, until the end of time, a race of virtuous, prudent, and persevering men who, overcoming every obstacle, have founded the Republic at the price of the most heroic sacrifices. And if the people of Venezuela do not applaud the elevation of their benefactors, then they are unworthy to be free, and they will never be free.

A hereditary senate, I repeat, will be the fundamental basis of the legislative power, and therefore the foundation of the entire government. It will also serve as a counterweight to both government and people; and as a neutral power it will weaken the mutual attacks of these two eternally rival powers. In all conflicts the calm reasoning of a third party will serve as the means of reconciliation. Thus the Venezuelan senate will give strength to this delicate political structure, so sensitive to violent repercussions; it will be the mediator that will lull the storms and it will maintain harmony between the head and the other parts of the political body.

No matter what citizen occupies the office of the Chief Executive, he will be aided by the Constitution, and therein being authorized to do good, he can do no harm, because his ministers will cooperate with him only insofar as he abides by the law. If he attempts to infringe upon the law, his own ministers will desert him, thereby isolating him

from the Republic, and they will even bring charges against him in the Senate. The ministers, being responsible for any transgressions committed, will actually govern, since they must account for their actions. The obligation which this system places upon the officials closest to the executive power, that is to take a most interested and active part in governmental deliberations and to regard this department as their own, is not the smallest advantage of the system. Should the president be a man of no great talent or virtue, yet, notwithstanding his lack of these essential qualities, he will be able to discharge his duties satisfactorily, for in such a case the ministry, managing everything by itself, will carry the burdens of the state . . .

[T]he balance of power between the branches of government must be distributed in two ways. In republics the executive should be the stronger, for everything conspires against it; while in monarchies the legislative power should be superior, as everything works in the monarch's favor. The people's veneration of royal power results in a self-fascination that tends greatly to increase the superstitious respect paid to such authority. The splendor inherent in the throne, the crown, and the purple; the formidable support that it receives from the nobility; the immense wealth that a dynasty accumulates from generation to generation; and the fraternal protection that kings grant to one another are the significant advantages that work in favor of royal authority, thereby rendering it almost unlimited. Consequently, the significance of these same advantages should serve to justify the necessity of investing the chief magistrate of a republic with a greater measure of authority than that possessed by a constitutional prince.

Let the balance of power be drawn up in such a manner that it will be permanent and incapable of decay because of its own tenuity. Precisely because no form of government is so weak as the democratic, its framework must be firmer, and its institutions must be studied to determine their degree of stability. Unless this is done, we must plan on the establishment of an experimental rather than a permanent system of government; and we will have to reckon with an ungovernable, tumultuous, and anarchic society, not with a social order where happiness, peace, and justice prevail.

The people of Venezuela already enjoy the rights that they may legitimately and easily exercise. Let

us now, therefore, restrain the growth of immoderate pretensions which, perhaps, a form of government unsuited to our people might excite. Let us abandon the federal forms of government unsuited to us; let us put aside the triumvirate which holds the executive power and center it in a president. We must grant him sufficient authority to enable him to continue the struggle against the obstacles inherent in our recent situation, our present state of war, and every variety of foe, foreign and domestic, when we must battle for some time to come. Let the legislature relinquish the powers that rightly belong to the executive; let it acquire, however, a new consistency, a new influence in the balance of authority. Let the courts be strengthened by increasing the stability and independence of the judges and by the establishment of juries and civil and criminal codes dictated, not by antiquity nor by conquering kings, but by the voice of Nature, the cry of Justice, and the genius of Wisdom.

My desire is for every branch of government and administration to attain that degree of vigor which alone can insure equilibrium, not only among the members of the government, but also among the different factions of which our society is composed. It would matter little if the springs of a political system were to relax because of its weakness, so long as this relaxation itself did not contribute to the dissolution of the body social and the ruination of its membership. The shouts of humanity, on the battlefields or in tumultuous

crowds denounce to the world the blind, unthinking legislators who imagined that experiments with chimerical institutions could be made with impurity. All the peoples of the world have sought freedom, some by force of arms, others by force of law, passing alternately from anarchy to despotism, or from despotism to anarchy. Few peoples have been content with moderate aims, establishing their institutions according to their means, their character, and their circumstances. We must not aspire to the impossible, lest, in trying to rise above the realm of liberty, we again descend into the realm of tyranny. Absolute liberty invariably lapses into absolute power, and the mean between these two extremes is supreme social liberty. Abstract theories create the pernicious idea of unlimited freedom.

Let us see to it that the strength of the public is kept within the limits prescribed by reason and interest; that the national will is confined within the bonds set by a just power; that the judiciary is rigorously controlled by civil and criminal laws, analogous to those in our present Constitution—then an equilibrium between the powers of government will exist, the conflicts that hamper the progress of the state will disappear, and those complications which tend to hinder rather than unite society will be eliminated.

Source: Bolívar, Simón. *An Address of Bolívar at the Congress of Angostura (February 15, 1819)*, reprint ed. Washington, DC: B. S. Adams, 1919.

U.S. EMPIRE

Monroe Doctrine (December 2, 1823)

In 1823, the United States was still in its infancy, a republic of fewer than 10 million people situated largely east of the Mississippi River and equipped with the tiniest of militaries. But that didn't stop President James Monroe from issuing his very broad proclamation aimed at European powers with an eye on territory in the Americas. Responding to the successful independence struggle of the new republics of Latin America in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Monroe warned European powers to resist recolonizing that region or acquiring new territories in North America.

...At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States

are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the results have been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which

we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgement of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course . . .

Source: Richardson, J. D., ed. *Compilations of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896–1899.

Alfred T. Mahan: *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1890)

In 1890, Alfred Mahan, a navy officer and professor of history at the Naval War College, published The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783. In this and several other books, Mahan argued that a large navy was the key to international power and influence and sine qua non of empire. The book had an enormous impact on a number of young policymakers in the United States, including Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy in the first McKinley administration. Indeed, within the decade, the United States would acquire an ocean-borne empire, served by a newly expanded navy.

To turn now from the particular lessons drawn from the history of the past to the general question of the influence of government upon the sea career of its people, it is seen that that influence can work in two distinct but closely related ways.

First, in peace: The government by its policy can favor the natural growth of a people's industries and its tendencies to seek adventure and gain by way of the sea; or it can try to develop such industries and such sea-going bent, when they do not naturally exist; or, on the other hand, the government may, by mistaken action check and fetter the progress which the people left to themselves would make. In any one of these ways the influ-

ence of the government will be felt, making or marring the sea power of the country in the matter of peaceful commerce; upon which alone, it cannot be too often insisted, a thoroughly strong navy can be based.

Secondly, for war: The influence of the government will be felt in its most legitimate manner in maintaining an armed navy, of a size commensurate with the growth of its shipping and the importance of the interests connected with it. More important even than the size of the navy is the question of its institutions, favoring a healthful spirit and activity, and providing for rapid development in time of war by an adequate reserve of men and of ships and by measures for drawing out that general reserve power which has before been pointed to, when considering the character and pursuits of the people. Undoubtedly under this second head of warlike preparation must come the maintenance of suitable naval stations, in those distant parts of the world to which the armed shipping must follow the peaceful vessels of commerce. The protection of such stations must depend either upon direct military force, as do Gibraltar and Malta, or upon a surrounding friendly population, such as the American colonists once were to England, and, it may be presumed, the Australian colonists now are. Such friendly surroundings and backing, joined to a reasonable military provision, are the best of defences, and when combined with decided preponderance at sea, make a scattered and extensive empire, like that of England, secure; for while it is true that an unexpected attack may cause disaster in some one quarter, the actual superiority of naval power prevents such disaster from being general or irremediable. History has sufficiently proved this. England's naval bases have been in all parts of the world; and her fleets have at once protected them, kept open the communications between them, and relied upon them for shelter.

Colonies attached to the mother-country afford, therefore, the surest means of supporting abroad the sea power of a country. In peace, the influence of the government should be felt in promoting by all means a warmth of attachment and a unity of interest which will make the welfare of one the welfare of all, and the quarrel of one the quarrel of all; and in war, or rather for war, by inducing such measures of organization and defence

as shall be felt by all to be a fair distribution of a burden of which each reaps the benefit.

Such colonies the United States has not and is not likely to have. As regards purely military naval stations, the feeling of her people was probably accurately expressed by an historian of the English navy a hundred years ago, speaking then of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. "Military governments," said he, "agree so little with the industry of a trading people, and are in themselves so repugnant to the genius of the British people, that I do not wonder that men of good sense and of all parties have inclined to give up these, as Tangiers was given up." Having therefore no foreign establishments, either colonial or military, the ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting-places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea. . . .

The question is eminently one in which the influence of the government should make itself felt, to build up for the nation a navy which, if not capable of reaching distant countries, shall at least be able to keep clear the chief approaches to its own. The eyes of the country have for a quarter of a century been turned from the sea; the results of such a policy and of its opposite will be shown in the instance of France and of England. Without asserting a narrow parallelism between the case of the United States and either of these, it may safely be said that it is essential to the welfare of the whole country that the conditions of trade and commerce should remain, as far as possible, unaffected by an external war. In order to do this, the enemy must be kept not only out of our ports, but far away from our coasts.

Source: Mahan, A. T. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1890.

Official Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry into the Loss of the Battleship *Maine* (1898)

On January 25, 1898, the battleship USS Maine sailed into Havana Harbor. Tensions were running high between Spain—which then controlled Cuba—and the

United States. Many Americans were angry about Spain's harsh treatment of Cuban rebels fighting to liberate their island. When the Maine mysteriously blew up on the evening of February 15, with the loss of over 260 American sailors, the American public was quick to blame the Spanish. The official U.S. Navy inquiry, known as the Sampson Board, conducted the following month led to a similar conclusion. The destruction of the Maine was the single most important incident leading to the Spanish-American War and the subsequent acquisition of an American empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific. In 1976, Admiral Hyman Rickover conducted his own investigation and decided the cause of the explosion was an accident, specifically, fumes in the ship's coal bunkers.

U.S.S. *Iowa*, First Rate, Key West, Fla., Monday, March 21, 1898.

After full and mature consideration of all the testimony before it, the court finds as follows:

First—That the United States *battleship Maine* arrived in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, on January 25, 1898, and was taken to buoy 4, in from five and a-half to six fathoms of water by the regular government pilot. The United States consul-general at Havana had notified the authorities at that place the previous evening of the intended arrival of the *Maine*.

Second—The state of discipline on board the *Maine* was excellent, and all orders and regulations in regard to the care and safety of the ship were strictly carried out. All ammunition was stowed in accordance with prescribed instructions, and proper care was taken whenever ammunition was handled. Nothing was stowed in any one of the magazines or shell-rooms which was not permitted to be stowed there.

The magazines and shell-rooms were always locked after having been opened; and after the destruction of the *Maine* the keys were found in their proper place in the Captain's cabinet, everything having been reported secure that evening at 8 P.M. The temperature of the magazines and shellrooms was taken daily and reported. The only magazine which had an undue amount of heat was the after ten-inch magazine, and that did not explode at the time the *Maine* was destroyed. The torpedo war heads were all stowed in the after part of the ship, under the wardroom, and neither caused nor participated in the destruction of the *Maine*.

The dry gun cotton primers and detonators were stowed in the cabin aft, and remote from the scene of the explosion. Waste was carefully looked after on board the *Maine* to obviate danger. Special orders in regard to this had been given by the commanding officer. Varnishes, dryers, alcohol and other combustibles of this nature were stowed on or above the main deck, and could not have had anything to do with the destruction of the *Maine*. The medical stores were stowed aft, under the wardroom, and remote from the scene of the explosion. No dangerous stores of any kind were stowed below in any of the other staterooms.

The coal bunkers were inspected daily. Of those bunkers adjacent to the forward magazines and shell-rooms, four were empty, namely, "B3, B4, B5, B6." "A 15" had been in use that day, and "A16" was full of New River coal. This coal had been carefully inspected before receiving on board. The bunker in which it had been stowed was accessible on three sides at all times, and the fourth side at this time, on account of bunkers "B4" and "B6" being empty. This bunker, "A16," had been inspected that day by the engineer officer on duty. The fire-alarms in the bunkers were in working order, and there had never been a case of spontaneous combustion of coal on board the *Maine*.

The two after boilers of the ship were in use at the time of the disaster, but for auxiliary purposes only, with a comparatively low pressure of steam, and being tended by a reliable watch. These boilers could not have caused the explosion of the ship. The four forward boilers have since been found by the divers and are in fair condition.

The finding of the court of inquiry was reached after twenty-three days of continuous labor, on the 21st of March instant, and having been approved on the 22d by the commander-in-chief of the United States naval force on the North Atlantic station was transmitted to the Executive.

On the night of the destruction of the *Maine* everything had been reported secure for the night at 8 P.M. by reliable persons, through the proper authorities, to the commanding officer. At the time the *MAINE* was destroyed the ship was quiet, and therefore least liable to accident caused by movements from those on board.

Third—The destruction of the *MAINE* occurred at 9:40 P.M. on February 15, 1898, in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, she being at the time

moored to the same buoy to which she had been taken upon her arrival. There were two explosions of a distinctly different character, with a very short but distinct interval between them, and the forward part of the ship was lifted to a marked degree at the time of the first explosion. The first explosion was more in the nature of a report, like that of a gun, while the second explosion was more open, prolonged and of greater volume. The second explosion was, in the opinion of the court, caused by the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines of the MAINE.

Fourth—The evidence bearing upon this, being principally obtained from divers, did not enable the court to form a definite conclusion as to the condition of the wreck, although it was established that the after part of the ship was practically intact and sank in that condition a very few minutes after the destruction of the forward part. The following facts in regard to the forward part of the ship are, however, established by the testimony:

That portion of the port side of the protective deck which extends from about frame 30 to about frame 41 was blown up aft and over to port. The main deck, from about frame 30 to about frame 41, was blown up aft and slightly over to starboard, folding the frame forward part of the middle superstructure over and on top of the after part.

This was, in the opinion of the court, caused by the partial explosion of two or more of the forward magazines of the Maine.

Fifth—At frame 17 the outer shell of the ship, from a point eleven and one half feet from the middle line of the ship and six feet above the keel when in its normal position, has been forced up so as to be now about four feet above the surface of the water; therefore, about thirty-four feet above where it would be had the ship been uninjured. The outside bottom-plating is bent into a reversed V shape, the after wing of which, about fifteen feet broad and thirty-two feet in length (from frame 17 to frame 25), is doubled back upon itself against the continuation of the same plating extending forward.

At frame 18 the vertical keel is broken in two and the flat keel is bent at an angle similar to the angle formed by the outside bottom plating. This break is now about six feet below the surface of the water, and about thirty feet above its normal position.

In the opinion of the court, this effect could have been produced only by the explosion of a mine situated under the bottom of the ship at about frame 18, and somewhat on the port side of the ship.

Above and to the right of the small boat, plating at frames 17, 18 and 19 protrudes above the water surface.

Sixth—The court finds that the loss of the Maine on the occasion named was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of the crew of said vessel.

Seventh—In the opinion of the court, the Maine was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines.

Eighth—The court has been unable to obtain evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the Maine upon any person or persons.

W. T. SAMPSON, Captain U.S.N., President.

A. MARIX, Lieut.-Commander U.S.N., Judge Advocate.

The court, having finished the inquiry it was ordered to make, adjourned at 11 A.M. to await the action of the convening authority.

W. T. SAMPSON, Captain U.S.N., President.

A. MARIX, Lieut.-Commander U.S.N. Judge Advocate.

U.S. Flagship *New York*, March 22, 1898 Off Key West, Fla.

The proceedings and findings of the court of inquiry in the above case are approved.

M. SICARD, Rear-Admiral, Commander-in-chief of the United Naval Force on the North Atlantic Station.

Source: U.S. Congress, House. Report of the Naval Court of Inquiry upon the Destruction of the United States Battleship Maine in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898, Together with the Testimony Taken Before the Court. 55th Cong., 2d Sess. 1898. H. Doc. 207.

Admiral Dewey's Report on the Battle of Manila Bay (1898)

The war between the United States and Spain originally broke out over Cuba, but soon became a two-ocean conflict when Admiral George Dewey, in charge of the U.S. Navy in the Pacific, sailed into

Manila Harbor, Philippines, and defeated the Spanish fleet. In this dispatch to the secretary of the navy, Dewey describes the naval battle, most notably the ease with which the antiquated Spanish vessels were dispatched by the modern American warships.

U.S. Naval Force on Asiatic Station, Flagship "Olympia," Cavite, Philippine Islands, May 4, 1898
Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following report of operations of the squadron under my command: The squadron left Mirs Bay on April 27, immediately on the arrival of Mr. O. F. Williams, United States consul at Manila, who brought important information and who accompanies the squadron. Arrived off Bolinao on the morning of April 30 and, finding no vessels there, proceeded down the coast and arrived off the entrance to Manila Bay on the same afternoon.

The *Boston* and *Concord* were sent to reconnoiter Port Subic, I having been informed that the enemy intended to take position there. A thorough search of the port was made by *Boston* and *Concord*, but the Spanish fleet was not found, although from a letter afterwards found in the arsenal (inclosed with translation), it appears that it had been their intention to go there.

Entered the Boca Grande, or south channel, at 11.30 P.M., steaming in column at distance at 8 knots. After half the squadron had passed, a battery on the south side of the channel opened fire, none of the shots taking effect, The *Boston* and *McCullough* returned the fire. The squadron proceeded across the bay at slow speed, and arrived off Manila at daybreak, and was fired upon at 5.15 A.M. by three batteries at Manila and two at Cavite and by the Spanish fleet anchored in an approximately east and west line across the mouth of Bakor Bay, with their left in shoal water in Canacao Bay. The squadron then proceeded to the attack, the flagship *Olympia*, under my personal direction, leading, followed at distance by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, *Petrel*, *Concord*, and *Boston*, in the order named, which formation was maintained throughout the action. The squadron opened fire at 5.41 A.M. While advancing to the attack, two mines were exploded ahead of the flagship, too far to be effective.

The squadron maintained a continuous and precise fire at ranges varying from 5,000 to 2,000

yards, countermarching in a line approximately parallel to the Spanish fleet. The enemy's fire was vigorous, but generally ineffective. Early in the engagement two launches put out toward the *Olympia* with the apparent intention of using torpedoes. One was sunk and the other disabled by our fire and beached before an opportunity occurred to fire torpedoes. At 7 A.M. the Spanish flagship *Reina Cristina* made a desperate attempt to leave the line and come out to engage at short range, but was received with such galling fire, the entire battery of the *Olympia* being concentrated upon her, that she was barely able to return to the shelter of the point. The fires started in her by our shell at this time were not extinguished until she sank. At 7.35 A.M., it having been erroneously reported to me that only 15 rounds per gun remained for the 5-inch rapid fire battery, I ceased firing and withdrew the squadron for consultation and a redistribution of ammunition, if necessary.

The three batteries at Manila had kept up a continuous fire from the beginning of the engagement, which fire was not returned by this squadron. The first of these batteries was situated on the south mole head at the entrance to the Pasig River, the second on the south bastion of the walled city of Manila, and the third Malate, about one-half mile farther south. At this point a message to the Governor-General to the effect that if the batteries did not cease firing the city would be shelled. This had the effect of silencing them.

At 11.16 A.M., finding that the report of scarcity of ammunition was incorrect, I returned with the squadron to the attack. By this time the flagship and almost the entire Spanish fleet were in flames, and at 12:30 P.M. the squadron ceased firing, the batteries being silenced and the ships sunk, burnt, and deserted. At 12.40 P.M. the squadron returned and anchored off Manila, the *Petrel* being left behind to complete the destruction of the smaller gunboats, which were behind the point of Cavite. This duty was performed by Commander E. P. Wood in the most expeditious and complete manner possible.

The Spanish fleet lost the following vessels: Sunk—*Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*. Burnt—*Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lezo*, *Marques Del Duero*, *El Correo*, *Velasco*, and *Isla de Mindanao* (Transport).

Captured—*Rapido* and *Hercules* (tugs) and several small launches.

I am unable to obtain complete accounts of the enemy's killed and wounded, but believe their loss to be very heavy. The *Reina Cristina* alone had 150 killed, including her captain, and 90 wounded. I am happy to report that damage done to the squadron under my command was inconsiderable. There were none killed, and only seven men in the squadron very slightly wounded. As will be seen by the reports of the commanding officers which are herewith inclosed, several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the slightest, and the squadron is in as good condition now as before the battle. I beg to state to the Department that I doubt if any commander-in-chief, under similar circumstances, was ever served by more loyal, efficient, and gallant captains than those of the squadron now under my command. Captain Frank Wildes, commanding the *Boston*, volunteered to remain in command of his vessel, although his relief arrived before leaving Hongkong. Assistant Surgeon C. P. Kindberger, of the *Olympia*, and Gunner J. C. Evans, of the *Boston* also volunteered to remain after orders detaching them had arrived. The conduct of my personal staff was excellent. Commander B. P. Lamberton, chief of staff, was a volunteer for that position, and gave me most efficient aid. Lieutenant T. M. Brumby, flag lieutenant, and Ensign W. P. Scott, aid, performed their duties as signal officers in a highly creditable manner. The *Olympia* being short of officers for the battery, Ensign H. H. Caldwell, flag secretary volunteered for and was assigned to a subdivision of the 5-inch battery. Mr. J. L. Stickney, formerly an officer in the United States Navy, and now correspondent for the New York Herald, volunteered for duty as my aid, and rendered valuable service.

While leaving to the commanding officers to comment on the conduct of the officers and men under their commands, I desire especially to mention the coolness of Lieutenant C. G. Calkins, the navigator of the *Olympia*, who came under my personal observation, being on the bridge with me throughout the entire action, and giving the ranges to the guns with an accuracy that was proven by the excellence of the firing. On May 2, the day following the engagement, the squadron again went to Cavite, where it remains. A landing

party was sent to destroy the guns and magazines of the batteries there. The first battery, near the end of Sangley Point, was composed of two modern Trubia B. L. rifles of 15 centimeters caliber. The second was one mile farther down the beach, and consisted of a modern Canet 12-centimeter B. L. rifle behind improvised earthworks.

On the 3d the military forces evacuated the Cavite arsenal, which was taken possession of by a landing party. On the same day that *Raleigh* and *Baltimore* secured the surrender of the batteries on Corregidor Island, paroling the garrison and destroying the guns. On the morning of May 4 the transport MANILA, which had been aground in Bakor Bay, was towed off and made a prize.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

George Dewey Commodore, U.S. Navy Commanding U.S. Naval Force on Asiatic Station.

Source: Spanish American War Centennial website: www.spanamwar.com/dyreport.htm.

Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain (December 10, 1898)

In April 1898, the United States went to war with Spain. Initially, the conflict concerned Cuba, specifically, Spanish atrocities against Cuban rebels fighting for national independence and threats to extensive U.S. property interests on the island caused by the ongoing liberation struggle. Soon, however, the war spread to all parts of the Spanish Empire. In the end, the decrepit Spanish military was no match for the modern navy and economic might of the United States, and the war ended in just four months. The terms of the peace treaty, by which Spain surrendered all of its remaining colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific, reflected the uneven struggle.

The United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, in the name of her august son Don Alfonso XIII, desiring to end the state of war now existing between the two countries, have for that purpose appointed as plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States, William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid, citizens of the United States;

And Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain,

Don Eugenio Montero Rios, president of the senate, Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, senator of the Kingdom and ex-minister of the Crown; Don Jose de Garnica, deputy of the Cortes and associate justice of the supreme court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Brussels, and Don Rafael Cerero, general of division;

Who, having assembled in Paris, and having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have, after discussion of the matters before them, agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.

Spain relinquishes all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. And as the island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may under international law result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property.

Article II.

Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones.

Article III.

Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands . . . The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000) within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

Article IV.

The United States will, for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.

Article V.

The United States will, upon the signature of the present treaty, send back to Spain, at its own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces. The arms of the soldiers in question shall be restored to them.

Spain will, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, proceed to evacuate the

Philippines, as well as the island of Guam, on terms similar to those agreed upon by the Commissioners appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, under the Protocol of August 12, 1898, which is to continue in force till its provisions are completely executed . . .

Article VI.

Spain will, upon the signature of the present treaty, release all prisoners of war, and all persons detained or imprisoned for political offences, in connection with the insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines and the war with the United States.

Reciprocally, the United States will release all persons made prisoners of war by the American forces, and will undertake to obtain the release of all Spanish prisoners in the hands of the insurgents in Cuba and the Philippines.

The Government of the United States will at its own cost return to Spain and the Government of Spain will at its own cost return to the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, according to the situation of their respective homes, prisoners released or caused to be released by them, respectively, under this article.

Article VII.

The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other Government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war.

The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article.

Article VIII.

In conformity with the provisions of Articles I, II, and III of this treaty, Spain relinquishes in Cuba, and cedes in Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, in the island of Guam, and in the Philippine Archipelago, all the buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, structures, public highways and other immovable property which, in conformity with law, belong to the public domain, and as such belong to the Crown of Spain . . .

Article IX.

Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, residing in the territory over which Spain by the pre-

sent treaty relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property, including the right to sell or dispose of such property or of its proceeds; and they shall also have the right to carry on their industry, commerce and professions, being subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners. In case they remain in the territory they may preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain by making, before a court of record, within a year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, a declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance; in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.

The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.

Article X.

The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion.

Article XI.

The Spaniards residing in the territories over which Spain by this treaty cedes or relinquishes her sovereignty shall be subject in matters civil as well as criminal to the jurisdiction of the courts of the country wherein they reside, pursuant to the ordinary laws governing the same; and they shall have the right to appear before such courts, and to pursue the same course as citizens of the country to which the courts belong.

Article XII.

Judicial proceedings pending at the time of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty in the territories over which Spain relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty shall be determined according to the following rules:

1. Judgments rendered either in civil suits between private individuals, or in criminal matters, before the date mentioned, and with respect to which there is no recourse or right of review under the Spanish law, shall be deemed to be final, and shall be executed in due form by competent authority in the territory within which such judgments should be carried out.

2. Civil suits between private individuals which may on the date mentioned be undetermined shall

be prosecuted to judgment before the court in which they may then be pending or in the court that may be substituted therefor.

3. Criminal actions pending on the date mentioned before the Supreme Court of Spain against citizens of the territory which by this treaty ceases to be Spanish shall continue under its jurisdiction until final judgment; but, such judgment having been rendered, the execution thereof shall be committed to the competent authority of the place in which the case arose.

Article XIII.

The rights of property secured by copyrights and patents acquired by Spaniards in the Island of Cuba and in Porto Rico, the Philippines and other ceded territories, at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary and artistic works, not subversive of public order in the territories in question, shall continue to be admitted free of duty into such territories, for the period of ten years, to be reckoned from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Article XIV.

Spain will have the power to establish consular officers in the ports and places of the territories, the sovereignty over which has been either relinquished or ceded by the present treaty.

Article XV.

The Government of each country will, for the term of ten years, accord to the merchant vessels of the other country the same treatment in respect of all port charges, including entrance and clearance dues, light dues, and tonnage duties, as it accords to its own merchant vessels, not engaged in the coastwise trade.

Article XVI.

It is understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof; but it will upon termination of such occupancy, advise any Government established in the island to assume the same obligations.

Article XVII.

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within six months from the date hereof, or earlier

if possible. In faith whereof, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty and have hereunto affixed our seals. Done in duplicate at Paris, the tenth day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight.

[Seal] William R. Day [Seal] Cushman K. Davis [Seal] William P. Frye [Seal] Geo. Gray [Seal] Whitelaw Reid [Seal] Eugenio Montero Rios [Seal] B. de Abarzuza [Seal] J. de Garnica [Seal] W. R. de Villa Urrutia [Seal] Rafael Cerero

Source: A Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, U.S. Congress, 55th Cong., 3d sess., Senate Doc. No. 62, Part 1. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899, 5–11.

Emilio Aguinaldo: Manifesto Protesting U.S. Claim of Sovereignty over the Philippines (January 5, 1899)

Beginning in the mid-1890s, a Filipino named Emilio Aguinaldo had been leading a rebellion against Spanish colonial rule. When the United States went to war with Spain in 1898, Aguinaldo welcomed the news, believing that the anticolonial United States would help him liberate his island nation. But when it refused to do so, Aguinaldo began a guerrilla campaign against the new occupier. In the two-year war that followed, Americans employed tactics—including search-and-destroy missions and the internment of civilians who could potentially aid the guerrillas—that would be used later in Vietnam. After the death of several thousand Americans and tens of thousands of Filipinos, Aguinaldo was forced to surrender.

Manifesto Protesting US Claim of Sovereignty over the Philippines, January, 5, 1899

General Otis styles himself Military Governor of these Islands, and I protest one and a thousand times and with all the energy of my soul against such authority. I proclaim solemnly that I have not recognized either Singapore or in Hong Kong or in the Philippines, by word or in writing, the sovereignty of America over this beloved soil. On the contrary, I say that I returned to these Islands on an American warship on the 19th of May last for the express purpose of making war on the Spaniards to regain our liberty and indepen-

dence. I stated this in my proclamation of the 24th of May last, and I publish it in my Manifesto addressed to the Philippine people on the 12th of June. Lastly, all this was confirmed by the American General Merritt himself, predecessor of General Otis, in his Manifesto to the Philippine people some days before he demanded the surrender of Manila from the Spanish General Jaudenes. In that Manifesto it is distinctly stated that the naval and field forces of the United States had come to give us our liberty, by subverting the bad Spanish Government, And I hereby protest against this unexpected act of the United States claiming sovereignty over these Islands. My relations with the United States did not bring me over here from Hong Kong to make war on the Spaniards for their benefit, but for the purpose of our own liberty and independence . . .

Source: The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, Vol. 30. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899.

First “Open Door Note” (September 6, 1899)

Unlike most of Asia, China was never formally colonized by any of the European powers or Japan. Still, during the late nineteenth century, the Chinese Empire was carved into “spheres of influence” where foreign powers controlled commerce. The United States opposed such a system, not only because it lacked a sphere of its own, but also because it believed that all nations should have free trade access to all parts of China. In a series of diplomatic communiqués, known as the “open door notes,” Secretary of State John Hay laid out the U.S. position to France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the United Kingdom, the six powers seeking to control trade in China.

United States Department of State Washington, September 6, 1899

At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to

the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of the latter country to enjoy in said leased area and the contiguous "sphere of influence or interest" certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances, and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers, that each, within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or

operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiao-chao a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a customhouse are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany will give its acceptance and hearty support. The recent ukase of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at this capital at the time and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has in consequence, been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith inclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britain and Japan will be so clearly observed by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the Governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their cooperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected. I inclose herewith copy of the instruction which I have sent to Mr. Choate on the subject.

In view of the present favorable conditions, you are instructed to submit the above considerations to His Imperial German Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to request his early consideration of the subject.

Source: Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1899. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899.

American Anti-Imperialist League Platform (1899)

In October 1899, a group of prominent Americans—including steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, author Mark Twain, and American Federation of Labor leader Samuel Gompers—came together to form the American Anti-Imperialist League. The organization was founded even as the U.S. Senate was considering annexation of the Philippines, a former colony of Spain seized by the United States in the Spanish-American War a year earlier. As U.S. troops stayed on to fight Filipino rebels fighting for their national independence, the Anti-Imperialist League argued that imperial acquisition was inappropriate for a country founded in an anticolonial struggle and that the governance of subject peoples was incompatible with democracy. In the end, however, the rebellion was crushed, the Philippines annexed, and the Anti-Imperialist League dissolved.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people is “criminal aggression” and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our Government.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-

governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of “criminal aggression” in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their Government in times of grave National peril applies to the present situation. If an Administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, organize a truth-suppressing censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that “no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.” “Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.”

We cordially invite the cooperation of all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Bancroft, Frederick, ed. *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1913.

William Jennings Bryan: “The Paralyzing Influence of Imperialism” (1900)

In this his second run for the presidency on the Democratic ticket, populist William Jennings Bryan was faced with a new issue: America’s acquisition of a colonial empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific. In this anti-imperialist speech at the Democratic National Convention, Bryan counters the arguments presented by the Republican administration that the United States needed an empire for glory and commerce.

If it is right for the United States to hold the Philippine Islands permanently and imitate European empires in the government of colonies, the Republican Party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability.

The Filipinos do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement, not only to the Filipinos but to all who are denied a voice in their own government. If the Republicans are prepared to censure all who have used language calculated to make the Filipinos hate foreign domination, let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he uttered that passionate appeal, “Give me liberty

or give me death,” he expressed a sentiment which still echoes in the hearts of men.

Let them censure Jefferson; of all the statesmen of history none have used words so offensive to those who would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them censure Washington, who declared that the colonists must choose between liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the sins of Henry and Jefferson and Washington, let them censure Lincoln, whose Gettysburg speech will be quoted in defense of popular government when the present advocates of force and conquest are forgotten.

Someone has said that a truth once spoken can never be recalled. It goes on and on, and no one can set a limit to its ever widening influence. But if it were possible to obliterate every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God Himself who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here.

Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors.

Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism. Heretofore this nation has been prompt to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. While our sphere of activity has been limited to the Western Hemisphere, our sympathies have not been bounded by the seas. We have felt it due to ourselves and to the world, as well as to those who were struggling for the right to govern themselves, to proclaim the interest which our people have, from the date of their own independence, felt in every contest between human rights and arbitrary power. . . .

A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippine Islands a few traders, a few taskmasters, and a few officeholders, and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

If we have an imperial policy we must have a great standing army as its natural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a certain, if not rapid, growth of our military establishment.

That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by Republican leaders is not a matter of conjecture but a matter of fact. In his message of Dec. 5, 1898, the President asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two years the President asked for four times that many, and a Republican House of Representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed, and when no country was at war with the United States.

If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage the Republican Party by endorsing its policy at the polls?

A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people and, if accompanied by compulsory service, a constant source of irritation but it is even a menace to a republican form of government. The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers.

A small standing army and a well-equipped and well-disciplined state militia are sufficient at ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past place its dependence upon the volunteers who come from all occupations at their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required—men who fight when the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers. . . .

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given the Filipinos by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of Congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the President has been the only law in the Philippine Islands wherever the American authority extends.

Why does the Republican Party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican Party. The storm of protest which greeted the Puerto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this subject.

If the Puerto Ricans, who welcomed annexation, are to be denied the guarantees of our Constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, in this country where the people have a right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the islands?

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States and the twilight of semi-citizenship endured by the people of Puerto Rico, while the thick darkness of perpetual vassalage covers the Philippines? The Puerto Rico tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the Constitution is confined to the forty-five states.

The Democratic Party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresistible power. That the leaders of a great party should claim for any President or Congress the right to treat millions of people as mere "possessions" and deal with them unrestrained by the Constitution or the Bill of Rights shows how far we have already departed from the ancient land-

marks and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

The territorial form of government is temporary and preparatory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees and is subject to the same general laws as the citizen of a state. Take away this security and his rights will be violated and his interests sacrificed at the demand of those who have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is applied.

What is our title to the Philippine Islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value but that when that earth is molded by the Divine Hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil? If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase.

We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we buy Spain's title, we are not innocent purchasers. There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence; and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke. . . .

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a defense of imperialism are:

First, that we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics.

Second, that our commercial interests in the Philippine Islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold the islands permanently.

Third, that the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth, that there is no honorable retreat from the position which the nation has taken.

The first argument is addressed to the nation's pride and the second to the nation's pocketbook. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partisan.

It is sufficient answer to the first argument to say that for more than a century this nation has been a world power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power but it has done more to affect the policies of the human race than all the other nations of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was promulgated, others have been promulgated. Because the patriots of 1776 fought for liberty, others have fought for it. Because our Constitution was adopted, other constitutions have been adopted.

The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the 19th century. It has made this nation conspicuous among the nations and given it a place in history, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed. Nothing has been able to check the onward march of this idea. I am not willing that this nation shall cast aside the omnipotent weapon of truth to seize again the weapons of physical warfare. I would not exchange the glory of this republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began.

The permanent chairman of the last Republican National Convention presented the pecuniary argument in all its baldness when he said:

We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others. While we regard the welfare of those people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first. We see our duty to ourselves as well as to others. We believe in trade ex-

pansion. By every legitimate means within the province of government and constitution we mean to stimulate the expansion of our trade and open new markets.

This is the commercial argument. It is based upon the theory that war can be rightly waged for pecuniary advantage and that it is profitable to purchase trade by force and violence. Franklin denied both of these propositions. When Lord Howe asserted that the acts of Parliament which brought on the Revolution were necessary to prevent American trade from passing into foreign channels, Franklin replied:

To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining of any trade, howsoever valuable, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise.

I place the philosophy of Franklin against the sordid doctrine of those who would put a price upon the head of an American soldier and justify a war of conquest upon the ground that it will pay. The Democratic Party is in favor of the expansion of trade. It would extend our trade by every legitimate and peaceful means; but it is not willing to make merchandise of human blood.

But a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous. A harbor and coaling station in the Philippines would answer every trade and military necessity and such a concession could have been secured at any time without difficulty. It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade today with every part of the world, and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European empire. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their people. We have not absorbed the republics of Central and South America, but we trade with them. Trade cannot be permanently profitable unless it is voluntary.

When trade is secured by force, the cost of securing it and retaining it must be taken out of the profits, and the profits are never large enough to cover the expense. Such a system would never be defended but for the fact that the expense is

borne by all the people while the profits are enjoyed by a few.

Imperialism would be profitable to the Army contractors; it would be profitable to the shipowners, who would carry live soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead soldiers back; it would be profitable to those who would seize upon the franchises, and it would be profitable to the officials whose salaries would be fixed here and paid over there; but to the farmer, to the laboring man, and to the vast majority of those engaged in other occupations, it would bring expenditure without return and risk without reward.

Farmers and laboring men have, as a rule, small incomes, and, under systems which place the tax upon consumption, pay much more than their fair share of the expenses of government. Thus the very people who receive least benefit from imperialism will be injured most by the military burdens which accompany it. In addition to the evils which he and the former share in common, the laboring man will be the first to suffer if Oriental subjects seek work in the United States; the first to suffer if American capital leaves our shores to employ Oriental labor in the Philippines to supply the trade of China and Japan; the first to suffer from the violence which the military spirit arouses, and the first to suffer when the methods of imperialism are applied to our own government. It is not strange, therefore, that the labor organizations have been quick to note the approach of these dangers and prompt to protest against both militarism and imperialism.

The pecuniary argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented with so much enthusiasm as the religious argument. If what has been termed the "gunpowder gospel" were urged against the Filipinos only, it would be a sufficient answer to say that a majority of the Filipinos are now members of one branch of the Christian Church; but the principle involved is one of much wider application and challenges serious consideration.

The religious argument varies in positiveness from a passive belief that Providence delivered the Filipinos into our hands for their good and our glory to the exultation of the minister who said that we ought to "thrash the natives (Filipinos) until they understand who we are," and that "every bullet sent, every cannon shot, and every flag waved means righteousness."

We cannot approve of this doctrine in one place unless we are willing to apply it everywhere. If there is poison in the blood of the hand, it will ultimately reach the heart. It is equally true that forcible Christianity, if planted under the American flag in the far-away Orient, will sooner or later be transplanted upon American soil. . . .

The argument made by some that it was unfortunate for the nation that it had anything to do with the Philippine Islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary, is also unsound. We won a naval victory at Santiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba.

The shedding of American blood in the Philippine Islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever; American blood was shed at San Juan Hill and El Caney, and yet the President has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; the American flag waves over Havana today, but the President has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban republic is ready to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the Democratic platform and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unreservedly endorse. If elected, I will convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose: first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe Doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba.

A European protectorate often results in the plundering of the ward by the guardian. An American protectorate gives to the nation protected the advantage of our strength without making it the victim of our greed. For three-quarters of a cen-

tury the Monroe Doctrine has been a shield to neighboring republics and yet it has imposed no pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from without.

When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument, they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny and insist that we must submit to it no matter how much it violates our moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of circumstances. Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebrate, who, lacking the courage to oppose error, seeks some plausible excuse for supporting it. Washington said that the destiny of the republican form of government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people.

How different Washington's definition of destiny from the Republican definition! The Republicans say that this nation is in the hands of destiny; Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasurable responsibility!

The destiny of this republic is in the hands of its own people, and upon the success of the experiment here rests the hope of humanity. No exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment of that mission.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me; but, sirs, whether it be my lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named

me or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realizing the high ideals of those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident proposition that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming a supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, “is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

Source: Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention Held in Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, 5 and 6, 1900. Chicago, 1900.

President William McKinley: Inaugural Speech (1901)

First elected to the presidency in 1896, William McKinley declared war on Spain in April 1898, urged

on by a public outraged by Spanish atrocities against Cuban rebels and American business interests on the island hurt by the fighting there. The “splendid little war” left America with territories stretching from Puerto Rico to the Philippines and an important question: should a country that arose in a struggle out of colonialism take on colonies itself? In this excerpt from his inaugural speech in 1901, McKinley answered in the affirmative, saying it was America's duty to govern the inhabitants of those territories, as they were incapable of self-government yet.

We face at this moment a most important question that of the future relations of the United States and Cuba. With our near neighbors we must remain close friends. The declaration of the purposes of this Government in the resolution of April 20, 1898, must be made good. Ever since the evacuation of the island by the army of Spain, the Executive, with all practicable speed, has been assisting its people in the successive steps necessary to the establishment of a free and independent government prepared to assume and perform the obligations of international law which now rest upon the United States under the treaty of Paris. The convention elected by the people to frame a constitution is approaching the completion of its labors. The transfer of American control to the new government is of such great importance, involving an obligation resulting from our intervention and the treaty of peace, that I am glad to be advised by the recent act of Congress of the policy which the legislative branch of the Government deems essential to the best interests of Cuba and the United States. The principles which led to our intervention require that the fundamental law upon which the new government rests should be adapted to secure a government capable of performing the duties and discharging the functions of a separate nation, of observing its international obligations of protecting life and property, insuring order, safety, and liberty, and conforming to the established and historical policy of the United States in its relation to Cuba.

The peace which we are pledged to leave to the Cuban people must carry with it the guaranties of permanence. We became sponsors for the pacification of the island, and we remain accountable to the Cubans, no less than to our own country and people, for the reconstruction of Cuba as a free

commonwealth on abiding foundations of right, justice, liberty, and assured order. Our enfranchisement of the people will not be completed until free Cuba shall “be a reality, not a name; a perfect entity, not a hasty experiment bearing within itself the elements of failure.”

While the treaty of peace with Spain was ratified on the 6th of February, 1899, and ratifications were exchanged nearly two years ago, the Congress has indicated no form of government for the Philippine Islands. It has, however, provided an army to enable the Executive to suppress insurrection, restore peace, give security to the inhabitants, and establish the authority of the United States throughout the archipelago. It has authorized the organization of native troops as auxiliary to the regular force. It has been advised from time to time of the acts of the military and naval officers in the islands, of my action in appointing civil commissions, of the instructions with which they were charged, of their duties and powers, of their recommendations, and of their several acts under executive commission, together with the very complete general information they have submitted. These reports fully set forth the conditions, past and present, in the islands, and the instructions clearly show the principles which will guide the Executive until the Congress shall, as it is required to do by the treaty, determine “the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants.” The Congress having added the sanction of its authority to the powers already possessed and exercised by the Executive under the Constitution, thereby leaving with the Executive the responsibility for the government of the Philippines, I shall continue the efforts already begun until order shall be restored throughout the islands, and as fast as conditions permit will establish local governments, in the formation of which the full co-operation of the people has been already invited, and when established will encourage the people to administer them. The settled purpose, long ago proclaimed, to afford the inhabitants of the islands self-government as fast as they were ready for it will be pursued with earnestness and fidelity. Already something has been accomplished in this direction. The Government’s representatives, civil and military, are doing faithful and noble work in their mission of emancipation and merit the approval and support of their countrymen. The most liberal terms of amnesty have al-

ready been communicated to the insurgents, and the way is still open for those who have raised their arms against the Government for honorable submission to its authority. Our countrymen should not be deceived. We are not waging war against the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. A portion of them are making war against the United States. By far the greater part of the inhabitants recognize American sovereignty and welcome it as a guaranty of order and of security for life, property, liberty, freedom of conscience, and the pursuit of happiness. To them full protection will be given. They shall not be abandoned. We will not leave the destiny of the loyal millions the islands to the disloyal thousands who are in rebellion against the United States. Order under civil institutions will come as soon as those who now break the peace shall keep it. Force will not be needed or used when those who make war against us shall make it no more. May it end without further bloodshed, and there be ushered in the reign of peace to be made permanent by a government of liberty under law!

Source: <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres41.html>.

Emilio Aguinaldo: Proclamation of Formal Surrender to the United States (April 19, 1901)

Following the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States occupied the former Spanish colony of the Philippines, annexing them formally the following year. Many Filipinos, however, had other ideas. A rebellion, led by revolutionary Emilio Aguinaldo, arose to confront U.S. occupation. For three years, the U.S. Army fought a brutal guerrilla-style war against Aguinaldo’s forces, leading to the deaths of over 4,000 American soldiers and countless thousands of Filipino rebels and civilians. Finally, facing defeat and eager to end the bloodshed, Aguinaldo issued this formal surrender and pledged allegiance to U.S. authority.

To the Filipino People:

I believe that I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar day to day with the progress of the war. The lessons thus taught, the full meaning of

which has recently come to my knowledge, suggested to me with irresistible force that the complete termination of hostilities and a lasting peace are not only desirable but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippines.

The Filipinos have never been dismayed by their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along the path impeded by an irresistible force—a force which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens the mind and opens another course by presenting to them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced around glorious and sovereign banner of the United States. In this manner they repose their trust in the belief that under its protection our people will attain all the promised liberties which they are even now beginning to enjoy.

The country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace; so be it. Enough of blood; enough of tears and desolation. This wish cannot be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by no other desire than to serve this noble people which has clearly manifested its will.

So also do I respect this will now that it is known to me, and after mature deliberation resolutely proclaim to the world that I cannot refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones in the enjoyment of the liberty promised by the generosity of the great American nation.

By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the entire Archipelago, as I now do without any reservations whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine!

Source: The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, Volume 30. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899.

Platt Amendment (1901)

One of the small ironies of the Spanish-American War was that Cuba, the territory over which the

United States went to war with Spain in 1898, was the first territory to be given independence by the United States, in 1902. However, to ensure protection of U.S. interests in the new country, Congress passed the Platt Amendment, sponsored by Connecticut Senator Orville Platt. The amendment gave the United States the right to intervene in island affairs, even to the point of sending troops, to maintain pro-U.S. governments. U.S. officials also insisted that similar language be incorporated into the first Cuban constitution of 1902, despite much resistance. The Platt Amendment was abrogated in 1934, although the United States maintained its base at Guantánamo Bay.

Whereas the Congress of the United States of America, by an Act approved March 2, 1901, provided as follows:

Provided further, That in fulfillment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution approved April twentieth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, entitled “For the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect;” the President is hereby authorized to “leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people” so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

“I. That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgement in or control over any portion of said island.”

“II. That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government shall be inadequate.”

“III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.”

“IV. That all Acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.”

“V. That the government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.”

“VI. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.”

“VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.”

“VIII. That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.”

Source: “The Platt Amendment,” in *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776–1949*, vol. 8. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971.

President Theodore Roosevelt: Proclamation, Formally Ending the Philippine “Insurrection” and Granting of Pardon and Amnesty (July 4, 1902)

During the last years of Spanish rule in the Philippines in the 1890s, liberation leader Emilio

Aguinaldo led a struggle for national independence. At first welcoming the American war against Spain in 1898, Aguinaldo turned against the United States when he realized that the Americans intended to take the Spaniards’ place as the colonial rulers of the Philippines. A bitter three-year guerrilla struggle ensued between American troops and Aguinaldo’s rebels that resulted in tens of thousands of lives lost, mostly among rebels and Filipino civilians. Attempting to heal the wounds and cement loyalty to the American colonial government, President Theodore Roosevelt issued the following amnesty to all those who took up arms against the United States.

Whereas, many of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago were in insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Spain at divers times from August, eighteen hundred and ninety-six, until the cession of the archipelago by that Kingdom to the United States of America, and since such cession many of the persons so engaged in insurrection have until recently resisted the authority and sovereignty of the United States; and

Whereas, the insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the United States is now at an end, and peace has been established in all parts of the archipelago except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which this proclamation does not apply; and

Whereas, during the course of the insurrection against the Kingdom of Spain and against the Government of the United States, persons engaged therein, or those in sympathy with and abetting them, committed many acts in violation of the laws of civilized warfare, but it is believed that such acts were generally committed in ignorance of those laws, and under orders issued by the civil or insurrectionary leaders; and

Whereas, it is deemed to be wise and humane, in accordance with the beneficent purposes of the Government of the United States towards the Filipino people, and conducive to peace, order, and loyalty among them, that the doers of such acts who have not already suffered punishment shall not be held criminally responsible, but shall be relieved from punishment for participation in these insurrections, and for unlawful acts committed during the course thereof, by a general amnesty and pardon:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the Constitution, do hereby proclaim and declare, without reservation or condition, except as hereinafter provided, a full and complete pardon and amnesty to all persons in the Philippine Archipelago who have participated in the insurrections aforesaid, or who have given aid and comfort to persons participating in said insurrections, for the offenses of treason or sedition and for all offenses political in their character committed in the course of such insurrections pursuant to orders issued by the civil or military insurrectionary authorities, or which grew out of internal political feuds or dissension between Filipinos and Spaniards or the Spanish authorities, or which resulted from internal political feuds or dissension among the Filipinos themselves, during either of said insurrections:

Provided, however, That the pardon and amnesty hereby granted shall not include such persons committing crimes since May first, nineteen hundred and two, in any province of the archipelago in which at the time civil government was established, nor shall it include such persons as have been heretofore finally convicted of the crimes of murder, rape, arson, or robbery by any military or civil tribunal organized under the authority of Spain, or of the United States of America, but special application may be made to the proper authority for pardon by any person belonging to the exempted classes, and such clemency as is consistent with humanity and justice will be liberally extended; and

Further provided, That this amnesty and pardon shall not affect the title or right of the Government of the United States, or that of the Philippine Islands, to any property or property rights heretofore used or appropriated by the military or civil authorities of the Government of the United States, or that of the Philippine Islands, organized under authority of the United States, by way of confiscation or otherwise;

Provided further, That every person who shall seek to avail himself of this proclamation shall take and subscribe the following oath before any authority in the Philippine Archipelago authorized to administer oaths, namely:

“I, _____, solemnly swear (or affirm) that I recognize and accept the supreme

authority of the United States of America in the Philippine Islands and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto; that I impose upon myself this obligation voluntarily, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion. So help me God.”

Given under my hand at the City of Washington this fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and two, and in the one hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States.

Source: The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from March 1897 to March 1899 and Recent Treaties, Conventions, Executive Proclamations, and The Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, vol. 30. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899.

Convention for the Construction of a Ship Canal (Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty) (November 18, 1903)

For several years around the turn of the twentieth century, the United States had tried to get Colombia—which then controlled the isthmus of Panama—to allow it to build and operate an inter-ocean canal on terms favorable to Washington. Recognizing the value of such a canal, Colombia insisted on a very high price. Rather than accepting such terms, the United States fomented a rebellion in the isthmus in 1903, and the province of Panama broke away from Colombia. Very shortly after, the United States negotiated with the new Republic of Panama a treaty whose terms Colombia had largely rejected. The treaty was ratified by the Senate and signed by President Theodore Roosevelt in February 1904; the canal was completed a decade later.

The United States of America and the Republic of Panama being desirous to insure the construction of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the Congress of the United States of America having passed an act approved June 28, 1902, in furtherance of that object, by which the President of the United States is authorized to acquire within a reasonable time the control of the necessary territory of the Republic of Colombia, and the sovereignty of such territory being actually vested in the Republic of Panama, the high contracting parties

have resolved for that purpose to conclude a convention and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries,-

The President of the United States of America, John Hay, Secretary of State, and

The Government of the Republic of Panama, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Panama, thereunto specially empowered by said government, who after communicating with each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I

The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

ARTICLE II

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said Canal of the width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the center line of the route of the Canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea three marine miles from mean low water mark and extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low water mark with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant. The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal or of any auxiliary canals or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said enterprise . . .

ARTICLE III

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II of this agreement and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II which the United States would pos-

sess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority.

ARTICLE IV

As rights subsidiary to the above grants the Republic of Panama grants in perpetuity to the United States the right to use the rivers, streams, lakes and other bodies of water within its limits for navigation, the supply of water or water-power or other purposes, so far as the use of said rivers, streams, lakes and bodies of water and the waters thereof may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the said Canal.

ARTICLE V

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity a monopoly for the construction, maintenance and operation of any system of communication by means of canal or railroad across its territory between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific ocean.

ARTICLE VI

The grants herein contained shall in no manner invalidate the titles or rights of private land holders or owners of private property in the said zone or in or to any of the lands or waters granted to the United States by the provisions of any Article of this treaty, nor shall they interfere with the rights of way over the public roads passing through the said zone or over any of the said lands or waters unless said rights of way or private rights shall conflict with rights herein granted to the United States in which case the rights of the United States shall be superior . . .

ARTICLE VIII

The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all rights which it now has or hereafter may acquire to the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company as a result of the transfer of sovereignty from the Republic of Colombia to the Republic of Panama over the Isthmus of Panama and authorizes the New Panama Canal Company to sell and transfer to the United States its rights, privileges, properties and concessions as well as the Panama Railroad and all the shares or part of the shares of that company; but the public lands situated outside of the zone described in Article II of this treaty now included

in the concessions to both said enterprises and not required in the construction or operation of the Canal shall revert to the Republic of Panama except any property now owned by or in the possession of said companies within Panama or Colon or the ports or terminals thereof.

ARTICLE IX

The United States agrees that the ports at either entrance of the Canal and the waters thereof, and the Republic of Panama agrees that the towns of Panama and Colon shall be free for all time so that there shall not be imposed or collected custom house tolls, tonnage, anchorage, lighthouse, wharf, pilot, or quarantine dues or any other charges or taxes of any kind upon any vessel using or passing through the Canal or belonging to or employed by the United States, directly or indirectly, in connection with the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of the main Canal, or auxiliary works, or upon the cargo, officers, crew, or passengers of any such vessels, except such tolls and charges as may be imposed by the United States for the use of the Canal and other works, and except tolls and charges imposed by the Republic of Panama upon merchandise destined to be introduced for the consumption of the rest of the Republic of Panama, and upon vessels touching at the ports of Colon and Panama and which do not cross the Canal . . .

ARTICLE X

The Republic of Panama agrees that there shall not be imposed any taxes, national, municipal, departmental, or of any other class, upon the Canal, the railways and auxiliary works, tugs and other vessels employed in bye service of the Canal, store houses, work shops, offices, quarters for laborers, factories of all kinds, warehouses, wharves, machinery and other works, property, and effects appertaining to the Canal or railroad and auxiliary works, or their officers or employees, situated within the cities of Panama and Colon, and that there shall not be imposed contributions or charges of a personal character of any kind upon officers, employees, laborers, and other individuals in the service of the Canal and railroad and auxiliary works . . .

ARTICLE XII

The Government of the Republic of Panama shall permit the immigration and free access to the lands and workshops of the Canal and its aux-

iliary works of all employees and workmen of Whatever nationality under contract to work upon or seeking employment upon or in any wise connected with the said Canal and its auxiliary works, with their respective families, and all such persons shall be free and exempt from the military service of the Republic of Panama . . .

ARTICLE XIV

As the price or compensation for the rights, powers and privileges granted in this convention by the Republic of Panama to the United States, the Government of the United States agrees to pay to the Republic of Panama the sum of ten million dollars (\$10,000,000) in gold coin of the United States on the exchange of the ratification of this convention and also an annual payment during the life of this convention of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000) in like gold coin, beginning nine years after the date aforesaid.

The provisions of this Article shall be in addition to all other benefits assured to the Republic of Panama under this convention.

But no delay or difference of opinion under this Article or any other provisions of this treaty shall affect or interrupt the full operation and effect of this convention in all other respects.

ARTICLE XV

The joint commission referred to in Article VI shall be established as follows:

The President of the United States shall nominate two persons and the President of the Republic of Panama shall nominate two persons and they shall proceed to a decision; but in case of disagreement of the Commission (by reason of their being equally divided in conclusion) an umpire shall be appointed by the two Governments who shall render the decision. In the event of the death, absence, or incapacity of a Commissioner or Umpire, or of his omitting, declining or ceasing to act, his place shall be filled by the appointment of another person in the manner above indicated. All decisions by a majority of the Commission or by the Umpire shall be final.

ARTICLE XVI

The two Governments shall make adequate provision by future agreement for the pursuit, capture, imprisonment, detention and delivery within said zone and auxiliary lands to the authorities of the Republic of Panama of persons charged with the commitment of crimes, felonies or misdemeanors without said zone and for the pursuit,

capture, imprisonment, detention and delivery without said zone to the authorities of the United States of persons charged with the commitment of crimes, felonies and misdemeanors within said zone and auxiliary lands . . .

ARTICLE XVIII

The Canal, when constructed, and the entrances thereto shall be neutral in perpetuity, and shall be opened upon the terms provided for by Section I of Article three of, and in conformity with all the stipulations of, the treaty entered into by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain on November 18, 1901.

ARTICLE XIX

The Government of the Republic of Panama shall have the right to transport over the Canal its vessels and its troops and munitions of war in such vessels at all times without paying charges of any kind. The exemption is to be extended to the auxiliary railway for the transportation of persons in the service of the Republic of Panama, or of the police force charged with the preservation of public order outside of said zone, as well as to their baggage, munitions of war and supplies.

ARTICLE XX

If by virtue of any existing treaty in relation to the territory of the Isthmus of Panama, whereof the obligations shall descend or be assumed by the Republic of Panama, there may be any privilege or concession in favor of the Government or the citizens and subjects of a third power relative to an interoceanic means of communication which in any of its terms may be incompatible with the terms of the present convention, the Republic of Panama agrees to cancel or modify such treaty in due form, for which purpose it shall give to the said third power the requisite notification within the term of four months from the date of the present convention, and in case the existing treaty contains no clause permitting its modification or annulment, the Republic of Panama agrees to procure its modification or annulment in such form that there shall not exist any conflict with the stipulations of the present convention.

ARTICLE XXI

The rights and privileges granted by the Republic of Panama to the United States in the preceding Articles are understood to be free of all anterior debts, liens, trusts, or liabilities, or concessions or privileges to other Governments, corporations,

syndicates or individuals, and consequently, if there should arise any claims on account of the present concessions and privileges or otherwise, the claimants shall resort to the Government of the Republic of Panama and not to the United States for any indemnity or compromise which may be required.

ARTICLE XXII

The Republic of Panama renounces and grants to the United States the participation to which it might be entitled in the future earnings of the Canal under Article XV of the concessionary contract with Lucien N. B. Wyse now owned by the New Panama Canal Company and any and all other rights or claims of a pecuniary nature arising under or relating to said concession, or arising under or relating to the concessions to the Panama Railroad Company or any extension or modification thereof; and it likewise renounces, confirms and grants to the United States, now and hereafter, all the rights and property reserved in the said concessions which otherwise would belong to Panama at or before the expiration of the terms of ninety-nine years of the concessions granted to or held by the above mentioned party and companies, and all right, title and interest which it now has or many hereafter have, in and to the lands, canal, works, property and rights held by the said companies under said concessions or otherwise, and acquired or to be acquired by the United States from or through the New Panama Canal Company, including any property and rights which might or may in the future either by lapse of time, forfeiture or otherwise, revert to the Republic of Panama, under any contracts or concessions, with said Wyse, the Universal Panama Canal Company, the Panama Railroad Company and the New Panama Canal Company.

The aforesaid rights and property shall be and are free and released from any present or reversionary interest in or claims of Panama and the title of the United States thereto upon consummation of the contemplated purchase by the United States from the New Panama Canal Company, shall be absolute, so far as concerns the Republic of Panama, excepting always the rights of the Republic specifically secured under this treaty.

ARTICLE XXIII

If it should become necessary at any time to employ armed forces for the safety or protection of

the Canal, or of the ships that make use of the same, or the railways and auxiliary works, the United States shall have the right, at all times and in its discretion, to use its police and its land and naval forces or to establish fortifications for these purposes.

ARTICLE XXIV

No change either in the Government or in the laws and treaties of the Republic of Panama shall, without the consent of the United States, affect any right of the United States under the present convention, or under any treaty stipulation between the two countries that now exists or may hereafter exist touching the subject matter of this convention.

If the Republic of Panama shall hereafter enter as a constituent into any other Government or into any union or confederation of states, so as to merge her sovereignty or independence in such Government, union or confederation, the rights of the United States under this convention shall not be in any respect lessened or impaired.

ARTICLE XXV

For the better performance of the engagements of this convention and to the end of the efficient protection of the Canal and the preservation of its neutrality, the Government of the Republic of Panama will sell or lease to the United States lands adequate and necessary for naval or coaling stations on the Pacific coast and on the western Caribbean coast of the Republic at certain points to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

ARTICLE XXVI

This convention when signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties shall be ratified by the respective Governments and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington at the earliest date possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate and have hereunto affixed their respective seals.

Done at the City of Washington the 18th day of November in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and three.

John Hay [Seal]

P. Bunau-Varilla [Seal]

Source: U.S. Stats., vol. 33, in Sklar, Barry, and Virginia M. Hagen, compilers, *Inter-American Relations*:

Collection of Documents, Legislation, Descriptions of Inter-American Organizations, and Other Material Pertaining to Inter-American Affairs. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972.

U.S. Apology for the Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii (November 23, 1993)

During the late nineteenth century, wealthy American settlers established large sugar, cattle, and other plantations in the Hawaiian Islands (then known as the Sandwich Islands). When native Hawaiian supporters of Queen Liliuokalani attempted to confirm their independence through a new constitution in 1893, the settlers responded with a coup, supported by the United States, which quickly annexed the islands. One hundred years later, a resolution of Congress, which laid out some of the details of this coup and annexation, apologized for these events. The resolution was written to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the January 17, 1893, overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii and to apologize to the Native Hawaiians on behalf of the government of the United States. However, the resolution made clear that the apology did not affect land claims and certainly not Hawaii's status as the fiftieth state, despite the remarks of U.S. Senator Slade Gorton, an opponent of the bill, that "the logical consequences of this resolution would be independence."

Whereas, prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1778, the Native Hawaiian people lived in a highly organized, self-sufficient, subsistent social system based on communal land tenure with a sophisticated language, culture, and religion;

Whereas, a unified monarchical government of the Hawaiian Islands was established in 1810 under Kamehameha I, the first King of Hawaii;

Whereas, from 1826 until 1893, the United States recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Hawaii, extended full and complete diplomatic recognition to the Hawaiian Government, and entered into treaties and conventions with the Hawaiian monarchs to govern commerce and navigation in 1826, 1842, 1849, 1875, and 1887;

Whereas, the Congregational Church (now known as the United Church of Christ), through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

Missions, sponsored and sent more than 100 missionaries to the Kingdom of Hawaii between 1820 and 1850;

Whereas, on January 14, 1893, John L. Stevens (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the “United States Minister”), the United States Minister assigned to the sovereign and independent Kingdom of Hawaii, conspired with a small group of non-Hawaiian residents of the Kingdom of Hawaii, including citizens of the United States, to overthrow the indigenous and lawful Government of Hawaii;

Whereas, in pursuance of the conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Hawaii, the United States Minister and the naval representatives of the United States caused armed naval forces of the United States to invade the sovereign Hawaiian nation on January 16, 1893, and to position themselves near the Hawaiian Government buildings and the Iolani Palace to intimidate Queen Liliuokalani and her Government;

Whereas, on the afternoon of January 17, 1893, a Committee of Safety that represented the American and European sugar planters, descendants of missionaries, and financiers deposed the Hawaiian monarchy and proclaimed the establishment of a Provisional Government;

Whereas, the United States Minister thereupon extended diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Government that was formed by the conspirators without the consent of the Native Hawaiian people or the lawful Government of Hawaii and in violation of treaties between the two nations and of international law;

Whereas, soon thereafter, when informed of the risk of bloodshed with resistance, Queen Liliuokalani issued the following statement yielding her authority to the United States Government rather than to the Provisional Government:

“I Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the Constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.

“That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and de-

clared that he would support the Provisional Government.

“Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest and impelled by said force yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.”

Done at Honolulu this 17th day of January, A.D. 1893.

Whereas, without the active support and intervention by the United States diplomatic and military representatives, the insurrection against the Government of Queen Liliuokalani would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms;

Whereas, on February 1, 1893, the United States Minister raised the American flag and proclaimed Hawaii to be a protectorate of the United States;

Whereas, the report of a Presidentially established investigation conducted by former Congressman James Blount into the events surrounding the insurrection and overthrow of January 17, 1893, concluded that the United States diplomatic and military representatives had abused their authority and were responsible for the change in government;

Whereas, as a result of this investigation, the United States Minister to Hawaii was recalled from his diplomatic post and the military commander of the United States armed forces stationed in Hawaii was disciplined and forced to resign his commission;

Whereas, in a message to Congress on December 18, 1893, President Grover Cleveland reported fully and accurately on the illegal acts of the conspirators, described such acts as an “act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress,” and acknowledged that by such acts the government of a peaceful and friendly people was overthrown;

Whereas, President Cleveland further concluded that a “substantial wrong has thus been done which a due regard for our national character as well as the rights of the injured people requires we should endeavor to repair” and called for the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy;

Whereas, the Provisional Government protested President Cleveland's call for the restoration of the monarchy and continued to hold state power and pursue annexation to the United States;

Whereas, the Provisional Government successfully lobbied the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate (hereafter referred to in this Resolution as the "Committee") to conduct a new investigation into the events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy;

Whereas, the Committee and its chairman, Senator John Morgan, conducted hearings in Washington, D.C., from December 27, 1893, through February 26, 1894, in which members of the Provisional Government justified and condoned the actions of the United States Minister and recommended annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas, although the Provisional Government was able to obscure the role of the United States in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, it was unable to rally the support from two-thirds of the Senate needed to ratify a treaty of annexation;

Whereas, on July 4, 1894, the Provisional Government declared itself to be the Republic of Hawaii;

Whereas, on January 24, 1895, while imprisoned in Iolani Palace, Queen Liliuokalani was forced by representatives of the Republic of Hawaii to officially abdicate her throne;

Whereas, in the 1896 United States Presidential election, William McKinley replaced Grover Cleveland;

Whereas, on July 7, 1898, as a consequence of the Spanish-American War, President McKinley signed the Newlands Joint Resolution that provided for the annexation of Hawaii;

Whereas, through the Newlands Resolution, the self-declared Republic of Hawaii ceded sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States;

Whereas, the Republic of Hawaii also ceded 1,800,000 acres of crown, government and public lands of the Kingdom of Hawaii, without the consent of or compensation to the Native Hawaiian people of Hawaii or their sovereign government;

Whereas, the Congress, through the Newlands Resolution, ratified the cession, annexed Hawaii as part of the United States, and vested title to the lands in Hawaii in the United States;

Whereas, the Newlands Resolution also specified that treaties existing between Hawaii and foreign nations were to immediately cease and be replaced by United States treaties with such nations;

Whereas, the Newlands Resolution effected the transaction between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States Government;

Whereas, the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum;

Whereas, on April 30, 1900, President McKinley signed the Organic Act that provided a government for the territory of Hawaii and defined the political structure and powers of the newly established Territorial Government and its relationship to the United States;

Whereas, on August 21, 1959, Hawaii became the 50th State of the United States;

Whereas, the health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people is intrinsically tied to their deep feelings and attachment to the land;

Whereas, the long-range economic and social changes in Hawaii over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been devastating to the population and to the health and well-being of the Hawaiian people;

Whereas, the Native Hawaiian people are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territory, and their cultural identity in accordance with their own spiritual and traditional beliefs, customs, practices, language, and social institutions;

Whereas, in order to promote racial harmony and cultural understanding, the Legislature of the State of Hawaii has determined that the year 1993, should serve Hawaii as a year of special reflection on the rights and dignities of the Native Hawaiians in the Hawaiian and the American societies;

Whereas, the Eighteenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ in recognition of the denomination's historical complicity in the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893 directed the Office of the President of the United Church of Christ to offer a public apology to the Native Hawaiian people and to initiate the process of reconciliation between the United Church of Christ and the Native Hawaiians; and

Whereas, it is proper and timely for the Congress on the occasion of the impending one hundredth anniversary of the event, to acknowledge the historic significance of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, to express its deep regret to the Native Hawaiian people, and to support the reconciliation efforts of the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. Acknowledgment and Apology.

The Congress—

(1) on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893, acknowledges the historical significance of this event which resulted in the suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people;

(2) recognizes and commends efforts of reconciliation initiated by the State of Hawaii and the United Church of Christ with Native Hawaiians;

(3) apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893 with the participation of agents and citizens of the

United States, and the deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination;

(4) expresses its commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, in order to provide a proper foundation for reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people; and

(5) urges the President of the United States to also acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii and to support reconciliation efforts between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people.

SEC. 2. Definitions.

As used in this Joint Resolution, the term “Native Hawaiians” means any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii.

SEC. 3. Disclaimer.

Nothing in this Joint Resolution is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States.

Approved November 23, 1993.

Source: U.S. Public Law 103–150, November 23, 1993.

Legislative History—S.J. Res. 19: Senate Reports: No. 103–125 (Select Committee on Indian Affairs), *Congressional Record* 139 (1993).

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